THE ZONDERVAN

# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE BIBLE

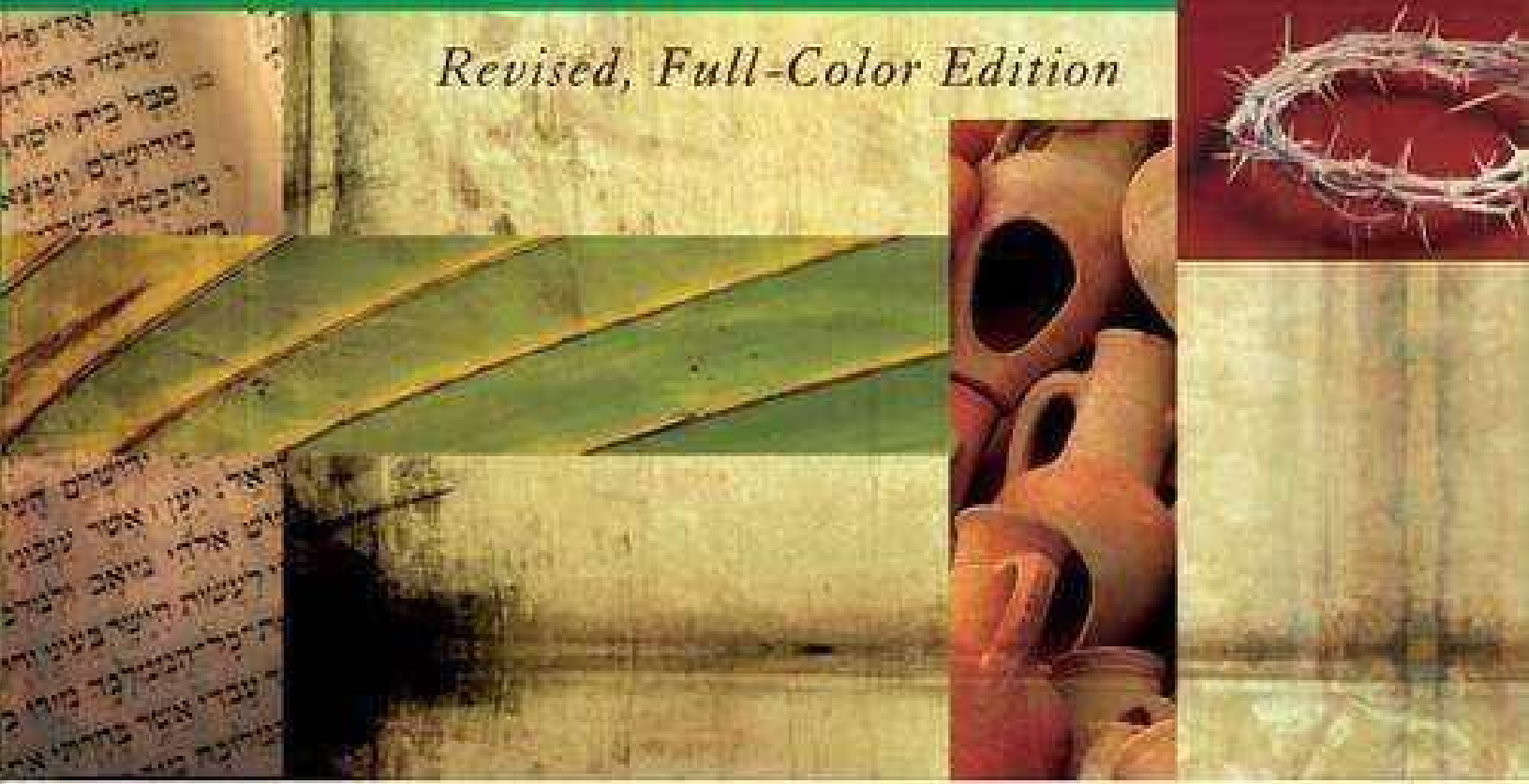
*Volume*

*4*

*M - P*

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

*Revised, Full-Color Edition*



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# Encyclopedia of the Bible

## Volume 4, The

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Z. Radovan/*www.BibleLandPictures.com*
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. (1926-27) |
| 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. (1920-33) |
| 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 inscriptionum latinarum* |
| *CIS* | *Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum* |
| col(s). | column(s) |
| *COS* | *The Context of Scripture,* ed. W. W. Hallo, 3 vols. (1997-2002) |
| 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. (1915-18) |
| *DBI* | *Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation,* ed. J. H.Hayes, 2 vols. (1999) |
| *DBSup* | *Dictionnaire de la Bible: Supplément,* ed. L. Pirot and A. Robert (1928-) |
| *DCG* | *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels,* ed. J. Hastings, 2 vols. (1906-08) |
| *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. (1908-15; suppl. by A. F. Rainey, 2nd ed., 1978) |
| *EBC* | *The Expositor's Bible Commentary,* ed. F. E. Gaebelein et al., 12 vols. (1979-92) |
| *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. (1897-1910) |
| Egyp. | Egyptian |

| | |
|---|---|
| EKKNT | Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament |
| *EncBib* | *Encyclopaedia Biblica,* ed. T.K. Cheyne and J. S. Black, 4 vols. (1899-1903) |
| *EncJud* | *Encyclopedia Judaica,* 16 vols. (1972) |
| Eng. | English |
| *ERE* | *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics,* ed. J. Hastings, 13 vols. (1908-27) |
| 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 |
| *FFB* | *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 und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament,* by L. Koehler et al., 5 fascicles (1967-95) |
| *HALOT* | *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament,* by L. Koehler et al., 5 vols. (1994-2000) |
| HAT | Handbuch zum Alten Testament |
| *HDB* | Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible,* 5 vols. (1898-1904); 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. (1885-90); 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. (1973-87) |
| 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. (1979-88) |
| *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* | *Kanaanäishce und aramäische Inschriften,* by H. Donner and W. Röllig, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (1966-69) |
| 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. (1857-78) |
| KEK | Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über 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 | J. McClintock and J. Strong, *Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical* |

| | |
|---|---|
| and Strong | *Literature,* 12 vols. (1867-87) |
| 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 Theologya* |
| *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 (1963-65); 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. (1983-85) |
| p., pp. | page, pages |
| pass. | passive |
| *PEQ* | *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* |
| Pers. | Persian |
| pf. | perfect |
| *PG* | *Patrologiagraeca,* ed. J.-P Migne, 162 vols. (1857-96) |
| *PJ* | *Palästina-Jahrbuch* |
| pl. | plural |
| *PL* | *Patrologia latina,* ed. J.-P Migne, 217 vols. (1844-64) |
| POxy | Oxyrhynchus Papyri |
| prob. | probably |
| Pseudep. | Pseudepigrapha |
| ptc. | participle |
| *PTR* | *Princeton Theological 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 für protestantische Theologie und Kirche,* ed. J. J. Herzog and A. Hauck, 24 vols. (1896-1913) |
| 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.(1857-65) |
| 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. (1908-14) |
| *SIG* | *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum,* ed. W. Dittenberger, 4 vols., 3rd ed. (1915-24) |
| 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. (1922-61) |
| 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. (1964-76) |
| *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. (1932-79) |
| *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., | w. 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 Päldstina-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 Macc. | 1 Maccabees |
| 2 Macc. | 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 Patr.* | *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.

# M

Northern portion of the masada plateau, with a view of Herod's palsces.

**M.** The symbol used to designate material peculiar to Matthew; for some scholars, the symbol represents an independent literary source used by this evangelist. B. H. Streeter proposed that M originated c. A.D. 60, probably in JERUSALEM, and that Matthew used it—along with the Gospel of Mark and some additional tradition from ANTIOCH OF SYRIA—to produce his gospel *(The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* [1924], ch. 9). See GOSPELS; MATTHEW, GOSPEL OF.

**Maacah (person)** may'uh-kuh (מַעֲכָה *H5082,* perhaps "dull" or "oppression"). KJV also Maachah; TNIV Maakah. At least nine OT figures, both male and female, have this name. (1) Son of NAHOR by his concubine Reumah; nephew of ABRAHAM (Gen. 22:24). He may have been the ancestor of the people who inhabited a region by the same name. See MAACAH (PLACE). Some have thought that this Maacah was a daughter, not a son, of Nahor.

(2) Sister or wife of MAKIR son of MANASSEH (1 Chr. 7:15-16). The passage appears to speak of

two different women named Maacah, one of whom was Makir's sister (v. 15) and another one his wife (v. 16). The Hebrew text of v. 15 is difficult, however, and the KJV takes it to mean that Makir "took to wife *the sister* of Huppim and Shuppim, whose sister's name was Maachah" (not a likely interpretation of the Hebrew). Many scholars emend the verse to say, "Makir took a wife, and her name was Maacah" (or the like). In either case, the passage would then refer to only one woman named Maacah, Makir's wife, who bore him two sons, Peresh and Sheresh. (For other emendations and further discussion, see G. N. Knoppers, I *Chronicles 1-9,* AB 12 [2004],454-55.)

(3) Second concubine of CALEB son of Hezron (1 Chr. 2:48). His first concubine was EPHAH (v. 46).

(4) Wife of JEIEL, who was a descendant of BENJAMIN and the "father" (i.e., founder or a civic leader) of GIBEON (1 Chr. 9:35; the name Jeiel is missing from the MT of the parallel passage, 8:29, but most versions insert it).

(5) Daughter of TALMAI king of GESHUR; she became a wife of DAVID and bore ABSALOM during David's reign at HEBRON (2 Sam. 3:3; 1 Chr. 3:2). Absalom fled for safety to his mother's homeland after he killed his half-brother AMMON (2 Sam. 13:37-38).

(6) Father of Hanan; the latter was one of David's mighty warriors (1 Chr. 11:43).

(7) Father of Shephatiah; the latter was an officer over the tribe of SIMEON during the reign of David (1 Chr. 27:16).

(8) Father of the PHILISTINE king ACHISH (1 Ki. 2:39). Many believe this Maacah is the same as MAOCH (1 Sam. 27:2; the two forms may be variant spellings of the same name); others question this identification, since it would mean that the reign of Achish lasted at least forty years.

(9) Daughter of Abishalom (ABSALOM), favorite wife of REHOBOAM, and mother of Abijam (ABI-JAH; 1 Ki. 15:2; 2 Chr. 11:20-22). Elsewhere she is called "Micaiah daughter of Uriel of Gibeah" (2 Chr. 13:2 NRSV), but the name MICAIAH may be a scribal error or an alternate form of Maacah (cf. NIV), while the word "daughter" here may mean "granddaughter" (cf. NIV mg.). Some argue, however, that this Maacah was in fact the granddaughter of Absalom; this view assumes that Absalom's daughter TAMAR was the wife of Uriel.

Another difficulty is raised by 1 Ki. 15:10, which says with respect to ASA, Abijah's son, that "his mother's name was Maacah daughter of Abishalom" (NRSV). Three solutions are possible. (a) Asa was Abijah's brother rather than his son, a view that requires emending v. 8. (b) Two different women, both named Maacah, are involved: one (v. 2) was the actual daughter of Absalom and the mother of Abijah, while the other (v. 10) was the granddaughter of Absalom and the mother of Asa. (c) More likely, only one person, Abijam's mother (i.e., Asa's grandmother), is involved, and "mother" in vv. 10 and 13 means "grandmother" (cf. NIV). In any case, the biblical writer tells us that Asa deposed his grandmother (or mother!) Maacah from her royal position (*gĕbîrâ H1485,* "queen mother") because of her idolatry (v. 13).

**Maacah (place)** may'uh-kuh (מַעֲכָה *H5081* [מַעֲכַת in Josh. 13:13b], perhaps "dull" or "oppression"; gentilic מַעֲכָתִי *H5084,* "Maacathite" [KJV, "Maachathi" and "Maachathite"]). KJV Maachah; TNIV Maakah; NRSV also Maacath (only Josh 13:13b). A small Aramean state SE of Mount HERMON. See ARAM(COUNTRY). It bordered GESHUR on the S and may have crossed the JORDAN to ABEL BETH MAACAH on the W. JAIR son of Manasseh made conquest of the land (Deut. 3:14; Josh. 12:5), and it was assigned to the half tribe of MANASSEH (Josh. 13:29-30). Both the Maacathites and the neighboring Geshurites remained in occupancy of their lands after Jair's conquest (Josh. 13:13;

NRSV, "Maacath"). During the reign of DAVID, the king of Maacah contributed 1,000 men as mercenaries to aid AMMON in war with Israel (2 Sam. 10:6-8; 1 Chr. 19:6-7). (See B. Mazur in *JBL* 80 [1961]: 16-28.)

L. J. WOOD

**Maacath, Maacathite** may'uh-kath, may-ak'uh-thit. See MAACAH (PLACE).

**Maachah, Maachathi, Maachathite** may'uh-kuh, may-ak'uh-thi, may-ak'uh-thit. KJV forms of MAACAH and Maacathite.

**Maadai** may'uh-di (מַעֲדַי *H5049,* short form of מַעֲדִיָּה *H5050,* "ornament of Yahweh" [see MOADIAH]). One of the sons of Bani who gave up their foreign wives in the time of EZRA (Ezra 10:34; called "Momdius" in 1 Esd. 9:34).

**Maadiah** may'uh-di'uh. See MOADIAH.

**Maai** may'i (מָעַי *H5076,* derivation uncertain). A priestly musician who participated in the dedication of the rebuilt wall of Jerusalem under EZRA (Neh. 12:36; his name is one of several omitted in the LXX).

**Maakah** may'uh-kuh. TNIV form of MAACAH.

**Maaleh-acrabbim** may'uh-leh-uh-krab'im. See AKRABBIM.

**Maani** may'uh-ni (Μαανι). (1) Ancestor of a family of temple servants (NETHINIM) who returned from the EXILE (1 Esd. 5:31; KJV, "Meani"; RSV, "Meunites"). See MEUNIM.

(2) KJV Apoc. variant form of BANI (1 Esd. 9:34).

**Maarath** may'uh-rath (מַעֲרָת *H5125,* possibly "barren [field]"). A town in the hill country of the tribe of JUDAH (Josh. 15:59). Maarath is listed between GEDOR and BETH ANOTH, so it was probably a few miles N of HEBRON, but its precise location is unknown. Some have thought it is the same as MAROTH (Mic. 1:12), but the context seems to place this town too far W.

**Maareh-geba** may'uh-ri-gee'buh. Transliteration used by some versions (e.g., NJPS) to render the difficult Hebrew phrase *ma(ărēh-gāba(,* referring to a place where the men of Israel lay in ambush and from which they rushed forth to attack the Benjamites (Jdg. 20:33; KJV, "the meadows of Gibeah"). On the basis of the SEPTUAGINT and the VULGATE, the NIV and other versions read *ma(ărab-gāba(*, "west of Gibeah."

**Maasai** may'uh-si (מַעֲשַׂי *H5127,* short form of מַעֲשֵׂיָהוּ H*5129,* "work of Yahweh" [see MAASEIAH]). KJV Maasiai. Son of Adiel, listed among the first priests that returned from the EXILE and resettled in Jerusalem (1 Chr. 9:12). Because Maasai seems to correspond to AMASHSAI in a parallel passage (Neh. 11:13), some have argued that they are the same person and that the latter form is the result of

scribal error.

**Maaseiah** may'uh-see'yah (מַעֲשֵׂיָהוּ *H5129* [in 1-2 Chr.], מַעֲשֵׂיָה *H5128* [in Ezra, Neh., and Jer., except Jer. 35:4], "work of Yahweh" [cf. MAASAI; see also BAASEIAH and HOSHAIAH #2]). (1) One of the Levites who played the lyre when the ARK OF THE COVENANT was brought to Jerusalem (1 Chr. 15:18,20).

(2) Son of Adaiah; he was one of the commanders under JEHOIADA who took part in the revolt against ATHALIAH (2 Chr. 23:1).

(3) An officer under King UZZIAH who took part in mustering the army (2 Chr. 26:11).

(4) Son of King AHAZ; all that is known about him is that he and two royal officials were assassinated by an Ephraimite warrior named Zicri (2 Chr. 28:7).

(5) The ruler of Jerusalem at the time of King JOSIAH; he was among those sent to repair the temple (2 Chr. 34:8).

(6) Father of the priest ZEPHANIAH; the latter figures in the ministry of Jeremiah (Jer. 21:1; 29:25; 37:3). This Maaseiah is perhaps the same as the son of Shallum, a doorkeeper who had a room in the temple (35:4).

(7) Father of the false prophet ZEDEKIAH (Jer. 29:21).

(8-11) Four different men by the name of Maaseiah are listed among those who agreed to put away their foreign wives. Three of them—descendants of Jeshua, Harim, and Passhur respectively—were priests (Ezra 10:18-22; 1 Esd. 9:19-21 [KJV, "Matthelas," "Eanes," "Massias"]); the fourth was a descendant of Pahath-Moab (Ezra 10:30; cf. 1 Esd. 9:30, which has "Moossias" [KJV, "Mossias"], listed as a descendant of Addi).

(12) Father of a certain Azariah who made repairs to the wall of Jerusalem in Nehemiah's time (Neh. 3:23).

(13) One of the prominent men who stood near EZRA when the law was read at the great assembly (Neh. 8:4; called "Baalsamus" [KJV, "Balasamus"] in 1 Esd. 9:43); he is possibly the same as #11 above.

(14) A Levite who helped Ezra instruct the people in the law (Neh. 8:7; called "Maiannas" [KJV, "Maianeas"] in 1 Esd. 9:48).

(15) One of the leaders of the people who signed the covenant of NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:25); he is possibly the same as #11 or #13 above.

(16) Son of Baruch and descendant of JUDAH through SHELAH; he was an inhabitant of Judah resident in Jerusalem in postexilic times (Neh. 11:5 [KJV has "Shiloni" instead of "Shelah"; NRSV, "the Shilonite"]; apparently the same as ASAIAH in 1 Chr. 9:5). See SHILONITE.

(17) Son of Ithiel and an ancestor of Sallu; the latter was a Benjamite who lived in postexilic Jerusalem (Neh. 11:7).

(18-19) Two priests who participated in the choirs at the dedication of the walls of Jerusalem (Neh. 12:41-42); the first of these played the trumpet. Either or both of these men are possibly to be identified with one or more of the priests mentioned above (##8-10).

(20) KJV form of MAHSEIAH (Jer. 32:12; 51:59).

**Maasias** may-as'ee-uhs. KJV Apoc. form of MAHSEIAH (Bar. 1:1).

**Maasmas** may-as'muhs (Μαασμαν, possibly to be understood as accusative of the unattested form

*Μασμας).* One of a group of leaders sent by EZRA to Iddo to get attendants for the house of God (1 Esd. 8:43; KJV, "Masman"). The parallel list has SHEMAIAH (Ezra 8:16).

**Maath** may'ath (Μαάθ *G3399,* possibly from Heb. מַחַת *H4744* [cf. LXX 2 Chr. 29:12; 31:13; see MAHATH]). Son of Mattathias, included in the GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Lk. 3:26).

**Maaz** may'az (מַעַץ *H5106,* perhaps "angry"; possibly short form of אֲחִימַעַץ *H318* [see AHIMAAZ]). Son of RAM, grandson of JERAHMEEL, and descendant of JUDAH (1 Chr. 2:27).

**Maaziah** may'uh-zi'uh (מַעַזְיָהוּ *H5069* [1 Chr. 24:18] and מַעַזְיָה *H5068* [Neh. 10:8], "Yahweh is [my] refuge"). (1) A priest during the time of DAVID who was the leader of the twenty-third division (1 Chr. 24:18). Some scholars believe that Maaziah here is the family name of a later priestly group. See #2 below.

(2) One of the priests (or priestly families) who signed the covenant of NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:8).

**Mabdai** mab'di. KJV Apoc. form of MAMDAI (1 Esd. 9:34).

**Macalon** muh-kal'uhn (Μακαλοων). A Judean town listed in a postexilic census list (1 Esd. 5:21); the parallel passages have MICMASH (Ezra 2:27; Neh. 7:31).

**Macbannai** mak'buh-ni (מַכְבַּנַּי *H4801,* perhaps from a root meaning "wrap around"). KJV Machbanai, NRSV Machbannai; TNIV Makbannai. A Gadite who joined DAVID's forces at ZIKLAG (1 Chr. 12:13). The Gadites are described as "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).

**Macbenah** mak-bee'nuh (מַכְבֵּנָה *H4800,* perhaps from a root meaning "wrap around"). Also Machbenah; TNIV Makbenah. Son of Sheva and grandson of CALEB, included in the genealogical list of JUDAH (1 Chr. 2:49). However, it may be the name of a town, and the expression "Sheva the father of Macbenah and Gibea" probably indicates that Sheva was the founder of those two cities. Some identify Macbenah with CABBON (Josh. 15:40); others think it was a Calebite settlement in an unknown location S of HEBRON.

**Maccabaean, Maccabaeus** mak'uh-bee'uhn, –uhs. See MACCABEE.

**Maccabee** mak'uh-bee. The term *Makkabaios* was a surname given to Judas son of Mattathias (1 Macc. 2:4 et al.; *Jos. Ant.* 12.6.1 §266); it was later applied to his brothers and, more generally, to the anti-Hellenistic party of the 2nd cent. B.C. and to the HASMONEAN dynasty. The derivation of the name Maccabee is quite obscure. If from the verb *kābâ H3882* (piel "to extinguish"), it may mean "extinguisher [of Hellenism]." More probably it is related to Aramaic *maqqābā'* and means either "hammer," referring to his crushing military exploits, or "hammer-head," referring to a physical characteristic (cf. *m. Bek.* 7:1). The latter meaning is preferable because it was common in the Hellenistic world to designate people by their physical characteristics and seems to be the case in the designation of Judas's brothers (1 Macc. 2:2-4).

1. Historical background
    1. Alexander the Great
    2. Israel under the Ptolemies
    3. Israel under the Seleucids
2. Maccabean revolt
    1. Antiochus's vengeance
    2. Mattathias
    3. Judas Maccabee
    4. Jonathan

I. **Historical background.** Only a brief historical summary will be given in order to provide a proper setting for the Maccabean revolt. All dates are B.C.

***A. Alexander the Great (356-323).*** ALEXANDER THE GREAT was born in 356 and from thirteen years of age was taught by Aristotle. He was convinced of the Greek way of life and consequently his dream was to hellenize the world (see HELLENISM). With the death of his father Philip of Macedon in 336, he made immediate plans to invade the Persian empire. He invaded ASIA MINOR in the spring of 334, defeating PERSIA at the Granicus River and continued to push them out of Asia Minor. In October 333 he defeated Darius III at Issus and marched southward conquering TYRE and GAZA. Finally EGYPT was in his control by the winter of 332/1.

Sometime while he was in Palestine (it is difficult to know the exact sequence), according to JOSEPHUS(*Ant.* 11.8.5 §§329-39; cf. also *b. Yoma* 69a), he visited JERUSALEM and offered sacrifices to God in the TEMPLE under the direction of the high priest Jaddua. The priests showed him from the book of Daniel that he was the one predicted to destroy the Persian empire (cf. Dan. 8:5-7, 20-21; see DANIEL, BOOK OF). He accepted this interpretation and, being favorably disposed, granted the request that Jews in Palestine, Babylonia, and Media be allowed to live according to their ancestral laws and be exempt from tribute every SABBATICAL YEAR . Hence there was a friendly relationship between Alexander and the Jews. In the spring of 331 he marched eastward and defeated Persia and declared himself king over Persia by July 330. He died in 323.

***B. Israel under the Ptolemies (323-198).*** Following Alexander's death there was much strife among his generals in their attempt to gain and hold their portions of his kingdom. By 311 SELEUCUS was acknowledged as the ruler of Babylonia, this year marking the commencement of the Seleucid dynasty/era. Palestine was the battlefield for much of the strife. Palestine was under Ptolemaic control (see PTOLEMY) from 323 to 315, when Antigonus (ruler over Asia Minor and N Syria) took possession of it; Ptolemy regained it briefly in 312, but he had to withdraw, leaving Antigonus in control.

In 301 Antigonus was killed in a decisive battle at Ipsus in PHRYGIA. TWO years earlier an agreement had been made that on Antigonus's defeat, COELESYRIA should be given to Ptolemy. The latter had not taken part in the battle so it was now decided to give it to Seleucus, but Ptolemy forestalled Seleucus and took possession of Palestine. This action was the bone of contention between the two houses for decades to come. Palestine remained under Ptolemaic control until it was lost to the Seleucids in the person of ANTIOCHUS III (the Great) at the Battle of Panias (CAESAREA PHILIPPI of the NT) in 198 (Jos. *Ant.* 12.3.3 §§132-37; cf. Dan. 11:13-16). The Seleucids had now acquired the land which they considered rightly theirs.

***C. Israel under the Seleucids (198-63).*** Israel remained under the Seleucids until POMPEY made it a province of Rome in 63 B.C. The scope of this article deals only with the first sixty-five years of the Seleucids' reign, in conjunction with the Jewish reaction toward them (for the later development, see HASMONEAN). After the victory over the Ptolemies at Panias, Antiochus III granted the Jews freedom of 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 also enjoyed for the first three years (after that period they were exempted a third part of their taxes); and released the prisoners (Jos. *Ant.* 12.3.3-4 §§138-53). Hence the Jews enjoyed a brief period of tranquillity under the Seleucid rule. One reason for these developments was that the Seleucids were concentrating their efforts in the western part of their empire. ROME had defeated Hannibal at Zama (near Carthage) in 202 and then the Macedonian monarchy in 197. After making a peace treaty with Ptolemy V Epiphanes (cf. Polybius, *Hist.* 28.20; Appian, *The Syrian Wars* 5; Jos. *Ant.* 12.4.1 §154; Dan. 11:17), Antiochus invaded Thrace in 196, and with the influence of Hannibal 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. A peace treaty was signed at Apamea in 189, where Antiochus agreed to give up Asia Minor N and W of the Taurus Mountains, relinquish much of his military force, and 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, *The Syrian Wars,* 36-39; Polybius, *Hist.* 20-21; Livy, *Hist.* 36-37; Dan. 11:18-19; 1 Macc. 1:10; 8:6-8;Jos.*Ant.* 12.10.6 §414).

Antiochus was succeeded by his second son, Seleucus IV Philopator, in 187. Because of the

Palestine at the time of the Maccabees.

heavy indemnity to be paid to the Romans he had to abstain from expensive adventures. The Jews remember him in his unsuccessful attempt to rob the temple of Jerusalem via his chief minister

HELIODORUS (2 Macc. 3:7; cf. also Dan. 11:20). In 175 Heliodorus assassinated Seleucus and attempted to seize the throne, but Antiochus III's third son, Antiochus IV Epiphanes, having just been released from Rome as a hostage, went to Syria and ousted Heliodorus and made himself king. Since his newly acquired kingdom lacked political and financial stability, he attempted to unify it by a vigorous hellenization program (Tac. *Hist.* 5.8).

Religion was one of the unifying factors by which he encouraged the people (c. 169) to worship his own person in the form of the Olympian ZEUS. His title *Theos Epiphanes,* meaning "the manifest god," was changed by his enemies to *Epimanes* (which requires only one letter change in the Greek spelling), meaning "mad man" or "insane" (Polybius, *Hist.* 26.10). Soon after Antiochus's accession he was called upon to settle a dispute between the Jewish high priest ONIAS III, who was pro-Ptolemaic, and Onias's brother JASON (a Gk. name which he preferred over the Heb. name JOSHUA), who was pro-Seleucid. In 174 Jason secured the high priesthood by offering a larger payment of money to Antiochus and by pledging his wholehearted support in the hellenization of the Jerusalemites (1 Macc. 1:10-15; 2 Macc. 4:7-17; Jos. *Ant.* 12.5.1 §237-41). In 171 Jason's friend MENELAUS offered Antiochus 300 more talents than Jason for the position of high priest. Antiochus gladly accepted this, for it would help him financially; and since Menelaus was outside the Aaronic line (according to 2 Macc. 4:23 and 3:4 he was a Benjamite) it would break a great unifying force among the Jews. Jason went into hiding in the Ammonite country.

Next year in 170 the amateur regents Eulaeus and Lenaeus advised their minor king Ptolemy VI Philometor to avenge Panias and recover Coelesyria. Antiochus got wind of their plans and with a large army invaded Egypt in 170/169, defeating Ptolemy VI. He proclaimed himself as king of Egypt and allowed a rivalry to exist in Egypt by making Ptolemy VI Philometor king of MEMPHIS and his brother Ptolemy VIII Euergetes king in ALEXANDRIA (Dan. 11:25-27). On his return from Egypt, Antiochus heard that the Jerusalemites with the help of Jason (who came out of hiding) had forced Menelaus to take refuge in the Acra (a fortress the Seleucids had built in Jerusalem). The Jews had revolted against Menelaus because he plundered the temple, and Antiochus, feeling this was rebellion against himself, decided to subdue Jerusalem (2 Macc. 5:11-17). With Menelaus, Antiochus desecrated and plundered the temple of its treasures, 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).

## II. Maccabean revolt

***A. Antiochus's vengeance (168-166).*** The next contact Jerusalem had with Antiochus IV was after his second campaign in Egypt. The rival brothers had agreed to unite against their uncle Antiochus IV. The latter went to Egypt in the spring of 168 and subdued Memphis; but when he was at Eleusis, a suburb of Alexandria, the Roman representative Popillius Laenas (whom Antiochus knew at Rome) handed him an ultimatum from the senate to evacuate Egypt at once (cf. Polybius, *Hist.* 29.2.1-4; 29.27.1-8; Livy, *Hist.* 45.12.1-6; Dio-dorus Siculus, *Bibl. Hist.* 31.2; Velleius Paterculus, *Hist. Rom.* 1.10.1-2; Appian, *The Syrian Wars* 66; Justinus, *Epitome* 34.3; Dan. 11:28-30). Having learned of Rome's might when he served as a hostage for fourteen years, he quickly retreated.

With bitterness he retreated to Palestine (Polybius, *Hist.* 29.27.9; Dan. 11:30) and determined to make Palestine 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. In 167 Antiochus determined to exterminate the Jewish religion by forbidding them to live in accordance

with their ancestral laws. He forbade the observance of the SABBATH, customary FEASTS, traditional SACRIFICES, and CIRCUMCISION of children, and ordered the destruction of copies of the TORAH. Idolatrous altars were set up, and the Jews were commanded to offer unclean sacrifices and to eat swine's flesh (2 Macc. 6:18). The climactic deed was on Kislev 25 (16 December 167), when the temple of Jerusalem became the place of the worship of the Olympian

The high desert butte of Masada was once fortified by Jonathan Maccabee. (In this aerial view, looking N, the excavations reveal structures from the time of Herod.)

Zeus; swine's flesh was offered upon the altar of the Greek god, 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 day of each month, since that date celebrated the birthday of Antiochus Epiphanes; hence the sacrifices were in effect offered to him.

***B. Mattathias (166).*** Every village in Palestine was required to set up its heathen altar, and imperial legates were present to see that citizens offered the pagan sacrifices. In the village of MODEIN (c. 20 mi. NW of Jerusalem) there lived an aged priest named MATTATHIAS who lived with his five sons—John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar, and Jonathan. Antiochus's agent came to Modein compelling the people to renounce the God of the Hebrews and to offer unclean sacrifices. Mattathias, as an acknowledged leader of the village, was asked to be an example by being the first to make an offering, but he refused. When another Jew stepped out to offer the sacrifice, Mattathias slew both him and the king's legate. He then tore down the altar and proclaimed, "Let every one who is zealous for the law and supports the covenant come out with me" (1 Macc. 2:15 –27; Jos. *Ant.* 12.6.1-2 §§265-72; Dan. 11:32-35). Mattathias, his sons, and many followers fled to the mountains. This marked the beginning of the Maccabean revolt.

While hiding, the rebels heard the news that a thousand men, women, and children had been slain because they refused to fight on the Sabbath. To avoid extermination, Mattathias and his friends decided that they could defend themselves even on the Sabbath (1 Macc. 2:19-41). It was about this time that the Hasidim (see HASIDEANS), who were a religious group within JUDAISM with a great passion for the law of God, joined Mattathias in a struggle against hellenization. Mattathias's forces

waged war against the Jews who complied with Antiochus, tore down heathen altars, circumcised children who had been left uncircumcised, and exhorted Jews everywhere to follow in their struggle. During this struggle Mattathias died (166), leaving the battle in the hands of his third son Judas, with whom a new era in the fighting commenced (1 Macc. 2:42-70; Jos.*Ant.* 12.6.2-4 §§273-86).

### *C. Judas Maccabee (166-160)*

**1. Rededication of the temple (166-164).** Mattathias's selection of Judas was the right choice, for he was the terror of his enemies and the pride of his nation. Under him the Maccabean struggle

Marble statue of Zeus, Greek god of the sky (2nd cent. A.D.). The Maccabean revolt was fueled by an altar to Zeus placed in the Jerusalem temple.

went from guerrilla warfare to well-planned battles. In his first year of leadership he became popular and won more volunteers to fight for freedom when he defeated the Syrian governors APOLLONIUS and SERON (1 Macc. 3:10-26; Jos. *Ant.* 12.7.1 §§287-92). Since Antiochus was having troubles in the E, he ordered LYSIAS, regent of the western part of the empire, to make an end of the rebellion and to 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). But 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 to attack Jerusalem from the S, but was completely defeated at BETH ZUR and withdrew to ANTIOCH OF SYRIA (1 Macc.4:28-35;Jos.Ant. 12.7.5 §§313-15).

Judas had regained the entire country, and his next move was to restore the worship in the temple. He marched on Jerusalem and occupied all of it except the Acra. This left him free to restore the temple. He selected priests who had remained faithful, destroyed the altar of the Olympian Zeus

and built a new one, and rebuilt and refurbished the temple. And so on Kislev 25 (14 December 164), exactly three years after its desecration, the temple with its altar was rededicated and the daily sacrifices commenced (1 Macc. 4:36-59; 2 Macc. 10:1-8; Jos. *Ant.* 12.7.6-7 §§316-26). This marked the commencement of the Jewish Feast of DEDICATION or Lights (Heb. Hanukkah). Immediately after this, Judas fortified the Jerusalem walls and the city of Beth Zur on the border of IDUMEA. This completes the first stage of the Maccabean war. Up to this point they never experienced defeat.

**2. Religious freedom gained (163).** The victories of Judas had resulted in making Judea reasonably secure. There were two things Judas still needed to accomplish. First, he and his brothers Jonathan and Simon determined to gain independence for all of Palestine. All the Jews in all of Palestine must be brought under their rule. Therefore Judas carried out several campaigns against IDUMEA in the S, BAEAN in TRANSJORDAN, and AMMON NE of the Dead Sea (1 Macc. 5:1-8). Because other Jewish communities asked for their help, he sent his brother Simon with an army into GALILEE while he and his other brother Jonathan went to GILEAD. Subsequently Judas went against Idumea, capturing HEBRON, and then against the PHILISTINES, capturing ASHDOD (1 Macc. 5:9-68; Jos. *Ant.* 12.8.1-6 §§327-53).

Having accomplished his first goal, Judas now started on his second one, namely, to get rid of the Syrian control of the Acra in Jerusalem. Their domination was a constant reminder that Antiochus's decree forbidding the practice of the Jewish religion had not been withdrawn. In the spring or summer of 163 Judas laid siege to it. There were some Syrian soldiers and Hellenistic Jews who escaped and went to Antioch for help (1 Macc. 6:18-27). Antiochus IV was already dead and was succeeded by his nine-year-old son Antiochus V Eupator. On his deathbed Antiochus IV appointed one of his friends, Philip, as regent and guardian over Antiochus V, but Lysias, who had been given these privileges at an earlier date, asserted his responsibility by crowning Antiochus V as king (1 Macc. 6:5-17; both were in Antioch when Antiochus IV died). Immediately Lysias and the boy-king went S where he defeated Judas at Beth Zechariah (SW of Jerusalem) and laid siege to Jerusalem (1 Macc. 6:28-54). Judas being in desperate straits because of the food shortage (it was a sabbatical year) was saved when Lysias heard that Philip was marching from Persia to Syria to claim the kingdom for himself. Hence Lysias was anxious to make a peace treaty with Judas and guaranteed him religious freedom, but he did tear down the walls of Jerusalem (1 Macc. 6:55-63). The Jews were still under the Syrian rule, but had obtained religious freedom.

**3. Political freedom desired (162-160).** Having achieved the goal of the Maccabean revolt, Judas now wanted political independence for the nation. The Syrian government did not want this, so they had to strengthen the Hellenistic element among the Jews. Although the reports are conflicting, it seems that Lysias appointed ALCIMUS (Heb. Jakim, Jehoiakim) as high priest. He was of Aaronic descent, but ideologically a Hellenist (cf. 1 Macc. 7:14; 2 Macc. 14:3-7; Jos. *Ant.* 12.9.7 §§384-88; 20.10.3 §235). This was unacceptable to Judas (prob. because Alcimus was a hellenizer and possibly also Judas may have wanted the position of high priest for himself), so he prevented Alcimus from taking up his position in Jerusalem.

Meanwhile there were political upheavals in Syria. DEMETRIUS, nephew of Antiochus IV and cousin of Antiochus V, escaped from Rome, seized and put to death both Lysias and Antiochus V, and assumed the throne of Syria as Demetrius I Soter. The Hellenistic Jews and Alcimus complained against Judas, and consequently Demetrius confirmed Alcimus as the high priest in 162 and sent him to Jerusalem with an army under general BACCHIDES. Certain scribes and the Hasidim sought to

establish peace with Alcimus and Bacchides, which would be a marked split from Judas's ranks. The reason for this move is not mentioned, but probably it was that the Hasidim were satisfied that Alcimus was of the Aaronic line and that the Syrians had guaranteed them freedom of worship.

Alcimus, however, who had promised that he would cause no evil to them, slew sixty of the Hasidim; hence they turned against him and returned to Judas (1 Macc. 7:15-20; Jos. *Ant.* 12.10.2 §§393-97). Alcimus asked Demetrius for more military help against Judas and his followers, who were causing trouble (2 Macc. 14:6). Demetrius sent an army with general NICANOR in order to capture Judas and to confirm Alcimus in the high priesthood. Nicanor on Adar 13 (9 March 161) was defeated and killed at ADASA (the Jews celebrated the victory annually as Nicanor's day) and his army fled to Gazara (GEZER) and was wiped out. Alcimus fled to Syria (1 Macc. 7:26-50; Jos.*Ant.* 12.103-5 §§398-412).

At this stage Judas sent ambassadors to Rome to ask for protection against Syria. This move by Judas reveals his political aspirations. A treaty was concluded, and Rome warned Demetrius that any interference with Judas would mean war with Rome. However, before Rome could have done anything, Demetrius had already taken steps to avenge Nicanor's defeat. Only weeks after the defeat Demetrius sent an army under Bacchides who was accompanied by Alcimus. Because of the might of the Syrian army, many men deserted Judas and in a battle at ELASA (c. 10-12 mi. N of Jerusalem) Judas was slain. His brothers Jonathan and Simon took his body to be buried at Modein (1 Macc. 8:1—9:22; Jos.*Ant.* 12.10.6—12.11.2 §§413-34).

Tombs of the Maccabees at Modein.

***D. Jonathan (160-143).*** Judas's death was a great blow to morale. His youngest brother Jonathan was selected to succeed him. The Hellenists were in control temporarily while Jonathan and his followers were in the wilderness of TEKOA, only able to carry on guerrilla warfare. Bacchides fortified Jerusalem and other Judean cities against a possible Maccabean attack. In May of 159 Alcimus died and soon after that Bacchides left his command in Judah and returned to Antioch. After two years of peace the hellenizers requested Bacchides to return to Judah, where he suffered defeat at BETHBASI (6 mi. S of Jerusalem). Bacchides made a peace treaty with Jonathan.

This peace treaty greatly weakened the hellenizers, for they no longer enjoyed the undivided support of the Syrian government. Moreover, since Demetrius I did not appoint a high priest after Alcimus's death, they had no real leadership, and certainly with this new peace treaty Jonathan would oppose an appointment of a high priest since he would have authority over Jonathan. After the treaty was signed, Bacchides returned to Antioch and Jonathan made his headquarters at MICMASH (9 mi. N

of Jerusalem), where he judged the people, punishing the hellenizers (1 Macc. 9:23-73; Jos. *Ant.* 13.1.1-6 §§1-34). For the next five years Judah enjoyed peace and since a high priest was never selected, Jonathan's power increased.

In 152 Judah was further helped by internal struggles for power in Syria. A pretender, Alexander Balas, who claimed to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, challenged Demetrius I. Both vied with each other for Jonathan's support. Demetrius first offered to hand over to Jonathan the Jewish hostages held in the Acra and permitted Jonathan to raise an army. Also Demetrius abandoned all the fortresses except Beth Zur, Acra, and Gazara (cf. 1 Macc. 10:14; 11:41; 13:43). Jonathan exploited the situation and moved his headquarters from Micmash to Jerusalem (1 Macc. 10:1-14; Jos.*Ant*. 13.2.1 §§35-42). Alexander Balas in turn appointed Jonathan high priest (there had been no high priest since Alcimus's death in May of 159) and gave him the title "Friend of the King" (1 Macc. 10:15-21;Jos.Ant.13.2.2§ §43-45).

Not to be outdone, Demetrius offered more promises: exemption from many taxes, surrender of


The burning of the Hanukkah candles even today is used to remember the liberation of Jerusalem by Judas Maccabee.

the Acra, attachment of three toparchies of Samaria to Jerusalem, subsidy of the Jewish army and temple, and money for rebuilding the city walls. Fortunately Jonathan sided with Alexander Balas, for in 150 Demetrius was slain in a battle against Alexander. Alexander made Jonathan general and governor of Judah and was considered one of his chief friends (1 Macc. 10:22-66;Jos.*Ant.* 13.2.3-4 §§46-61; 13.4.1-2 §§80-85). This was certainly a strange alliance—Alexander Balas, professed son of Antiochus Epiphanes, in league with a Maccabean!

In 147 Alexander Balas was challenged by Demetrius's son, Demetrius II Nicator, and was finally defeated and assassinated two years later. Demetrius II was only sixteen years of age when he ascended the throne in 145. Jonathan took advantage of the new king's inexperience and his insecure position on the throne by attacking the Acra, where the hellenizing Jews were still in control. Demetrius demanded that he withdraw the siege and report to him at Ptolemais. Jonathan boldly ordered his men to continue the siege while he went to Ptolemais with many gifts for Demetrius. Impressed by his audacity, Demetrius made him "Friend of the King," confirmed his high priesthood, and granted Jonathan's request of annexation of three districts of Samaria to Judah and exemption from tribute. Demetrius being weakened by the concessions and having trouble with his own army, Diodotus TRYPHO (a general of Alexander Balas) claimed the Syrian throne for Alexander Balas's son, Antiochus VI. 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.

Jonathan turned to the diplomatic field by sending an embassy to Rome to reconfirm their

alliance with Rome. Jonathan's successful campaigns from Gaza to Damascus and his fortification of cities throughout Judah made Trypho apprehensive. By deceit Trypho was able to convince Jonathan to come with him to Ptolemais with only a few men. After Jonathan arrived Trypho arrested him. At Adida (near Modein) Trypho bargained with Jonathan's brother Simon to release Jonathan for 100 talents and two of Jonathan's sons as hostages. Simon complied but Trypho did not

**THE MACCABEAN-HASMONEAN PERIOD**

| Seleucid Kings | Jewish Leaders | Ptolemaic Kings |
|---|---|---|
| Seleucus I (Nicator) 321 – 281 | | Ptolemy I (Soter) 323-285 |
| Antiochus I (Soter) 281 – 261 | | |
| Antiochus II (Theos) 261 – 246 | | Ptolemy II (Philadelphus) 285-246 |
| Seleucus II (Callinicus) 246-225 | | Ptolemy III (Euergetes) 246-222 |
| Seleucus III (Soter) 225-223 | | Ptolemy IV (Philopator) 221-205 |
| Antiochus III (The Great) 223-187 | | Ptolemy V (Epiphanes) 204-180 |
| Seleucus IV (Philopator) 187-175 | | Ptolemy VI (Philometor) 180-145 |
| Antiochus IV (Epiphanes) 175-163 | Mattathias 166; Judas 166-16 | |
| Antiochus V(Eupator) 163-162 | | |
| Demetrius I (Soter) 162-150 | Jonathan 160-143 | |
| Alexander Balas 150-145 | | Ptolemy VII (Neos Philopator) 145 |
| Demetrius II (Nicator) 145-139 | Simon 143-135 | Ptolemy VII (Neos Philopator) 145 |
| (Antiochus VI [Epiphanes Dionysus] 145-142) | | Ptolemy VIII (Euergetes II *or* Physcon) 145-116 |
| Antiochus VII (Sidetes) 139-129 | John Hyrcanus I 135-104 | |
| Demetrius II (Nicator) 129-125 | | |
| Antiochus VIII (Grypus) 125/4-113 | | Ptolemy IX (Soter II or Lathyrus) 116-110 |
| Antiochus IX (Philopator | | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cyzicenus)113-111 | | |
| Antiochus VIII (Grypus) 111 –95 | Aristobulus 104-103 | Ptolemy X (Alexander) 110-109, 108-88 |
| Seleucus VI 95-54 | Alexander Jannaeus 103-76 | |
| Antiochus X(Eusebes) 94-83 | | Ptolemy IX (Soter II or Lathyrus) 88-80 |
| Tigranes, King of Armenia 83-69 | Salome Alexandra 76-67 | Ptolemy XI (Alexander II) 80 (20 days) |
| | | Ptolemy XII (Philopator Philadelphus Neos Dionysus or Auletes) 80-51 |
| Antiochus XIII (Asiaticus) 69-65 | Hyrcanus II 67 (3 months); Aristobulus 67-63 | Cleopatra VII 51-30 |

free Jonathan. Trypho killed Jonathan at BASKAMA (NE shore of the Sea of Galilee) in 143; he was buried at Modein (1 Macc. 10:67-13:30; Jos. *Ant.* 13.4.3-6 §§86-212). The only remaining son of Mattathias, SIMON MACCABEE, became Jonathan's successor. For his reign and the subsequent period, see HASMONEAN.

(Important works on the Maccabean period include E. R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus, 2* vols. [1902]; id., *Jerusalem under the High-Priests* [1904], 69-108; E. J. Bickerman, *From Ezra to the Last of the Maccabees* [1947], 93-145; V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* [1959], 117–239; S. K. Eddy, *The King Is Dead* [1961], 183-238; S. Zeitlin, *The Rise and Fall of the Judaean State* [1962], 1:37-140; B. Reicke, *New Testament Era* [1968], 42-62; *HJP,* rev. ed. [1973-87], 1:125-88; E.J. Bickerman, *The God of the Maccabees: Studies on the Meaning and Origin of the Maccabean Revolt* [1979; German orig. 1937]; B. *Bar-Kochva, Judas Maccabaeus:The Jewish Struggle against the Seleucids* [1988]; D.J. Harrington, *The Maccabean Revolt: Anatomy of a Biblical Revolution* [1988]; W. D. Davies and L. Finkelstein, eds., *The Cambridge History of Judaism, Vol. 2: The Hellenistic Age* [1989]; L. L. Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian, 2* vols. [1992], ch. 5; A. I. Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era: An Interpretation* [1997]; J. Sievers, *Synopsis of the Greek Sources for the Hasmonean period: 1–2 Maccabees and Josephus, War 1 and Antiquities 12-14* [2001]; Y. Aharoni et al., *The Carta Bible Atlas,* 4th ed. [2002], 142-53; L. L. Grabbe, *History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period,* 4 vols. [2004-].)

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**Maccabees, Books of.** A series of books relating events that focus on Judas MACCABEE and other heroes in the Jewish struggle for religious and political freedom; 1 and 2 Maccabees are included in the APOCRYPHA, whereas 3 and 4 Maccabees are usually ranked among the PSEUDEPIGRAPHA. These four books vary greatly in historical reliability, content, and style.

1. First Maccabees
2. Second Maccabees

3. Third Maccabees
4. Fourth Maccabees
5. Canonicity

## I. First Maccabees

***A. Title.*** By the late 2nd cent. A.D. the title *ta Makkabaika* ("The Things Maccabean"; EUSEBIUS, *Eccl. Hist.* 6.25.2, quoting ORIGEN) was used to refer apparently to either 1 or 2 Maccabees or both. Possibly only 2 Maccabees was intended, because the surname Maccabeus (meaning "hammerer" or "mallet-headed" or "extinguisher") applies in its strictest sense only to Judas, who dominates all of 2 Maccabees but shares the spotlight with his brothers in the longer history of 1 Maccabees.

JOSEPHUS *(Ant.* 12.6.1 §265) asserts that MATTATHIAS, father of Judas and his four brothers, was descended from Asamonaios. Since the TALMUD refers to this famous family as HASMONEAN, whereas the nickname Maccabee does not occur in Semitic literature before the Common Era (A.D.), it is possible that the original title of 1 Maccabees was "Book of the House of the Hasmoneans."This designation occurs in JOSIPPON (a Hebrew adaptation of Josephus's writings) to indicate a source for the wars of Judas.

Origen knew the book(s) also as *Sarbēethsabanaiel* (Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* 6.25.2), an obvious Semitic term of uncertain meaning. If it represents Hebrew *śr byt šbnh) l*, it would mean "the prince of the house that God built." If it is a badly corrupted title, it might be equivalent to an Aramaic phrase meaning "the book of the house of the princes of God." CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (c. A.D. 195) refers to 1 Maccabees as *to tōn Makkabaikōn (Stromata* 1.21 §123), and Eusebius specifically mentions *hē prōtē kaloumenē tōn Makkabaiōn biblos (Demonstration* 8.2.72). Greek MSS of the SEPTUAGINT commonly designate 1 and 2 Maccabees as *Makkabaiōn A* and *B*.

***B. Unity.*** In spite of the chronological order and sustained style of the book, scholars have occasionally questioned the authenticity of 1 Macc. 13:43 to 16:24. The material in these chapters was used sparingly if at all by Josephus in his *Antiquities,* so some have concluded that his copy ended prior to this point and that the final chapters were a later addition. A few small contradictions in ch. 14 do lend themselves to this view, but there are discrepancies earlier in the book also. Josephus apparently stopped using 1 Maccabees as a source for the period following Simon's induction as high priest owing to his earlier work, *The Jewish War,* in which he had utilized the material of Nicholas of Damascus. Josephus felt free to modify and amplify his sources, so his switch back to a previous work does not prove that the chapters in question are spurious.

***C. Sources.*** From several standpoints it is clear that written sources were used by the author of 1 Maccabees. Of particular importance are several letters, perhaps accessible to the author from the high priest's archives in the temple (cf. 1 Macc. 14:23; 16:23-24). Chapter 8 contains a letter from Rome confirming an alliance with the Jews, and in spite of earlier skepticism, scholars today accept its genuineness. Another letter from the Roman consul Lucius to Ptolemy Euergetes (15:16-21) explaining the Jewish alliance appears largely authentic. Several letters from Syrian rulers to the Maccabees are likewise included. Most are directed to Jonathan (10:18-20; 11:30-57) and Simon (13:36-40; 15:2-9) and exhibit authenticity except in various details. Correspondence between the Spartans and Jews (ch. 12) is open to question, particularly the letter from the Spartans to Onias (vv. 20-21). A Spartan message to Simon (14:20-23) does at least reflect an official document.

The existence of a "biography" of Judas Maccabeus is postulated on the large proportion of material relating to him. Half of the book covers only seven years (166-160/59 B.C.), in contrast to the twenty-five year span for the rest of the book. In 1 Macc. 9:22 one discovers that the rest of the acts of Judas are not written since they were so numerous. This contrasts with the usual summary of a king's reign found in Scripture (2 Ki. 8:23; 10:34; et al.). It may indicate that the author concentrated only on those events concerning Judas that were recorded.

Judas's biography may not have differed much from the annals that Jonathan and Simon would have kept as high priests. The book ends with a reference to the rest of John Hyrcanus's activities that were recorded in the chronicles of his high priesthood (1 Macc. 16:24). Since John's accession is noted in 1 Maccabees, but little else, the author wishes to indicate an additional source for information regarding him. Chronicles about the rule of Jonathan and Simon were undoubtedly available in the archives also and were utilized in this historical sketch.

***D. Authorship.*** In a period when party divisions were not clearly defined in Judaism, it is difficult to label the author either a PHARISEE or a SADDUCEE. He was a Palestinian who knew the terrain well judging from his precise descriptions of battle locations. Regions outside Palestine are little known to the author. He obviously revered the law and the temple and vigorously opposed paganism. He is careful to avoid the name of God, referring to deity as "heaven" primarily. Such caution reflects the Pharisees' practice of substituting for "Yahweh" lest they profane the divine name.

Perhaps the token summary of John Hyrcanus's reign indicates that the author disapproved of certain tendencies of the Hasmonean rulers. Toward the end of his rule, John openly rebuffed the Pharisees and espoused the Sadducean cause. Dissatisfaction with this policy or the growing worldliness of the king may be reflected in the failure to discuss John's rule. The final verses imply that he had been ruler for some years.

Other factors, however, seem to point toward the Sadducees as the party of the author. He does not refer to the resurrection of the dead, not even when great leaders have fallen (1 Macc. 9:9-10). There is likewise no mention of angels or spirits, and strict Pharisaic SABBATH rules appear to be disregarded at times (2:40-41). Certainly there is no attempt to antagonize the Sadducees.

It would be possible to identify the writer with the HASIDEANS or Hasidim, the "pious ones," embracing both Pharisees and ESSENES. Yet, even the Hasidim are seen in a bad light for accepting ALCIMUS as chief priest in spite of Judas's objections. Contrary to the suggestion of some, the author probably was not directly related to the Hasmonean family, if one considers his criticism of their policies. It is more likely that he respected them highly while not actually belonging to their clan.

***E. Date.*** Since the author does not side decisively with either the Pharisees or the Sadducees, some scholars point to a date of about 110 B.C. for the book, before John Hyrcanus's split with the Pharisees. The reference to the rest of John's acts in the chronicles of the high priesthood (1 Macc. 16:24) suggests that the author was living toward the end of John's reign (134-104 B.C.) or shortly after his death. Those who do not accept the trustworthiness of the last few verses tend to place the book in the early part of John's rule.

***F. Purpose and style.*** The author aimed at providing a chronological history of the key events surrounding the lives and accomplishments of the Maccabees. He extolled these valiant warriors and the little nation which they led to independence under God. This work may have been an unofficial history geared to rebuke the growing secularization of the Hasmoneans who succeeded the

Maccabees.

The structure and purpose of the book parallel EZRA and NEHEMIAH in certain respects. Just as those canonical books record God's providence over Israel under Persian rule, so 1 Maccabees describes God's care during the Greek period. Some assert that this book was written as a sequel to Ezra and Nehemiah. The inclusion of decrees and letters in those two books does resemble the many items of official correspondence cited in 1 Maccabees. Occasionally the flow of the narrative is interrupted by one of these letters, but they are usually well integrated with the writer's own knowledge and other eyewitness accounts, so that the result is a credible history.

Unlike the other books of Maccabees, the style is simple, straightforward, and factual, with little effort to embellish the narrative or to interpret events. References to the OT abound, as the Maccabees draw courage from the heroes of old (1 Macc. 2:26; 4:30; 7:1-20). Scriptural terms and phrases are sprinkled throughout the text (3:45; 9:21-22) and predicted events find some fulfillment. Compare the "great tribulation" (9:27) after Judas's death and the prosperity of the "vine and fig tree" during Simon's reign (14:4, 12; cf. Mic. 4:4).

Several poetic sections, usually dependent on biblical passages, appear in the book. Laments occur most often, mourning Antiochus's destruction of Jerusalem (1 Macc. 1:24-28), the desecration of the temple (1:36-40), the murder of many Hasidim (7:17), and the tragic death of Judas (9:21). The lament in ch. 7 is an adaptation of Ps. 79:2-3. An imprecatory prayer directed against Nicanor occurs in 7:37-38, and eulogies of Judas and Simon are recorded in 3:3-9 and 14:4-15.

***G. Contents.*** The narrative may be outlined as follows:

1. Introduction (1 Macc. 1:1-9)
2. The persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes (1:10-64)
3. The launching of the revolt (ch. 2)
4. The career of Judas (3:1—9:22)
5. The career of Jonathan (9:23—12:53)
6. The career of Simon (13:1—16:16)
7. The accession of John Hyrcanus (16:17-24)

First Maccabees describes the Jewish struggle for independence from the tyranny of ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes in 175 B.C. through the reign of SIMON MACCABEE in 134. After a nine-verse introduction referring to the exploits of ALEXANDER THE GREAT, the division of his empire, and the rise of the SELEUCIDS, the author outlines Antiochus's outrages against the Jews, culminating in the "abomination of desolation" (1 Macc. 1:10-64). Chapter 2 describes the fervent zeal of Mattathias, a priest who, along with his five sons, launched a bitter revolt in MODEIN against Antiochus's soldiers and any Jews who collaborated with the Syrians out of expediency.

The major section of the book records the heroics of Judas, the most illustrious of the five sons. Several victories won after the death of Mattathias enabled Judas to recapture Jerusalem and rededicate the temple (1 Macc. 4:36-61). The Jews purified the temple on the twenty-fifth of Kislev 164, a date commemorated in the Jewish feast of Hanukkah (see DEDICATION, FEAST OF). Judas and his brothers next won victories in GILEAD and GALILEE (5:17-68). After the death of Antiochus (6:1-17), Judas battled various generals and kings, including Antiochus Eupator, Lysias, and Nicanor. A treaty with Lysias (6:55-63) afforded a brief respite during this time. To pressure the Syrians, Judas concluded a treaty with Rome just prior to his death at Elasa against Bacchides (8:1—9:22).

Judas's brother and successor Jonathan achieved further victories against the Seleucids, who were plagued internally with political intrigue. Using this turmoil to advantage, Jonathan received from them the title of high priest. He also maintained peaceful relations with Rome and the Spartans, only to be murdered by his supposed ally, TRYPHO (1 Macc. 9:23—12:53).

Simon, the surviving brother, ruled from 142 to 134 and gained full political independence by capturing the citadel (ACRA), the hated center of HELLENISM in Jerusalem, which was manned by a garrison. A special decree set up in the temple guaranteed to Simon and his successors the offices of ruler and high priest until a faithful prophet would arise in Judea (1 Macc. 14:41-44). Antiochus VII even permitted Simon to coin his own money (15:1-9), although he later denied him this valuable concession (15:10-31). Simon and his sons were victorious over Antiochus, but an army officer named Ptolemy assassinated Simon along with two of his sons, Mattathias and Judas (16:3-16). John Hyrcanus, a third son, escaped and assumed control of the government (16:17-24). With the accession of this king, the book ends rather abruptly.

***H. Teaching.*** The providence of God over Israel is paramount in the book, for the Jewish nation was a righteous center in the midst of an ungodly world. Israel was vitally important for other nations (1 Macc. 10:4-5; 11:3-8; 14:10-18), but their attempts to overwhelm her were repulsed by a God who controls history at every turn. Antiochus Epiphanes died because of his wicked acts against Jerusalem (6:1-17).

Numerical superiority means little in battle if the faithful seek God in prayer. Repeatedly, Judas prayed before conflict and encouraged his men to cry to heaven like the faithful of old (1 Macc. 4:10, 30; 7:1-20, 36-38, 41-42). Such trust in God should, however, be coupled with sound military strategy. The Maccabees were instruments of God for the preservation of the faith, and they frequently are compared with OT heroes. Mattathias's death-dealing zeal for the law paralleled PHINEHAS'S slaughter of ZIMRI (2:26, alluding to Num. 25:10-15). Judas was a savior of Israel (1 Macc. 9:21) like former judges and kings, and his death is lamented in terms used for SAUL and JONATHAN, "How is the mighty fallen!" (9:21; cf. 2 Sam. 1:19, 25, 27). Victory, however, was due ultimately to God (1 Macc. 5:62), and the Maccabees are not exalted unduly. The success of the ruling family was secondary to the destiny of the nation as a whole (1 Macc. 4:59; 5:16; 7:48-49), and disillusionment with their later policies is implied.

The messianic hope appears in connection with a faithful prophet who would come to deal with the profaned altar (1 Macc. 4:42,47), and to replace the dynasty of Simon as ruler and high priest (14:41). This "prophet" relates undoubtedly to the prophet like MOSES mentioned in Deut. 18:15, 18. Some features of the messianic age are anticipated during Maccabean rule. Simon is praised for bringing peace, so that every man sat under his vine and fig tree (1 Macc. 14:12), a probable allusion to the prophecy of Mic. 4:4. A newly independent Israel must have rekindled hopes for Messiah's coming.

Strict observance of the law was mandatory for the righteous man. Those who apostatized and connived to ruin the faithful were harshly condemned (1 Macc. 3:15; 6:21-22; 7:10). God is a holy God who demands obedience to the principles of the Torah.

**I. *Original language.*** Although it is extant only in Greek translation, there is little doubt that the book was first composed in Hebrew. Origen's Semitic designation already has been discussed (see above, section A), and JEROME in his *Prologus Galeatus* states quite clearly that Hebrew was the original language of 1 Maccabees. This Hebrew text apparently lasted in some form until the period of Origen

and Jerome, but Josephus utilized only the Greek version in the 1st cent. A.D.

It is possible that Jerome intended "Hebrew" to be understood as Palestinian ARAMAIC, but the nature of the Greek translation indicates otherwise. Frequently, this literalistic version betrays obvious OT idioms, and on occasion, translation errors are evident due to a faulty understanding of the original. Since the translation shows an awareness of the Greek OT (LXX), he may have been an Alexandrian Jew, preparing his rendition near the start of the 1st Christian cent. Two translations based on the Greek were made into Latin and two into Syriac.

It seems strange that the rabbis failed to preserve the Hebrew original to such a valuable Jewish work. This may reflect the disapproving attitude of influential Pharisees toward the worldliness so evident in the reign of the Hasmonean successors.

***J. Chronology.*** The dates in 1 Maccabees are crucial for the history of this period, for they are given with a precision that indicates the author had access to an official Seleucid chronicle. According to Josephus, the chronology is calculated from the year that Seleucus Nicator controlled Syria, a period beginning with the Battle of Gaza in the summer of 312 B.C. (Jos.*Ant.* 13.6.7). In 1 Macc. 1:10 we read that Antiochus Epiphanes became king in the 137th year of the Greek kingdom, or 175 B.C.

The chronology is complicated, however, by different CALENDARS employed by the Seleucids and the Jews. New Year's Day occurred in the autumn in the Seleucid calendar, which paralleled the preexilic Judean custom for computing kings' reigns from the first day of the seventh month, the present Rosh Hashana. The postexilic Jews observed a spring New Year, following the Babylonian pattern and the ancient Hebrew religious calendar. Dates in 2 Maccabees often are one less than the corresponding date in 1 Maccabees. Antiochus Epiphanes died in 163 B.C. according to 1 Macc. 6:16, but 2 Macc. 9:1 and 11:23 place the same event in 148. Scholars do not agree concerning how this problem can be unraveled. Apparently 1 Maccabees began the second year of the Seleucid era in the autumn of 312, counting the remaining weeks of the summer after the Battle of Gaza as the first year. In 2 Maccabees, the Seleucid era may be calculated from the autumn of 311.

***K. Relation to the NT.*** The Jewish expectation of a messianic age and a prophet who should come (1 Macc. 4:46; 14:41) parallels the attitudes found in the NT. When JOHN THE BAPTIST proclaimed Messiah's coming, Jewish leaders asked him if he was "the prophet" (Jn. 1:21, 25). Probably both groups had in mind Moses' prediction of a great prophet (Deut. 18:15, 18).

Instead of using a name of God, the author consistently refers to deity as "Heaven." The people prayed "to Heaven, to see whether he will favor us" (1 Macc. 4:10). This substitution of the place for the name is compared by some scholars with the term "kingdom of heaven" (Matt. 3:2). This may be virtually equivalent to the closely related "kingdom of God" concept.

While concluding his description of Judas's life, the author declares that the remaining deeds of this hero were not written because they were so numerous. In similar fashion, John summarizes Jesus' life by referring to "many other miraculous signs…which are not recorded in this book" (Jn. 20:30). If these "many other signs" were to be recorded, even "the whole world would not have room for the books that would be written" (21:25).

## II. Second Maccabees

***A. Title.*** As mentioned above (I.A.), the 2nd cent. A.D. title *ta. Makkabaika* may have referred exclusively to 2 Maccabees inasmuch as Judas, the focal point of this work, was properly "the

Maccabee." The book presents a summary or epitome of a five-volume history by one Jason of Cyrene (2 Macc. 2:23-32). Clement of Alexandria *(Stromata 4.14* §97) correctly refers to this book as *hē tōn Makkabaikō epitomē,* "The epitome of the things Maccabean." A more accurate title is given at the end of Codex Venetus: "An epitome of the deeds of Judas Maccabeus."

***B. Unity.*** Since 2 Maccabees is based on the five fold history of Jason, it is difficult to decide which material was original with the author himself. Within 2 Macc. 3:1—15:36, which constitutes the "epitome" proper, scholars have questioned the inclusion of official documents in ch. 11. Some doubt that either Jason's history or the original 2 Maccabees contained them, but other authorities attribute the documents to Jason. Inasmuch as the work of Jason is no longer extant, most of the arguments of this nature are subjective and anything but conclusive.

Several contradictions and historical problems have cast doubt on the integrity of 2 Maccabees. Chronological errors abound, such as the placing of Antiochus Epiphanes's death prior to the cleansing of the temple by Judas (2 Macc. 1:11–18; 9:1—10:9) or the description of episodes concerning Lysias following Antiochus's decease (11:1-15). In the latter case, the two defeats of Lysias are merged into one badly confused account. Similarly, 8:30-33 relates battles with Timothy and Bacchides that interrupt the account of the victory over Nicanor (8:23-29,34 –36).

With regard to the death of the despicable Antiochus IV, variant accounts are given in 2 Macc. 1 and 9. The author must have noticed the discrepancy but preferred to follow his sources; any tradition of that tyrant's death was worth preserving! Apparently he was bothered little by historical difficulties, avoiding the painstaking care of a thorough historian (2:28). Attempts at rearranging the book to eliminate errors break up whatever continuity remains, for most of the mistakes form an integral part of their present context.

Prefaced to the main body of the text are two introductory letters addressed to the Jews in Egypt (2 Macc. 1:1—2:18). While there is some doubt as to their authenticity, these letters may well have been incorporated by the epitomist himself. The prologue (2:19-32) and epilogue (15:37-39) obviously were written by him.

***C. Sources.*** The bulk of 2 Maccabees comprises an abridgement of a comprehensive history by Jason of Cyrene. This five-volume work has not survived, but many authorities outline the book on the basis of five divisions, which are each concluded with a summary statement (2 Macc. 3:40; 7:42; 10:9; 13:26; 15:37). These sections may correspond to the volumes of Jason's original production. Other scholars contend that the epitomist did not abridge Jason's entire work, since Jason is said to have written about Judas Maccabeus and his brothers (2:19). Simon, the last of the brothers, died in 134 B.C., whereas the events described in 2 Maccabees stop at about 160. A five-volume history might be expected to cover more than the fifteen-year period dealt with in the epitome.

Parts of 2 Maccabees clearly reflect the process of condensation owing to their marked brevity (e.g. 2 Macc. 13:22-26). Chapter 14 strangely omits any reference to Bacchides's efforts to appoint Alcimus the high priest, an event which nevertheless seems presupposed (14:3-4). Yet, other passages, such as those describing the martyrdoms (6:18—7:42), contain abundant detail and may have been amplifications of Jason's narrative.

It is not likely that the epitomist or Jason made use of 1 Maccabees, even though there are many similarities of detail between the two. Some of the sources utilized by Jason and the author of 1 Maccabees may have been identical, however. The biography of Judas (cf. above, I.C) could have been at Jason's disposal, expanded at points by oral tradition about the Maccabean hero. Since

several of the dates involving Syrian rulers match those in 1 Maccabees, the epitomist probably had access to a Seleucid chronicle. Numerical notations, such as the number of soldiers involved in battles, do not agree in 1 and 2 Maccabees, so different chronicles may have been followed. The temple archives probably comprised another common source for the two historians. In at least two places (2 Macc. 9:19-27; 11:16-38) documents are quoted which demanded access to those key Jerusalem records if they are indeed reliable quotations. Facts about Onias, Jason, and Menelaus may have been derived from priestly annals chronicling events prior to Judas's triumphs. On the other hand, oral tradition could have been responsible for the circulation of much of this information.

The letters that introduce 2 Maccabees ostensibly were written from Palestine to Egyptian Jews mainly to encourage the remembrance of the purification of the temple by observing Hanukkah (or Feast of Dedication). Two letters appear to be cited (2 Macc. 1:1-9; 1:10—2:18), the first stemming from 124 B.C. and referring to a letter written in 143 (1:7-8). The second letter is more suspect, for it includes some legendary material about the altar (1:18b—2:15) and a story of the death of Antiochus that differs substantially from other accounts. If genuine, this second letter was written about.

***D. Authorship. The*** identification of either Jason or the epitomist who summarized the larger history is difficult. There was a nephew of Judas Maccabeus named Jason (1 Macc. 8:17), and another Jason served as an envoy to Rome, but neither of these men can be connected positively with Jason of Cyrene. The epitomist himself was evidently an Alexandrian Jew, since the letters opening the book


ΜΑΚΚΑΒΑΙΩΝ Β

Greek edition (1715) of 2 Maccabees.

were written to the Jews in Egypt, and the rhetorical Greek suits the style of ALEXANDRIA. Perhaps the emphasis upon the Jerusalem temple was a pointed rebuke against the Jewish temple at HELIOPOLIS. Others suggest that 2 Maccabees was composed in ANTIOCH OF SYRIA, for several of the martyrdoms might have happened there (7:3; cf. 6:8).

The author has been variously designated as a PHARISEE or one of the HASIDEANS (Hasidim). Contrasted with the writer of 1 Maccabees, the epitomist stresses such characteristic Pharisaic teachings as predestination, the active intervention of angels on behalf of God's people, and the

resurrection of the body. If the epitomist is identified less specifically with the Hasidim, as is the author of 1 Maccabees, it is hard to account for the vast differences between the two books. The Hasidim disapproved of Simon's rule (2 Macc. 10:18-22; 14:17-19), but the Pharisees doubtless shared this sentiment. Unlike 1 Macc. 7:12-16, there is no reference in the epitome to the dispute between the Hasidim and Judas.

A case could also be made for an ESSENE background, for some have noticed several parallels between 2 Maccabees and the Qumran *War of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness* (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS). Both works frown on fighting during the sabbatical year, and slogans written on the banners of the "sons of Light" resemble those used by Judas (2 Macc. 8:23; 12:11; 13:13, 15, 17; 15:7-8). Angels play a large role in the battles, although the *War* scroll emphasizes evil angels also. The importance of restoring true temple worship is another similarity within the two works. On the whole, however, these parallels seem more apparent than real; the Pharisaic identification remains the strongest view.

***E. Date.*** Before examining the date of the extant book, one must investigate Jason's earlier work. The date of that production depends partially on the identification of Jason and the scope of the epitome. If only a portion of Jason's five volumes was abridged, a date far later than Judas must be sought (cf. above, II.C). Even the traditions regarding Judas could have taken a number of years to develop, however, so the date for his history is placed tentatively during John Hyrcanus's reign (134-104), probably after 130. Most authorities assume that Jason wrote before 1 Maccabees was composed.

The date of the epitome itself must be later than 124 B.C., since the first letter cited was written then (2 Macc. 1:9). In the epilogue (15:37), Jerusalem is said to be controlled by the Jews, a power they relinquished to the Romans in 63 B.C. This date may provide a *terminus ad quem* for the writing of 2 Maccabees, although Zeitlin argued for a date during the time of Agrippa I (A.D. 41-44). One may safely assert that the book was in circulation by A.D. 50.

***F. Purpose and style.*** In his zeal to magnify the temple in Jerusalem, the author aimed his book at those Egyptian Jews who may have been supporting the Jewish temple at Heliopolis. These brothers were exhorted by the introductory letters to observe the Feast of Dedication and thus maintain close unity with the Palestinian Jews. As he carefully depicted the events surrounding the desecration and purification of the temple, the epitomist sought to foster proper devotion to the Jerusalem sanctuary. He was also intent on proving God's providential care for his people.

A theological treatise such as 2 Maccabees differed widely from the unadorned, factual approach found in 1 Maccabees. Indeed, so distinct are these two works that one must not label the epitome "the second book of Maccabees," as if it were a continuation of 1 Maccabees. Rather, it is a distinct book about the Maccabean era. In contrast to the straightforward account of 1 Maccabees, the author of 2 Maccabees embellishes and amplifies his material, mixing historical details with a colorful style in order to delight the taste of the reader (2 Macc. 15:39). Thorough historical research was snubbed, while incidents of great interest and emotional appeal were stressed and exaggerated (2:23-32). In general, Jason's history was abridged, but where facts needed to be dressed up the epitomist waxed eloquent. Second Maccabees was unabashedly written for popular consumption in the florid and fluent Greek common in Alexandria during this period. The author displays a large vocabulary in his descriptive zeal.

Because of the writer's religious objective, he emphasizes the supernatural, particularly the effective work of angelic horsemen. Frequently he attaches moral teaching to the outcome of battles.

Individual heroism also is highly commended, notably that of Judas himself or of the martyrs.

***G. Contents.*** The material may be outlined as follows:

1. Preface: Letters to the Egyptian diaspora (2 Macc. 1:1—2:18)
2. Prologue(2:19-32)
3. Heliodorus barred from the temple (3:1-40)
4. Desecration of the temple and the faithful martyrs (4:1—7:42)
5. Death of Antiochus and dedication of the temple (8:1—10:9)
6. Judas's victories over Timothy and Lysias (10:10—13:26)
7. Judas's victory over Nicanor (14:1—15:36)

The book covers a fifteen-year period extending from a time just preceding the accession of Antiochus IV in 175 B.C. down to 160. Although it is divided into 15 chapters compared with 16 for 1 Maccabees, it is considerably shorter. Two letters (2 Macc. 1:1-9; 1:10—2:18) from Jews in Palestine to those in Egypt are prefaced to the work (see above, II.C). They contain information about the purification of the temple and the Feast of Dedication, which they are urging their brothers to keep. Then follows the prologue (2:19-32) acknowledging the author's dependence on the history of Jason, which he hopes to abridge with sweat and long hours.

In the first chapter of the epitome proper, the author relates the abortive attempt of Heliodorus, an officer of Seleucus IV, to plunder the temple. A horse with an awesome angelic rider struck Heliodorus dumb and preserved the sanctity of "the place." Chapter 4 outlines the struggles of the Tobiads to gain the high priesthood. Jason and then Menelaus, aided by the Tobiad temple officer Simon, wrested this position from Onias III, mainly through bribes given to Antiochus Epiphanes. As a result, Jerusalem was turned into a Greek city. After miraculous signs in the sky, Jason attacked Jerusalem hoping to regain the high priesthood lost to Menelaus (2 Macc. 5:1-10). Assuming that a major revolt was in progress, Antiochus unleashed a murderous attack on Jerusalem, desecrating and plundering the temple, and forcing Judas to flee to the mountains (5:11-27).

Antiochus dedicated the temple to Zeus and forced the Jews to honor the god Dionysus (2 Macc. 6:1-9). Two women were killed because they circumcised their children, and other Jews were burned to death while keeping the Sabbath (6:10-11). Included among the many martyrs was one Eleazar, a venerable scribe who refused to eat swine's flesh to save his life (6:18-31). More famous are the seven brothers who were tortured to death one by one rather than give up their faith. After exhorting her sons not to recant and then observing the merciless atrocities inflicted on them, the godly mother also died a martyr's death.

The events in 2 Macc. 8-15 parallel 1 Macc. 3-7 in large measure, depicting the accomplishments of Judas. First, victories over Nicanor, Timothy, and Bacchides are recounted. Then 2 Macc. 9 presents an account of the death of Antiochus that differs radically from that of 1 Macc. 6:1-16. Horrible pains plagued the tyrant, and his chariot somehow ran over him (2 Macc. 9:5-8). As worms were eating away his rotting body, Antiochus changed his attitude toward the Jews, sending them a friendly letter and resolving to become a Jew himself(9:11-27).

The cleansing of the temple and the institution of the Feast of Dedication are related in 2 Macc. 10:1-9. This is followed by another invasion of Timothy, whose large army was smashed near Jerusalem by Judas with the aid of five angelic horsemen visible to the enemy (10:24-38). Another horseman dressed in white led the Jewish forces on to victory against Lysias (ch. 11).

A brief peace evaporated as conflicts erupted at Joppa and other cities, and Lysias was again defeated in 163 B.C. (2 Macc. 12-13). This time three years of peace ensued until Demetrius I sent Nicanor to be the Syrian governor of Judea. Intermittent fighting between the rival armies was climaxed by a final battle in which 35,000 Syrians were killed, including Nicanor. A vision in which the priest Onias and Jeremiah appeared to Judas provided important motivation for the army (14:1—15:36). This triumph was thereafter commemorated a day before the Feast of PURIM. In a short epilogue, the author states that he did his best to combine historical details with a style which was hopefully interesting enough to please his readers (15:37-39).

***H. Teaching.*** The temple in Jerusalem is regarded as the best and holiest in the world (2 Macc. 2:19, 22; 5:15; 14:31), and events concerning this sanctuary are extremely important. Heliodorus's unsuccessful attempt to enter and plunder the temple is related, as well as the high priest's fear that "the place" would be dishonored (3:18-21). Antiochus's desecration of the temple is viewed by the author as a heinous deed (5:11—6:9), while Judas gains heroic stature for purifying the sanctuary. At the end of the book, Nicanor's death is attributed to his threat against the temple.

God's providential justice is strongly emphasized, particularly by the exact retribution he meted out to the wicked. Hence, Andronicus was killed at the very place where he had put Onias to death (2 Macc. 4:38), and the agonies endured by Antiochus IV are compared with the tortures he had devised for others (9:5-6). Each punishment corresponded precisely to the crime (13:4-8; 15:32-35).

Even the persecution of the Jews was deserved, for the nation had sinned in supporting pagan practices. Their punishment was a loving discipline for God's people (2 Macc. 1:26; 6:12; 14:15) that would bring the ungodly among them to repentance. On the other hand, the sin of heathen nations was allowed to increase to the point where God had to destroy them (6:12-17). When Israel did keep the law, victory over the enemy was forthcoming (8:34-36).

The power and sovereignty of God are evident in his deeds and names. He is the God who sees all things (2 Macc. 12:22) and has created heaven and earth out of things that did not exist (7:28 NRSV mg.). With a word God can strike dead an invading army of any size (8:18; 15:22). Unlike the usage in 1 Maccabees, names for God occur freely. He is the "Almighty Lord" (3:22; 8:18), "the great Sovereign of the world" (12:15,28), and "the righteous Judge" (12:6,41).

In almost every battle angelic horsemen appear to terrify the enemy and bring victory to the Maccabean forces. These dazzling warriors physically repelled Heliodorus (2 Macc. 3:25) or protected Judas (10:29), and with a heavenly rider to lead them the Jews demolished Lysias (11:6-14). Occasionally angels rendered assistance without their steeds (3:26, 33). Horsemen were seen fighting high over Jerusalem for almost forty days. This served as a warning of the impending persecution (5:1-4).

Judas Maccabeus stands out as a champion (2 Macc. 8:36) who, like David, restored the military fortunes of Israel and revitalized the nation's worship (cf. 2 Sam. 6). His purification of the sanctuary is the focal point of the book, but he also receives praise for his fervent prayers (2 Macc. 8:1-5) and his concern for widows and orphans (8:28, 30). To the author, Judas was a blameless man raised up by God at a crucial time.

In a vision seen by Judas before a key battle, the martyred Onias and Jeremiah appeared to encourage the people. Onias prayed for the nation and Jeremiah gave Judas a golden sword to slay the foe (2 Macc. 15:11-14). The concern and intercession of the dead for the living has been developed into a doctrine by the Roman Catholic Church. Conversely, Rome has adopted the practice of praying and offering sacrifices for the dead found in 12:43-46. Neither teaching is found in the OT.

The well-known martyr section (2 Macc. 6:10—7:42) extols the dedicated faithfulness of the victims and makes their actions worthy of emulation. Patristic writers compared the early martyrs favorably with Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac. Their suffering was even regarded as having an atoning value (7:37; 8:3). The aforementioned sacrifice for the dead was also a sin offering to make atonement for some whose pagan involvements had placed their resurrection and eternal destiny in jeopardy. In several places this bodily resurrection of the righteous is strongly emphasized. God will raise up the faithful to everlasting life (7:11, 36; 14:26) and a reunion with one's loved ones (7:6, 14, 19, 29). For the wicked, the future held nothing but punishment and suffering.

**I.** ***Original language.*** There is little doubt that the smooth Greek of the book, though strained at times, does not represent a translation from Hebrew or Aramaic. Unlike 1 Maccabees, there are few Hebraisms pointing to such an original, and an Alexandrian provenience is well-established. Only with regard to the introductory letters have serious attempts been made to posit a Semitic original. Since they stem from Palestine and have some evidences of a Hebraic style, it is possible that they are translations in their present form.

***J. Chronology.*** Second Maccabees is consistent in following the Seleucid calendar, with the New Year falling in autumn (cf. above, I.J). Where 1 Macc. 7:1 mentions a Syrian date, 2 Macc. 14:4 has the same year. When an event concerns the Jews directly, 1 Maccabees employs the Jewish calendar with its spring New Year, but 2 Maccabees retains the Seleucid system (cf. 1 Macc. 6:20 and 2 Macc. 13:1). Hence, a one-year discrepancy occurs in these instances.

***K. Relation to the NT.*** The impact of the martyr section (2 Macc. 6:10—7:42) upon the early church was evident during the Roman persecutions and may be alluded to in Heb. 11:35-38. Some of the faithful heroes were tortured and killed, or "wandered in deserts and mountains, and in caves and holes in the ground" (Heb. 11:38). The terminology closely parallels 2 Macc. 5:27; 6:11; and 10:6; it may reflect upon the afflictions of the Maccabean era (since Heb. 11:4—12:2 is often related to the "honor roll" found in Sir. 44-49, it could be argued that the author of Hebrews had another intertestamental book in mind also). Some scholars see similar allusions in the Pauline literature (e.g., S. A. Cummins, *Paul and the Crucified Christ in Antioch: Maccabean Martyrdom and Galatians 1 and 2* [2001]; see also below, IV.I).

The sequence and meaning of the words *deilandrountes* and *apistountes* (2 Macc. 8:13) resemble *deilois* and *apistois* (Rev. 21:8). The joining of the epithets "cowardly" and "unbelieving" in these two passages could be more than coincidence, and the context in 2 Maccabees would indicate that *apistos G603* does not mean only "faithless" (RSV) or "untrustworthy." An important NT term, *epiphaneia G2211,* occurs frequently in 2 Maccabees, mainly referring to the "appearances" of angels at strategic times (2 Macc. 2:21; 3:24, 33; 12:22). In the NT the "epiphany" of Christ relates to his first coming (2 Tim. 1:10) and especially to his climactic glorious return (2 Thess. 2:8; 1 Tim. 6:14; Tit. 2:13).

## III. Third Maccabees

***A. Title.*** The earliest MSS and versions give this book the title 3 Maccabees although it is, strictly speaking, inaccurate. The events described precede the Maccabean era by about fifty years, and none of the Maccabees figures in any of the narratives. In the Greek uncials A (Alexandrinus) and V

(Venetus), 3 Maccabees appears next to 1 and 2 Maccabees and may have received its name from this arrangement.

Some scholars consider the book to be a kind of introduction to the books of Maccabees, and Henry Cotton for one placed it first in his *Five Books of Maccabees* (1832). Since 3 Maccabees also deals with a foreign power's attempt to hellenize the Jews, there is some merit to this suggestion. It is true that "Maccabee" was applied to all of Judas's brothers (see above, I.A) and may have been extended to include other heroes of the faith as well.

***B. Sources.*** In spite of the legendary character of much of the book, there is evidence that the author did have certain historical facts at his command. Several accounts resemble the 2nd cent. B.C. history of Polybius, particularly the description of the Battle of Raphia (*Histories* 5.80-86). The material in 3 Macc. 1 regarding Ptolemy IV apparently represents the facts to a large degree. If it were not for certain discrepancies with the *Histories* of Polybius, one would label this as a source for 3 Maccabees, though the author may have depended on his faulty memory for information from that work.

A source that may have been used by both Polybius and the author of 3 Maccabees was the biography of Ptolemy IV written by one Ptolemy of Megalopolis, governor of Cyprus during Philopator's reign. This rather derogatory biography may have furnished the raw material for the embellishments of 3 Maccabees, and it is also known that Polybius lived in Megalopolis. Only a few fragments of this biography are extant, however.

**1. Jewish traditions.** The fusing of divergent traditions among Egyptian Jewry is particularly evident in the elephant episode (3 Macc. 4-6). Josephus (*Ag. Ap.* 2.5) describes a similar event during the reign of Ptolemy VII Physcon (146-117 B.C.). When the Jews supported the cause of Queen Cleopatra against his own, Physcon planned to release a herd of elephants upon them. As in 3 Maccabees, the drunk beasts attacked and killed many of the king's men. This story must go back to a historical kernel that became associated with more than one Ptolemy in the course of transmission. Similarly, the dichotomy between the Jews of Alexandria and those from the Egyptian interior indicates two traditions. The existence of a festival at Alexandria as well as one at Ptolemais strengthens this hypothesis (6:36; 7:19).

**2. Esther.** Several motifs seem to be borrowed from the canonical book of ESTHER, which relates the oppression of the Jews by an earlier power. The plot against the king and subsequent rescue through Dositheus (3 Macc. 1:2-3) reminds one of Mordecai's life-saving contribution (Esth. 2:21-23). Like the Jews in Persia, those in Egypt were accused of disloyalty (Esth. 3:8; 3 Macc. 3:19). In both works the attempt to wipe out the Jews backfired as the persecuted gained revenge against the Gentiles (Esth. 9) or their apostate brethren (3 Macc. 7:10-15). To celebrate the deliverances, both books record the establishment of festivals.

**3. Second Maccabees.** Even more striking are the parallels between 2 and 3 Maccabees. Both books revolve around the forced hellenization of the Jews at the expense of their religious beliefs (2 Macc. 4:9; 6:1-9; 3 Macc. 2:27-30). The attempt of Philopator to enter the Jerusalem temple (3 Macc. 1:9—2:24) closely resembles the thwarted efforts of Heliodorus (2 Macc. 3:7). And the angelic horseman who blocked the path of that Syrian official (2 Macc. 3:25) reminds one of the two angels who panicked the elephants and the Egyptians in 3 Macc. 6:18-21. To preserve the sanctity of the temple,

the Jews prayed fervently in both books (2 Macc. 3:15-23; 14:34-36; 3 Macc. 2:1-20). In addition, each work solemnizes God's deliverance with a festival.

***C. Authorship.*** The nature of the Greek used, the emphasis upon Alexandrian Judaism, and the author's knowledge of Egyptian affairs lead scholars to conclude that the author was a Jew living in Alexandria; and his zeal to adhere to the Jewish faith until death links him with the Hasidim. Judging from the parallels of the book with 2 Maccabees, one could identify the author with the Pharisees also. His belief in angels (3 Macc. 6:18) points in this direction, but there is no mention of the resurrection of the body or a future life. Perhaps this omission parallels the arrangement in Daniel, where God's saving providence is emphasized (Dan. 1-6), but the resurrection is outlined only at the end of that book (12:2).

***D. Date.*** Although the occasion for the book need not have been deep distress (see below, III.E), several scholars have favored CALIGULA's persecution of the Jews in A.D. 38-39 as the historical backdrop. That Roman monarch, an advocate of EMPEROR WORSHIP, tried to defile the temple and also set up images in synagogues. If this were the actual situation behind the book, one would expect that these heathen practices would have been vigorously condemned and ascribed to Ptolemy.

Several lines of evidence support a 1st cent. B.C. origin. The author was influenced by 2 Maccabees and was aware of the Greek Additions to the Book of Daniel, particularly the language of the Song of the Three Children (Pr. Azar. 26-27; cf. 3 Macc. 6:6). Linguistic affinities with the Epistle of ARISTEAS strengthens a dating in the last pre-Christian century also. Moreover, the use of a personal name like "Philopator" in formal correspondence (3 Macc. 3:12; 7:1) did not become the practice of the Ptolemies until about 100 B.C. While a 1st cent. B.C. date is more probable, others argue that the composition took place in the Christian era. If so, a time prior to the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70 is demanded, since the temple services are viewed as continuing (1:8).

***E. Purpose and style.*** The author's aim is to comfort and strengthen Jews who were undergoing persecution by providing examples of those who remained true to the faith and were delivered. By providing background stories of this kind, he also made available instructional and religious material for use in the special festivals of the Egyptian Jews. These stories would be of value even in times of relative peace and security. The slaughter of the several hundred apostate Jews would also serve as a warning to any about to abandon the religion of their fathers. An equally potent warning is directed against those individuals or nations that may have been embarking on policies of persecution toward the Jews.

With this apologetic approach, the author uses the style of a historical novel or romance. Various traditions and motifs are combined and embellished to achieve the desired effects. Many of the details are fantastic and incredible, reminiscent of the method of the epitomist. Occasionally scriptural allusions are made to God's intervention in regard to the flood, Pharaoh and the exodus, Sennacherib's army, Daniel and his three friends, and Jonah (3 Macc. 2:1-10; 6:3-8).

The book was composed in good idiomatic Greek, so there is no likelihood of a Semitic original. At times the style becomes bombastic and similar to parts of the SEPTUAGINT.

***F. Contents.*** The narrative may be outlined as follows:

1. Ptolemy Philopator visits the Jerusalem temple (3 Macc. 1:1—2:24)

2. Alexandrian Jews forced to worship Bacchus (2:25-30)
3. Rebellious Jews registered for destruction in hippodrome (2:31—4:21)
4. Alexandrian Jews delivered from elephants in hippodrome (4:22—6:21)
5. Reinstated Jews celebrate (6:22—7:23)

The book is a historical romance setting forth the growing conflict between Ptolemy IV Philopator and the Jews. In the first story (3 Macc. 1:1—2:24) Ptolemy's great victory over Antiochus III at the Battle of Raphia (217 B.C.) is followed by the Egyptian's visit to the Jerusalem temple. His threat to enter the holy place produced bitter grief among the people, who preferred death to the desecration of the temple (1:29). When the high priest Simon prayed eloquently, God answered by paralyzing Ptolemy.

Returning to Alexandria with his desire unfulfilled, the king retaliated by compelling the Jews of that city to sacrifice to Bacchus (DIONYSUS) at the royal temples (3 Macc. 2:25-33). Those who refused would forfeit their rights as citizens and would be branded with the ivy leaf, the symbol of Bacchus. Most of the Jews resisted this order and used bribery to avoid being enrolled as serfs.


In this mosaic from the Roman House at Sepphoris, three satyrs (constant companions of the god Dyonisus or Bacchus) are treading on grapes. According to 3 Maccabees, the Jews in Alexandria were forced to sacrifice to Bacchus or face execution.

Ptolemy then issued an edict to execute all the Jews of Egypt, who were brought in chains to the hippodrome near Alexandria (4:21). Before this slaughter a census of all the Jews was to be taken, but a shortage of pens and papyrus precluded the forty-day effort to complete this registration.

Angered, Ptolemy decreed that 500 intoxicated elephants were to be turned loose against the Jews, but the king overslept one day and completely forgot about the decree the next day. Finally, the elephants were readied and the Jews, led by an old priest named Eleazar, prayed earnestly for deliverance. Two angels appeared to terrify the elephants and soldiers, and the beasts turned to trample many of Philopator's own men (3 Macc. 4:22—6:21).

This remarkable event brought the king to repentance; he released the Jews and reinstated them as loyal citizens. After a week's feast, he also gave them permission to attack those of their own number who had apostatized. They later killed 300 fellow Jews. While journeying homeward, they also celebrated for another week at Ptolemais and decided to commemorate their deliverance with an

annual festival (3 Macc. 6:22—7:23).

***G. Teaching.*** As in the first two books of Maccabees, the importance and value of prayer is stressed. During great crises, miracles follow directly upon the prayers of Simon and Eleazar, which are recorded in detail. A corollary to prayer is the saving work of God on behalf of those who trust in him.

The "unconquerable providence" of God who was "aiding the Jews from heaven" (3 Macc. 4:21) is another concept. The Lord does not turn his face away from his people (6:15), for he is the "holy Savior" of Israel (7:16). Even if they sin, God will forgive and deliver them (2:13).

The uniqueness of the Jews and their religion is strongly emphasized. They retain their faith in spite of fierce persecution, and any who would desecrate their temple will face dire consequences (3 Macc. 1:8—2:24). Contrary to the charges of their enemies, they are loyal citizens who have always been an asset to Egypt from the time they first defended her borders (3:21; 6:25; 7:7).

***H. Relation to the NT.*** As in 2 Maccabees (see above, II.K), the noun *epiphaneia* and related words occur several times (3 Macc. 2:9; 5:8, 51). In 6:18 God manifests his face by sending two glorious angels to strike terror into the hearts of the Jews' enemies. The relating of "epiphany" to the appearance or manifestation of angels was characteristic of 2 Maccabees. God manifests his mercy (2:19) and is called the "manifest God" (5:35). Each of these examples helps the interpreter to evaluate the meaning of this term in the NT.

## IV. Fourth Maccabees

***A. Title.*** The oldest title of this book, 4 Maccabees *(Makkabaiōn D),* is found in several texts of the LXX (Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, Venetus) and in later lists. The only justification for the title is that illustrations are largely drawn from 2 Macc. 6-7. A number of church fathers erroneously attributed the work to Josephus and called it "On the Supremacy of Reason" *(peri autokratoros logismou;* cf. Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* 3.10.6. and Jerome, On *Illustrious Men* 13). Some Greek editions of Josephus's works make "On the Supremacy of Reason" the last chapter. The title is superior to "4 Maccabees" but the latter remains the more common designation.

***B. Unity.*** A few sections are viewed by some as additions to the book, primarily 4 Macc. 17:23-24 and 18:6-19. Their content seems to be at odds with the language and teaching of the rest of the book and with the immediate context. In 18:6-19 the mother of the martyrs makes a speech reviewing the splendid teaching of her deceased husband, instruction that contributed greatly to the valor of their sons. Included in this speech are passages from Deut. 32:39 and Ezek. 37:3, which allude to a physical resurrection, a doctrine largely neglected by the author. It should be noted, however, that these scriptural verses themselves do not refer specifically to a physical resurrection. While this passage may be a digression, its content is consonant with the rest of the book.

***C. Sources.*** There is little question that the author utilized 2 Maccabees as a source for his book. The historical setting given in 4 Macc. 3:19—4:26 is dependent on 2 Macc. 2:1—6:11, although the Seleucid persecution therein described does contain

Greco-Roman pig rattle from Cyprus. Antiochus Epiphanes ordered the Jews in Israel to eat pork or face death.

some variations. For example, in 2 Macc. 3, Heliodorus was the official who tried to enter the temple, while 4 Macc. 4 attributes this deed to Apollonius, governor of Syria. The martyrdom accounts in 4 Macc. 5-18 expand the much briefer description found in 2 Macc. 6-7, and the version of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes given in gruesome detail in 2 Macc. 9 is reflected in 4 Macc. 18:5.

Discrepancies between the two works and the elaborations of 4 Maccabees have cast some doubt on the identification of the source. It is possible that the writer depended on the history of Jason of Cyrene, which stands behind 2 Maccabees, rather than on the epitome itself. Conceivably, both might have been consulted. Yet, the characteristically loose handling of the author's source material need not lead away from 2 Maccabees. His penchant for deviations is evident even in his biblical references, particularly in his discussion of David's thirst (4 Macc. 3:6-16; cf. 2 Sam. 23:13-17).

***D. Authorship.*** As already mentioned, some of the early church fathers named Josephus as the author of 4 Maccabees (see above, IV.A). Internal evidence strongly militates against this view, since the style and content differ radically from the known writings of Josephus. Like Josephus, however, the author was a Jew sympathetic with Pharisaic views. His fervent devotion to the law and belief in angels (4 Macc. 4:10; 7:11) support this identification. By eulogizing the Maccabean martyrs and neglecting the more important military leaders, the author also manifests a pacifistic attitude. Not war but the martyrs who restored the observance of the law are credited with expelling the enemy from the land (18:4).

The author's Hellenistic background stands out in bold relief. Stoic thought forms are used frequently, and a philosophical tone permeates the book. He assumes that his readers are capable of deep thinking and have a philosophical framework themselves. It is evident that the author wishes to retain Greek ideas wherever they do not contradict his Jewish beliefs.

Most scholars hold that the author wrote from Alexandria, since the integration of Greek philosophy with Judaism was felt most keenly there. The Greek style and overall content compare favorably with other Alexandrian literature of this period. Moreover, the important influence of 2 Maccabees upon the book supports this location, for in all probability 2 Maccabees was composed in Alexandria also.

Generally, proof that he was not a Palestinian Jew is based on the reference to a gymnasium "upon" (*epi)* the citadel of Jerusalem rather than "under" it (4 Macc. 4:20). This "error" is mitigated

by the less precise meaning of *epi* as "at" or "by" instead of "upon." Usually, however, those who doubt the Alexandrian provenience prefer to locate the author in Antioch of Syria. This argument is posited upon the allegation that the Greek of 4 Maccabees is more Asiatic than Egyptian.

***E. Date.*** The book must have been written after 2 Maccabees and before the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70. Although the date of 2 Maccabees is uncertain, most likely a work dependent on it, such as 4 Maccabees is, could not have been composed before 50 B.C. The *terminus ad quem* is fixed by the assumption that the temple worship had been resumed after Antiochus demolished the cultic functions (4 Macc. 4:20).

A more accurate dating can perhaps be derived from the historical notation that Apollonius was governor of Syria, Phoenicia, and Cilicia (4 Macc. 4:4). The same Apollonius governed Coelesyria and Phoenicia (2 Macc. 4:4). Only from A.D. 18 to 55 was Cilicia joined with Syria and Phoenicia, and this may explain the changed reference. This span is further narrowed by the failure to allude to Caligula's persecution of 38-39, for the readers can hardly comprehend the atrocities of Antiochus (14:9). If 4 Maccabees had been written after 38, such behavior would have been more easily understood.

***F. Purpose and style.*** The book was written to show the viability of Judaism within a Hellenic world. As he exalted the law and eulogized the Maccabean martyrs, who were loyal to its principles, the author wished also to commemorate those godly heroes who far surpassed Greek stalwarts. By their inspiring example, he exhorted and encouraged others to emulate their faithfulness and live under the control of religious reason.

Apparently the book was presented orally at a special "time" or "season" when the deaths of the martyrs were remembered (4 Macc. 1:10; 3:19). Several suggestions have been made concerning the identity of this occasion. One theory relates the recitation to the custom of Greek and Syriac Christians commemorating the martyrdoms on August 1, a custom partially based on the belief that the martyrs were buried in Antioch. Such a theory demands an Antiochene origin for 4 Maccabees, a supposition with scant support.

Because of the frequent mention of the atonement accomplished by the martyrs, some have associated the book with the Day of Atonement (see ATONEMENT, DAY OF). Evidence for this is meager, but according to a rabbinic legend, synagogue worship for that occasion did include reference to another martyrdom of ten godly men slain by HADRIAN. Another possibility is the Feast of DEDICATION, for the book stresses the purified land and the renewal of keeping the law accomplished by the martyrs (4 Macc. 1:11; 17:21; 18:4). The themes of purification and renewal are closely related to the Feast of Dedication, though with reference to the temple. Since there is no mention of this festival or of any of the Maccabean leaders in the book, even this identification is not convincing.

The form of the book is difficult to evaluate. Evidently it was intended for oral presentation, and some have called it a sermon. Frequently, the author appeals to his audience in sermonic fashion (4 Macc. 18:1,4), and a religious quality is apparent in the splendid rhetoric. Yet the philosophic framework implies that the form is a literary device rather than an actual Jewish sermon. Scriptural references are confined mostly to the first three chapters.

This work also has been rightly designated a *panegyric,* for the eulogy of the Maccabean martyrs is central to the book. At times the style is impressive and eloquent; vivid description and figures of speech occur often, and occasionally scriptural terminology is used effectively (4 Macc. 6:2). The

martyrdom chapters spare no gory detail as they evoke revulsion and respect.

The philosophic vocabulary sometimes demands close reasoning from a well-educated audience. A semiclassical style of Greek is used, replete with numerous optative forms.

***G. Contents.*** The material may be outlined as follows:

1. Introduction (4 Macc. 1:1-30a)
2. OT illustrations of triumph of reason (1:30b—3:17)
3. The Seleucid oppression (ch. 4)
4. The martyrdom of Eleazar (5:1—7:23)
5. The martyrdom of the seven brothers (8:1—14:10)
6. The martyrdom of their mother (14:11—18:24)

The book is a philosophical discourse on the superiority of pious or religious reason in the life of a godly man. It is radically different from the other books of Maccabees, and in spite of a greater number of chapters, it is slightly shorter than 2 Maccabees and only half as long as 1 Maccabees in actual text.

According to his opening statement, the author seeks to demonstrate that religious reason can be the master of one's passions. Stating his theme and method of approach (4 Macc. 1:1-12), he proceeds to define clearly the philosophical terms used (1:13-30a). Then in 1:30b—3:17 OT figures such as Joseph and David are cited to illustrate the triumph of reason. Chapter 4 provides the historical background to the rest of the book by describing the Seleucid persecution against the Jews.

The main proof of his thesis is found in the lives of the Maccabean martyrs, to whom most of the book is dedicated. In 4 Macc. 5:1—6:30 the trial and torture of the faithful priest Eleazar are narrated, followed by a commentary upon that death (6:30—7:23). Then the martyrdom of the seven brothers is presented in great detail, as each one, beginning with the eldest, endures horrible atrocities (8:1—12:20). After some observations upon their bravery (13:1—14:10) the author shifts his attention to the fortitude of the mother in her death (14:11—18:24).

***H. Teaching.*** Fourth Maccabees attempts to synthesize Jewish and Greek thought by showing that the Mosaic law provides the best means of gaining wisdom (4 Macc. 1:16-17). Reason operates most efficiently when the life of wisdom selected by the intellect is in accord with the Jewish law. The oft-repeated "devout *[or* religious] reason" is derived from the phrase *ho eusebēs logismos* (or a variation of it, 1:1 et al.). While such reason can be the master of the passions, it cannot control defects like forgetfulness or ignorance, which are inherent in the mind itself (1:5-6). In the heroic deaths of the martyrs, reason was victorious over passion.

The author divides the passions into pleasure (*hēdonē G2454)* and pain (*ponos G4506)* in Aristotelian fashion, and STOIC influence can be seen in his discussion of desire, joy, fear, and grief (4 Macc. 1:20-23). These emotions are affected by *hē kakoēthēs diathesis,* "the tendency toward evil" (1:25), which is similar to the rabbinic concept of *yēṣer hāṭôb* and *yēṣer hārāʿ* ("the good tendency" and "the evil tendency") struggling within human beings (cf. Gen. 6:5). Unlike the Stoics, the writer denies that reason can eradicate the passions; reason's function is to control the passions, thus avoiding enslavement to them (4 Macc. 3:1-3).

In his delineation of the four cardinal virtues—intelligence *(phronēsis G5860),* justice (*dikaiosynē G1466),* courage *(andreia;* cf. *andrizomai G437* in 1 Cor. 16:13), and self-control

(*sōphrosynē G5408)*—the author clearly uses Stoic terminology (4 Macc. 1:6, 18; 3:1). The Hebrew martyrs more than others demonstrated these virtues by enduring a cruel death (9:18). By their heroism, Eleazar and the seven brothers show themselves to be philosophers of distinction, despising the self-gratifying hedonism of their tormentor Antiochus (5:4-12; 8:1-10). Thus, the Jews deserve recognition as philosophers who are actually superior to the Greeks. Further evidence of Stoic background can be seen in the names used for God, particularly *pronoia G4630,* "providence" (9:24; 13:19; 17:22), a term meaning "the world soul" in Stoic thought. "Justice" *(dikē G1472,*4:21; 8:14,22) and "power" (*dynamis G1539,* 5:13) are other titles that appear sporadically.

Emphasis is placed also upon the doctrine of immortality, which would bring eternal life for the godly (4 Macc. 9:8; 14:5-6; 17:12) and eternal torment for the wicked (9:9, 31; 12:12, 18; 13:15). In contrast to 2 Maccabees, no clear reference to a bodily resurrection occurs in the book, an omission that reflects the Greek viewpoint of the writer.

Probably the most remarkable passages on vicarious atonement outside of the NT occur in 4 Maccabees, where the blood of the martyrs atones for the sin of the people. The most explicit statement, found in 4 Macc. 17:22, describes their blood as a propitiatory death through which divine Providence saved Israel. By their endurance these martyrs conquered tyranny and cleansed the fatherland (1:11; 18:4). Quite clearly this atonement is expressed as a substitution for the people (6:28-29). An analogous teaching is found in the *Manual of Discipline* from QUMRAN, which asserts that certain righteous ones within the community atone for iniquity through righteous living and suffering (1QS VIII, 3-4). This same group also makes atonement for the land (VIII, 6-7), a concept similar to "cleansing the fatherland" (4 Macc. 1:11; 18:4).

***I. Relation to the NT.*** There are several points of correspondence between 4 Maccabees and the writings of PAUL, leading some scholars to suggest that Paul could have been the author if he had not been saved. Both men had Pharisaic backgrounds and were familiar with the philosophies of the day, particularly Stoicism. The recognition that reason—or the law—cannot fully control the mind (4 Macc. 1:5-6) is similar to Paul's admission in Rom. 7 that sin led him against his will.

When Paul declared in 1 Cor. 13:3 that he would gain nothing if he gave his body to be burned without love, he may have been counteracting the glorification of martyrdom so characteristic of 4 Maccabees. That same chapter on love ends with the mention of faith, hope, and love—the greatest of which is love (v. 13). These three may have been intentionally contrasted with the four Stoic virtues of intelligence, justice, courage, and self-control—the greatest of which was intelligence (4 Macc. 1:18-19).

Paul's teaching about the vicarious suffering of Christ parallels to some extent the substitution of the martyrs for the people (4 Macc. 6:28-29). The propitiatory blood of Christ stressed in Rom. 3:25 resembles the propitiatory death of the martyrs through which Israel was saved (17:22). Similarly, the book of Hebrews refers to the sanctifying effect of the blood of Christ (Heb. 1:3; 2:11; 10:10, 14, 29; 13:2), while 4 Maccabees describes the purifying of the Jews and Israel through the martyrs' blood (4 Macc. 1:11; 6:29; 17:21-22). Christ's death, however, has a worldwide application.

Hebrews 11:34-35 already has been discussed with regard to 2 Maccabees, but a possible relationship with 4 Maccabees also exists. The faith that motivated the great heroes of Heb. 11 is likewise stressed in the suffering of the Maccabean martyrs (4 Macc. 16:22; 17:2). The opening verses of Heb. 12 can be instructively compared with 4 Macc. 17:11-16. In the latter passage, the world and "the life of men" are the ones observing the martyrs enduring torture. In v. 10 they are described as *eis theon aphorōntes* "looking to God"; in Heb. 12:2 persevering believers surrounded

by a cloud of witnesses are *aphorōntes eis…Iēsoun,* "looking to (Jesus)." This verb is rare in both the LXX and the NT, and the contextual similarities to 4 Maccabees as well as the connection with Heb. 11 may indicate a relationship between the two books.

In the Johannine writings, an interesting comparison can be made with the word *nikaō G3771,* "to conquer," in 4 Maccabees. Frequently it means to endure suffering faithfully (4 Macc. 6:10; 7:4, 10–11; 9:6) and to overcome tyranny (1:11; 9:30; 16:14). It is used in John of overcoming the world (Jn. 16:33; 1 Jn. 5:4-5) and the evil one (1 Jn. 2:13-14), or of patient endurance (Rev. 2:7, 11, 17, 26; 3:5, 12, 21). In Rev. 7:15 and 4 Macc. 17:18 the slain martyrs appear before God's throne.

**V. Canonicity.** First and Second Maccabees were declared to be canonical by the Council of Trent in 1546, although some leading Roman Catholic scholars contemporary with Luther denied their right to this status. Protestants have relegated these two books to the APOCRYPHA, while acknowledging the high quality of 1 Maccabees. Early church fathers made frequent use of both books, but Origen, and particularly Jerome, who had broad acquaintance with Hebrew and the views of the Jews, excluded them from their lists of canonical writings. The latter scholar omitted them from his famous Vulgate. Only AUGUSTINE gave 2 Maccabees canonical ranking, and he equivocated at that.

Third Maccabees was regarded as canonical only by the Eastern churches (Greek, Syriac, and Armenian), which also received 1 and 2 Maccabees. Although it does appear in the Codex Alexandri-nus of the LXX and the Syriac Peshitta, 3 Maccabees was not even included among the Apocrypha proper by Protestants.

In spite of the influence of 4 Maccabees among martyrologies and its presence in key MSS of the LXX (including Sinaiticus and Alexandrinus), it was rarely considered canonical. A few church fathers may have ascribed authority to it owing to its wide circulation and gripping message. See also CANON (OT).

(Significant editions and commentaries include *APOT,* 1:59-173 and 2:653-85; S. Tedesche and S. Zeitlin, *The First Book of Maccabees* [1950], and *The Second Book of Maccabees* [1954]; M. Hadas, *The Third and Fourth Books of Maccabees* [1953]; J. C. Dancy, *A Commentary on I Maccabees* [1954]; F.-M. Abel and J. Starcky, *Les Livres des Maccabées,* 3rd ed. [1961]; J. A. Goldstein, *I Maccabees,* AB 41 [1976]; J.J. Collins, *Daniel, First Maccabees, Second Maccabees* [1981]; J. A. Goldstein, *II Maccabees,* AB 41A [1983]; *OTP,* 2:509-64. Introductory works and monographs include W. O. E. Oesterley, *An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha* [1935], 300–327; R. H. Pfeiffer, *History of New Testament Times, with an Introduction to the Apocrypha* [1949], 461–522; K. D. Schunck, *Die Quellen des I und II Makkabäer-buches* [1954]; R. Doran, *Temple Propaganda: The Purpose and Chracter of 2 Maccabees* [1981]; D. J. Harrington, *Invitation to the Apocrypha* [1999], chs. 10-11, 15, 17; D. S. Williams, *The Structure of 1 Maccabees* [1999]; D. A. deSilva, *Introducing the Apocrypha: Message, Context, and Significance* [2002], chs. 11-12, 16, 18; S. R. Johnson, *Historical Fictions and Hellenistic Jewish Identity: Third Maccabees in its Cultural Context* [2004]; N. C. Croy, *3 Maccabees* [2006]; D. A. DeSilva, *4 Maccabees* [2006]. See also the titles listed under MACCABEE.)

H. WOLF

**Maccabeus** mak'uh-bee'uhs. See MACCABEE.

**Macedonia** mas'uh-doh'nee-uh (Μακεδονία *G3423;* gentilic Μακεδών *G3424,* "Macedonian"). Also Macedon. In NT times a Roman senatorial province encompassing much of what is now

northern GREECE.

**I. Geography.** A land of high mountains, broad rivers, and fertile valleys in the center of the Balkan peninsula, Macedonia was bounded in antiquity by Illyria (see ILLYRICUM) on the W, Moesia to the N, and Thrace (see THRACIA) to the E. It was separated from Thessaly to the S by the Pindus mountains. Four important river basins mark the terrain: the Haliacmon, Axius, Strymon, and Nestus. The three-pronged Chalcidice peninsula, which projects into the northern AEGEAN SEA, is one of the significant geographic features. The region boasted of rich farm land and timber, extensive deposits of silver and gold, a long seacoast of good harbors, and a hardy population of mixed non-Indo-European, Thracian, Illyrian, and Macedonian origin.

**II. History.** The kingdom of Macedonia was established in the 7th cent. B.C., but the first 200 years of its history are almost unknown. It was founded by Perdikkas I. His successors, known only by name, include Philip I, Alexander I, Perdikkas II, and Archelaus (c. 413-399 B.C.). Thucydides *(Hist.* 2.100) remarks that Archelaus did more than his predecessors to build up the military might of the nation.

Under Philip II (359-336 B.C.) the power of Macedonia began to influence both Greece and the E. At this time the Persian threat to the Greek city-states was great. Philip by bribery, persuasion, and force managed to rally Greece against the Persians. After the battle of Chaeronea, he was named *stratēgos autokratōr* at the synod of CORINTH. However, he was assassinated by a Macedonian noble in 336 before he could embark upon his long-planned campaign against PERSIA. Philip's successor was his son, Alexander III (see ALEXANDER THE GREAT). Though only a young man of eighteen, he embarked upon a campaign of conquest such as the world has seldom seen. In twelve years he conquered Egypt, Persia, Babylonia, and parts of India, only to die of a fever at the age of thirty-three.

The success of the small kingdom of Macedonia can be accounted for in the military skills of Philip and Alexander. Philip, while a hostage at Thebes, had opportunity to study the tactics of the Greek military genius Epaminondas. The latter had begun to use a flexible mode of attack rather than the rigid phalanx of four to eight men deep. He employed an oblique order of attack that used the central phalanx to stabilize the line. Because each man was individually less protected on the right side, Greek armies tended to bear to the right when they attacked. This tendency left them open to attack on the exposed flank. Epaminondas grasped this weakness and successfully used cavalry on one flank to concentrate the attack. Philip also learned at Thebes the importance of patriotism, which too often was lacking in the mercenary soldiers customarily employed by the Greek city-states.

Philip continued scientific analysis in military maneuvers. He developed a sophisticated attack force that consisted of the phalanx at the center, now equipped with much longer poles and cavalry on both flanks. The light cavalry on the left was merely defensive. The heavy cavalry was on the

Macedonia.

right, protected on its left by heavily armed but mobile infantry, and on the right by light cavalry.

When the enemy was confronted, the phalanx held the center while the cavalry on the right attacked in echelon. This basic style of attack was successful in encircling and routing the enemy on every occasion it was employed by Philip and Alexander.

Alexander's premature death in 323 B.C. introduced a tremendous struggle for power throughout the empire. In Greece proper his regent, Antipater, ruled for a short time and selected Polyperchon as his successor. However, Antipater's son Cassander soon gained control. He and his son Alexander were then recognized as kings of Macedonia until 294. Thereafter the Antigonids, descendants of one of Alexander's generals, assumed control of the Greek mainland until the Roman intervention. The period from 294 to 197 was marked by internal disorders and an invasion of migrating Gauls. In other parts of the empire two dynasties were established by Alexander's generals, the Seleucid empire in Syria and the Ptolemaic in Egypt (see SELEUCUS; PTOLEMY). A fourth kingdom, Thrace, disappeared when Lysimachus, one of Alexander's generals, died childless.

All of the Greek mainland came under Roman rule in the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C. After the Romans under L. Aemilius Paulus defeated its forces in 168 at Pydna, Macedonia was organized as a semi-independent republican federation modeled on the Achaean and Aetolian Leagues. It was divided into four districts: (1) the region between the Strymon and Nestus Rivers; (2) the region between the Strymon and Axius Rivers including the Chalcidice; (3) the region from the Axius River to the Peneius River in Thessaly; (4) the mountainous lands to the NW. The capitals of these regions were respectively AMPHIPOLIS, THESSALONICA, Pella, and Pelagonia. However, the independent status was short lived. Andriscus, who claimed to be the son of Perseus, tried to reconstitute the Macedonian monarchy in 149 B.C. A Roman army under Q. Caecilius Metellus put down the revolt, and in 146 Macedonia was reorganized as a Roman province. The new province included portions of Illyria and Thessaly. Thessalonica became the seat of the Roman government, although the four capital districts were still recognized.

The senatorial province was administered by a propraetor (a PRAETOR sent to govern a province) with the title of PROCONSUL. The province of ACHAIA, which comprised central Greece and the Peloponnesus, was associated with it. It was usually administered by a legate from Macedonia. Several times the two are mentioned together in the NT, but Macedonia always is given priority (Acts 19:21; Rom. 15:26; 2 Cor. 9:2; 1 Thess. 1:7). From A.D. 15 to 44 Macedonia was combined with Achaia and Moesia into a large, imperial province. Macedonia was then ruled by a legate from Moesia. In A.D. 44 it reverted back to its original status as a senatorial province.

The province was strategically and commercially important because of the famous VIA EGNATIA, which extended across its territory from the Adriatic to Thrace. The highway started at the seaports of Dyrracium and Apollonia, which were opposite S Italy; extended across the mountains to the port of Thessalonica; and from there to a second Apollonia on the N Aegean, AMPHIPOLIS, PHILIPPI, and NEAPOLIS. According to the geographer Strabo, it terminated beyond the Hebrus River at Kypsela in Thrace. In all it was 535 Roman miles long. The apostle Paul no doubt traveled on it from Neapolis to Philippi and Thessalonica (Acts 16:11-12; 17:1).

**III. Biblical and extrabiblical references.** Macedonia is mentioned in 1 and 2 MACCABEES and alluded to in the book of DANIEL. First Maccabees begins with a description of the exploits of Alexander and the division of the empire upon his death (1 Macc. 1:1–9). In 1:1 he is said to have come from the land of KITTIM. In 8:2 an account is given of the way in which the Romans overcame Philip V and Perseus, who was called the king of Kittim. In 2 Macc. 8:20 the name Macedonians is applied to mercenary soldiers in the service of the Seleucid kings.

Daniel described the kingdom of Macedonia as a kingdom of bronze (Dan. 2:39) and as a rough he-goat (8:5). The goat had one horn between his eyes that was broken and from which came four horns. From one of the four horns came a king who became very powerful and troubled the people of God. This is interpreted as referring to Alexander, who was succeeded by his four generals. A descendant of one of them was the notorious ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes (175-163), who laid waste the sanctuary of the Jews at Jerusalem. In Dan. 11 a description is given of the conflicts between the Ptolemies and Seleucids. Prediction was made of the marriage of Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus, to Antiochus Theos, which brought a temporary respite in their struggle for power. Further prophecies were made regarding conflicts between the two houses that lasted until the Roman intervention.

Numerous references are made to the cities of Macedonia in Acts and the Pauline epistles. Flourishing churches were established by PAUL in the important cities of PHILIPPI, THESSALONICA, and BEREA (Acts 16:8—17:15). When Paul departed from the region, SILAS and TIMOTHY continued the work (17:14-15; 18:5). GAIUS and ARISTARCHUS, who were Macedonians, were Paul's traveling companions in the E. Because of their association with him, they faced danger during the riot at EPHESUS (19:29). SECUNDUS, also a Macedonian, waited for Paul at TROAS when the latter left Philippi for the last time on his way to Jerusalem (20:4). Paul's converts in Macedonia made a collection for the poor at Jerusalem (Rom. 15:26). They also ministered to the needs of Paul himself (2 Cor. 8:1-5; Phil. 4:15). In epistles addressed to the PHILIPPIANS and the THESSALONIANS, Paul warmly commended them for their faith and love.

(See further S. Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria* [1926]; U. Wilcken, *Alexander the Great* [1932]; W. A. Heurtley, *Prehistoric Macedonia* [1939]; N. G. L. Hammond et al., *A History of Macedonia,* 3 vols. [1972-88]; M. Sakellariou, ed., *Macedonia: 4,000 years of Greek History and Civilization* [1983]; N. G. L. Hammond, *The Miracle that was Macedonia* [1991]; R. Billows, *Kings and Colonists: Aspects of Macedonian Imperialism* [1995]; M. Girtzy, *Historical Topography of Ancient Macedonia: Cities and Other Settlement-Sites in the Late Classical and Hellenistic Period* [2001]; J.-N. Corvisier, *Philippe II de Macédoine* [2002].)

A. RUPPRECHT

**Machaerus** muh-kihr'uhs (Μαχαιροῦς; cf. Jos. *War* 7.6.1 §168). The name Machaerus does not occur in the NT, although JOSEPHUS(*Ant.* 13.5.2 §119) reports that JOHN THE BAPTIST was imprisoned and beheaded at this fortress. According to the account in the Gospels (Matt. 14:3-12; Mk. 6:17-29; Lk. 3:19-20), it was during the celebration of his birthday that HEROD Antipas ordered the death of John the Baptist.

Herod the Great built a prison and fortress at Machaerus (view to the W). It was probably here that his son Herod Antipas executed John the Baptist.

Machaerus (modern Mukawir) is located E of the DEAD SEA on a high mountain overlooking the sea. In the 1st cent. B.C. it was fortified by Alexander Jannaeus (see HASMONEANS), and later Herod the Great constructed an impressive palace on a hill opposite the fortification (Jos. *War* 7.6.2 §§171-77). Herod Antipas possessed it when he received the territory of PEREA.

Scattered remains of the fortress, palace with the roadway joining them, and aqueducts and cisterns, are visible today. In the early summer of 1968, Jerry Vardaman excavated in various areas of the site. The termination of the pottery sequence near the end of the 1st cent. indicates abandonment of the site after the Herodian period. The attractive view of the Dead Sea, the commanding position with Herodium and Alexandrium visible on the W bank, and the presence of hot springs nearby no doubt made this a delightful residence for the healthy and ailing Herods. (See *ABD,* 4:457-58.)

B. VAN ELDEREN

**Machbannai** mak'banai. KJV form of MACBANNAI.

**Machbenah** mak-bee'nuh. See MACBENAH.

**Machi** may'ki. See MAKI.

**Machir, Machirite** may'kihr, may'kuh-rit. See MAKIR.

**Machmas** mak'muhs. KJV Apoc. form of MIC-MASH (1 Macc. 9:73).

**Machnadebai** mak-nad'uh-bi. See MACNADEBAI.

**Machpelah** mak-pee'luh (מַכְפֵּלָה *H4834,* always with the definite article, meaning "the double [cave]"). The burial place that ABRAHAM purchased of EPHRON, the HITTITE of HEBRON, now located under the Ḥaram el-Khalil in Hebron. The name does not occur outside Genesis and always designates the sepulchres of the patriarchs.

The occasion of the mention of Machpelah was the death of SARAH and the necessity to find a

secure sepulchre for her, himself and their posterity. Analysis of Gen. 23 and Hittite law codes have shown that Hittites of Anatolia maintained an outpost at Hebron at this time (cf. M. R. Lehmann in *BASOR* 129 [Feb. 1953]: 15-18; however, see HITTITE IV.A.1). The process of negotiation was perfect etiquette and custom that still prevail in many Arab communities, but in Abraham's case the price finally paid was deliberately exorbitant, and the offer first of the land for nothing is not to be considered a true offer. The high price was prompted by the aversion of the native Hittites to have a non-Hittite acquire proprietary, hence citizenship, rights in their midst. They could hardly deny the privilege to Abraham since he was a prince of God (Gen. 23:5-6), but sought to dissuade him by the excessive price asked. Abraham was not so easily put off, and going on the strength of God's promises that he should inherit the land (12:7; 13:15; et al.), he took the first step to this end as a token of his belief in God's promises and unhesitatingly paid the price demanded.

The record simply locates the cave "in Machpelah" (Gen. 23:17), "near Mamre" (23:19; 25:9 [NRSV, "east of Mamre"]), "in the field" (25:9; 49:30; 50:13). Abraham was buried there by ISAAC and ISHMAEL; Isaac and REBEKAH were likewise buried in Machpelah, and JACOB required that his sons bury him in the same field, where he had buried LEAH (49:30). By this Jacob expressed the same confidence in the promises of God that was exhibited by Abraham his grandfather. However, though the record locates the cave opposite Mamre, yet it is only a general term and no other landmarks are given by which to locate it, indicating that the site was obviously known, and that the name was sufficient to localize it. Ḥaram el-Khalil lies NE from the tell of Hebron across the vale on the lower slope of the N ridge on its S side.

According to Acts 7:16, Jacob and his sons "were brought back to Shechem and placed in the tomb that Abraham had bought from the sons of Hamor at Shechem" (cf. Josh. 24:32). The apparent discrepancy with Genesis is attributed by some to Samaritan influence; others think that the two transactions (Abraham's and Jacob's) have been telescoped into one event (see F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary,* 3rd ed. [1990] 196; C. K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles,* ICC,2 vols. [1994-98], 1:351).JOSEPHUS *(War* 4.9.7) was the next earliest writer to mention Machpelah; he comments that the "monuments" of Abraham were being "shown to this very time" in the "small" city of Hebron. He records that Isaac was buried by his sons beside his wife in the same cave. From that time to this a connected witness places Abraham's tomb in the present city of Hebron under the present Ḥaram.

This Ḥaram is today a Muslim sanctuary, but in 1967 the cenotaphs marking the burials were removed from their inner rooms to an outer court. The sanctuary itself sets NE to SW, measuring 197 ft. long by 110 ft. wide with masonry walls 8-9 ft. thick. The stonework up to the cornice atop the pilasters is homogeneous and Herodian, while that above is Muslim. Around the exterior at about the line of the floor within occur a series of pilasters about 3 ft. 9 in. wide, spaced approximately 7 ft. apart, providing for 16 on the sides and 8 on the ends. Entrance to the Ḥaram is along the SW side from the N to the S between adjacent buildings. The visitor is required to wait in a vestibule before proceeding into an arched aisle at the westerly side; from there a court opens off with the cenotaphs of Jacob and Leah, formerly each in its own chapel on the N side, while those of Abraham and Sarah are to the S.

A former church, now a mosque, occurs to the S of these memorial rooms; here were located the cenotaphs of Isaac and Rebekah. All the men were placed on the easterly side of the sanctuary. The location of each of the cenotaphs of Isaac and Rebekah supposedly mark the location of their bodies in the cave below, which is reported to extend under the entire church. In the mosque is found a low curb with a brass plate viewing hole, located over a small room of the cave below (about 12 ft.

square). A small mosque outside the Ḥaram commemorates Joseph's reburial from Shechem on account of the antipathy between Jews and Samaritans.

The history of Machpelah since Genesis is obscure down to the Christian era. Perhaps Isa. 51:1b-2a ("Look to the rock from which you were cut / and to the quarry from which you were hewn; / look to Abraham, your father, / and to Sarah, who gave you birth") is a veiled reference to the cave. The later veneration of the site by Jews and Muslims alike supports the view that knowledge of the cave was not lost. The book of JUBILEES frequently mentions Abraham's "house" in Hebron (*Jub.* 29.17-20; 31.5; et al.). In Latin tradition it was called *baris Abraham* (palace of Abraham; see R. H. Charles, *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* [1908], 247). Comparison with Herodian stonework of the temple in Jerusalem makes it certain that the Ḥaram enclosure in Hebron was built by HEROD the Great to memorialize for all later time the location of the cave. This included apparently an entrance and vestibule before the double cave, and on an upper level erected the memorial to which Josephus referred.

In the time of Eudoria of Justinian (c. early 6th cent. A.D.) the church, now a mosque, was built, a detail recorded c. 570 by an anonymous visitor who also recorded seeing the tombs of the patriarchs. In 670 Arculf recorded the presence of the cenotaphs. In 980 Muqaddasi recorded the cenotaphs located as of recent times (G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* [1890]); the monuments of Isaac and Rebekah were built by the Mamelukes but those of Abraham and Sarah came from the Abbasid or Omayyad periods. The Calif Mahdi is reported by Nasir-i-Kosru in 1047 that he constructed the present access in 918, possibly due to the obstruction of Joseph's tomb to the E.

In 1119 the bones of the patriarchs were reportedly found when access through the church floor at the peephole was made to a vestibule below to the two chambers to the W. These same chambers are reported to have been visited by an English officer in 1917 through an opening hidden since the Crusades. (See further L. H. Vincent et al., *Hebron, le Haram el Khalil, sepulture des Patriarchs* [1923]; R. de Vaux in *DBSup,* 5:618-627; D. M. Jacobson in *PEQ* 113 [1981]: 73-80; N. Miller in *BAR* 11/3 [May-June 1985]: 26-43.)

H. G. STIGERS

**Macnadebai** mak-nad'uh-b*i* (מַכְנַדְבַּי *H4827).* Also Machnadebai; TNIV Maknadebai. One of the descendants of Binnui who agreed to put away their foreign wives (Ezra 10:40; possibly called *Mamnitanaimos* in the parallel passage, 1 Esd. 9:34a, but this name may correspond to MATTANIAH in Ezra 10:37). Some believe that the MT is corrupt here and (on the basis of 1 Esd. 9:34b, *ek tōn huiōn Ezōra)* emend *maknadbay* to *mibbĕnê⁽azzûr,* "from the descendants of Azzur," thus beginning a new set of names.

**Macron** may'kron (Μάκρων). Ptolemy Macron, son of Dorymenes, was governor of COELESYRIA and PHOENICIA under ANTIOCHUS IV Epiphanes (2 Macc. 8:8). PTOLEMY VI Philometor had committed CYPRUS to him earlier, but Macron had deserted to Antiochus (10:13). He had influence with Antiochus, for he was able to win favor for a certain Menelaus who already had been convicted of wrongdoing (4:45-47). LYSIAS, left in charge of the country while Antiochus was away in Persia, chose Macron, along with two others, to lead in battle against the Jews under Judas MACCABEE. Their army totaled 47,000, besides help from two other sources, but still they were defeated by the aroused Jews (1 Macc. 3:38-60; 4:1-25). Some time later, Macron came to show favor toward the Jews, and for this, Antiochus V Eupator (son and successor of Antiochus Epiphanes) deposed him; in disgrace,

Macron poisoned himself (2 Macc. 10:10-13).

L. J. WOOD

**Madaba.** See MADEBA MAP; MEDEBA.

**Madai** may'di (מָדַי *H4512,* meaning unknown). Son (or descendant) of JAPHETH and grandson (or more distant descendant) of NOAH (Gen. 10:2; 1 Chr. 1:5). The Hebrew term is elsewhere rendered "Medes" (e.g., 2 Ki. 17:6) or "Media" (e.g., Esth. 1:3). See MEDIA.

**Madeba map** mad'uh-buh. An early Christian mosaic, set into the floor of a 6th-cent. Greek Orthodox church in the town of Madeba, Jordan (see MEDEBA). Almost 40 ft. long, it is the earliest known map of the Holy Land. See CARTOGRAPHY, BIBLICAL.

**Madiabun** muh-di' uh-buhn. KJV Apoc. form of EMADABUN (1 Esd. 5:58).

**Madian** may'dee-uhn. KJV Apoc. form of MIDIAN (Jdt. 2:26).

**Madmannah** mad-man'uh (מַדְמַנָּה *H4526,* "dung place" [possibly referring to the surrounding manured land; cf. MADMEN and MADMENAH]). One of the "southernmost towns of the tribe of Judah in the Negev toward the boundary of Edom" (Josh. 15:31; cf. v. 21). Elsewhere a man named SHAAPH, one of the sons of CALEB, is described as "the father of Madmannah" (1 Chr. 2:49), which probably means that he was the founder or civic leader of the town. Many scholars believe that Madmannah is the same as BETH MARCABOTH, a city taken from JUDAH'S allotment and transferred to the tribe of SIMEON (Josh. 19:5, cf. v. 9; 1 Chr. 4:31; however, J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* [1959], §317.29-30, argued that it was the same as MECONAH). The town is identified by some with modern Khirbet Umm ed-Deimneh, and by others with nearby Khirbet Tatrit, both about 9 mi. NE of BEERSHEBA.

L. J. WOOD

**Madmen** mad'muhn (מַדְמֵן *H4522,* "dung place" [cf. MADMANNAH and MADMENAH]). A town in MOAB against which JEREMIAH prophesied (Jer. 48:2). It is often identified with modern Khirbet Dimneh, some 10 mi. E of the DEAD SEA and 7.5 mi. N of KIR HARESETH. It is possible that either as a result of scribal error or for literary reasons (altering the spelling to mock the Moabites), an original *dîmôn* was changed to *madmēn.* See DIMON.

**Madmenah** mad-mee'nuh (מַדְמֵנָה *H4524,* "dung place" [cf. MADMANNAH and MADMEN]). An unidentified place, apparently near ANATHOTH, mentioned in Isaiahs description of the Assyrian advance upon Jerusalem (Isa. 10:31).

**madness.** Ancient people were universally in awe of mental illness and attributed it to some activity of a DEMON. In the OT insanity was regarded as the punishment of God upon those who disobeyed his laws (Deut. 28:28). SAUL was perhaps the most notable figure in the OT to reveal such affliction, and the statement was made, "Now the Spirit of the LORD had departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the LORD tormented him" (1 Sam. 16:14). When DAVID fled from Saul, he found it expedient to act the

part of a madman in the presence of ACHISH because he feared him (21:12-15).

The NT also reflected the conviction of the ancient world that demons and devils were active agents behind all mental and emotional abnormality. When a man was deranged, he was described as being possessed; and there were many exorcists who practiced among the Jews, representing themselves as having power over the demons. Jesus' experience in the country of the GERASENES was typical (Mk. 5:1-20). The madman lived among the tombs, being described as having an unclean spirit. This violent creature could not be restrained. After Jesus' ministry to him, he was described as "dressed and in his right mind" (v. 16).

The belief that the human MIND was subject to the control of spirits is evidenced in many ancient cemeteries where skulls have been found that were trepanned. A hole had been bored in the skull in many instances, and from subsequent bone growth and the smallness of the hole (too small to be of any surgical value), it is evident that the operation had been performed to let the evil spirit out. It is known that the disk of bone removed by such a surgical procedure often was worn as an amulet around the patient's neck to ward off the return of the spirit. In one cemetery, out of 120 skulls six had been trepanned, which would show the intensity of the belief of the ancient world in the control of spirits over human minds. It was thought that there were seven and one half million such demons, one or more for every human malady. See DISEASE; LUNATIC.

H. L. DRUMWRIGHT, JR.

**Madon** may'don (מָדוֹן *H4507,* "[place of] contention"). A royal city of the Canaanites in GALILEE whose king, JOBAB, joined JABIN king of HAZOR in his unsuccessful alliance against Israel (Josh. 11:1 [LXX *Marrōn];* 12:19). The proposal that Madon should be identified with modern Khirbet Madin (c. 10 mi. ENE of NAZARETH and a short distance from Qarn Ḥaṭṭin) has little in its favor other than name similarity. Because the SEPTUAGINT uses *Marrōn* also where the MT has *mērôm* (11:5, 7), many scholars suspect textual corruption and identify Madon with MEROM (prob. some 20 mi. farther N), near which the battle took place. (Cf. Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], 117-18.) See also SHIMRON (PLACE).

**Maelus** may'uh-luhs. KJV Apoc. variant of MIJAMIN (1 Esd. 9:26).

**Maerus** may'uh-ruhs. See AMRAM #2.

**Magadan** mag'uh-dan (Μαγαδάν *G3400). A* locality on the W shore of the Sea of Galilee to which Jesus came after feeding the 4,000. The name appears only in Matt. 15:39 (KJV, "Magdala," following the Majority text), while the parallel passage reads DALMANUTHA (Mk. 8:10). Magadan and Dalmanutha may have been contiguous; and possibly Magadan was identical with, or at least included in, MAGDALA, the home of MARY Magdalene.

L. J. WOOD

**Magbish** mag'bish (מַגְבִּישׁ *H4455,* possibly from a root meaning "to pile up" or "to be massive"). Either the ancestor of some Israelites who returned from EXILE or, more likely, a town in JUDAH resettled by them (Ezra 2:30; the name is omitted in the parallel list, Neh. 7:33, whereas 1 Esd. 5:21 has "Niphish" [KJV, "Nephis"]). If it is a town, its location is unknown; proposals include Khirbet el-Makhbiyeh (c. 3 mi. SW of ADULLAM) and Khirbet Qanan Mugheimis (a bit farther S).

**Magdala, Magdalene** mag'duh-luh, –leen (Μαγδαλά *G3401* [not in NIV], prob. from Heb. מִגְדָּל *H4463,* "tower"; gentilic Μαγδαληνή *G3402).* Apparently the home of MARY Magdalene, who is mentioned a number of times in the Gospels (Matt. 27:56 et al.). The name Magdala itself does not

Small stone structures from ancient Magdala. (View to the NE.)

occur in any textually secure passage, although it is found in a few MSS at Mk. 8:10 (where the original reading is no doubt DALMANUTHA); it also occurs in many MSS, followed by the KJV, at Matt. 15:39 (where the earliest texts, as well as most modern versions, read MAGADAN). Magdala is sometimes linked with *migdāl nûnayyā*ʾ, "Fish Tower," a place mentioned in the TALMUD as being one *mil,* or less than a mile, from TIBERIAS(*b. Pesaḥim 46a).* It is also thought to be the same as *Taricheas* (Tarichea or Tarich[a]eae), "Fish-Salting," an important town mentioned several times by JOSEPHUS *(War* 1.8.8 §180 et al.) and usually identified with modern Majdal, 3 mi. NW of Tiberias (for a discussion of the conflicting evidence, see G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land,* 25th ed. [1931], 292-93). Majdal (also Mejdel) stands at a strategic road junction, and so perhaps justifies the name—a tower or fortification, some strong point, perhaps, on a vital crossroad. (See further *ABD,* 4:463-64.)

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

**Magdiel** mag'dee-uhl (מַגְדִּיאֵל *H4462,* "gift of God"). Descendant of ESAU, listed among the clan chiefs of EDOM (Gen. 36:43; 1 Chr. 1:54). His name may have been preserved in an ancient locality (see Euseb. *Onom.* 124.22 –23).

**Maged** may'gid. KJV Apoc. alternate form of MAKED (1 Macc. 5:36).

**Magi** may'ji (pl. form of Latin *magus,* from Gk. μάγος *G3407,* in turn a borrowing of Old Pers. *maguš;* cf. Heb. מָג *H4454,* "official"). The Magi first appear in history by being identified as a tribe of the emerging Median nation in the 7th cent. B.C. (see MEDIA). Within this tribe there was a strong

tradition that favored the exercise of sacerdotal and occult powers within the frame of their religious system, on the part of those who were capable of such activity. Thus the Magi became a hereditary priesthood, often possessing great political power, in the Median, Babylonian, Persian, and Parthian empires. In Hellenistic and Roman times the word was corrupted into a common noun meaning "magician" or "sorcerer" (cf. Acts 13:6, 8). The term *Magi* is used by the NIV and some other modern versions in the Matthean nativity story, where the KJV and NRSV render the Greek word as "wise men" (Matt. 2:1, 7,16).

**I. Religion.** The original religious system of the Magi, possibly of SCYTHIAN origin, seems to have been based on philosophical concepts they shared with some segments of the Hellenic world, in particular an emphasis on the primacy of the elements: fire, water, earth, and air. Fire seems to have become the principal element of their worship, which was centered about an altar on which burned a perpetual flame believed to have been kindled from heaven. Blood sacrifices of domestic animals, including horses, were offered on a separate altar lit from the fire altar. Little of the victim was burned, and the remainder was consumed by the worshiper and the priests. The meaningful element of the sacrifice was considered to be the life of the victim rather than its flesh.

The Magian priesthood dressed in white robes and wore tall, somewhat conical hats made of felt that had long side flaps covering their cheeks as far as the chin. They carried small bundles of divining rods known as *barsoms* with which they officiated at sacrifices; these rods also were utilized in divining and soothsaying by arranging them in various patterns on the ground while chanting their incantations.

They admitted of no personal gods and permitted no images. Temples, as far as is known, were of no monumental distinction and were apparently little more than shelters for the sacred fire. The priests believed in the destruction of certain unclean forms of life—reptiles and insects—and were equally concerned with maintaining the sanctity of the previously mentioned physical elements. In this latter activity the disposition of the bodies of the dead became a major problem that was solved in either of two different ways: the bodies could be exposed to birds of prey, or they could be interred, if first completely sealed in a covering of wax.

The absence of any compelling theology was remedied by the introduction of ZOROASTRIANISM in the 6th cent. B.C., and its establishment as the state religion of PERSIA by DARIUS I (the Great). The Magi, anxious to maintain their religious and political favor, acceded to the royal decree, but did so without negating their original elemental philosophy or greatly altering their rituals.

At its best, the syncretistic Magian religion of Achaemenid days (i.e., during the height of the Persian empire) had much in common with the religion of the Jews. Each had its monotheistic concept of one beneficent creator, author of all good, who in turn was opposed by a malevolent evil spirit. Each had its hereditary priesthood, which became the essential mediator between God and man by virtue of a blood sacrifice. Each depended on the wisdom of the priesthood in DIVINATION (the URIM AND THUMMIM of the Levite was used in a way similar to that of the barsoms of the Magi), and to each was attributed considerable prophetic insight and authority. Their mutually held concepts of CLEAN and unclean forms of life and vegetation, and their positive attitude toward the four elements in material life as well as in religious symbolism are worthy of note.

**II. History.** The early Magian system was decreed to be the state religion of Media by Cyaxares, king of the Medes, late in the 6th cent. B.C., after some Magi who were considered to be expert in the interpretation of DREAMS had been attached to the Median court. It was in this dual capacity, whereby

civil and political counsel was invested with religious authority, that the Magi became powerful figures in the empire.

NERGAL-SHAREZER, called the *rab-māg* in the service of NEBUCHADNEZZAR of BABYLON, is mentioned by name as one of the principal officials of the court (Jer. 39:3, 13). Such prominence is not surprising when it is remembered that this was a coalition government of Babylonians and Medes. Median, and consequently Magian, ambition was to be reckoned with again in the early Persian empire.

CYRUS the Persian had wrested the government from the old Median line of Cyaxares and Astyages and had established the supremacy of Persia over Media. At the same time he acknowledged the role of the Magi as the supreme priestly caste of the empire. While they waited their time, the Magian opportunity to reassert Median supremacy came during the reign of CAMBYSES and Bardiya (Smer-dis), sons of Cyrus. During the palace intrigue that culminated in the murder of Bardiya (and the suicide of Cambyses), the Magi were in sufficiently high position to implement a conspiracy of their own. One of their own number, Gaumata (Pseudo-Smerdis) by name, actually usurped the throne. Such usurpation was severely punished by Darius the Great, who destroyed the immediate conspirators as well as the ambitious Gaumata himself. However severely these political aspirations were rebuked, the Magi were not deprived of their priestly status, nor were they removed from their office of being diviners and advisers to the King. XERXES, the son of Darius, is mentioned as having consulted the Magi when formulating his plans for the invasion of Greece.

With the PARTHIAN revolt against the SELEUCIDS in the mid-3rd cent. B.C., the Magi again appeared, being incorporated into the constitutional government of the empire. As the Medes (and the Magi) had been accorded considerable deference when absorbed into the Babylonian and Persian empires, so the Persians (and the Magi) were conferred much privilege by their less sophisticated Parthian overlords. Magian Zoroastrianism was reinstated as the state religion.

A constitutional council, known as the Megis-tanes, was instituted whose duty was to assist in the election (and, if need be, the deposition) of the monarch, and to serve as his advisers in governing the nation. The Magian hierarchy was accorded the senior position in this council. The upper house was composed of the hereditary priesthood of the Magi, while the lower house was composed of appointees who were collectively known as the *Sophi* (wise men).

Artist's conception of the Magi who came to visit Jesus. Their presence fueled the fear of King Herod.

Apparently the Parthians, though showing considerable respect for the Persians and the Magi, were never enthusiastic converts to Zoroastrianism. By the 3rd cent. A.D. they had largely reverted to

their original idolatry and ancestor worship, coupled with much of the popular religious syncretism of the day. The Magi, in turn, lost much of their influence except in Persia proper, where they still were accorded their traditional veneration. Some of their vassal kings may have themselves been Magi.

In their traditional way the Persians and the Magi waited and plotted. They overthrew the Parthian rule and reimposed the rule of native (Sassanian) Persian monarchs. The Magi again were granted the highest religious and governmental powers. Zoroastrianism was reinstated as the state religion, and this situation prevailed until the empire fell to Islam in the 7th cent. A.D. In ensuing years, Zoro-astrian refugees, doubtless with Magi among them, migrated to India, where their descendants are still to be found among the Parsees. (See further E. M. Yamauchi, *Persia and the Bible* [1990], ch. 13.)

**III. OT references.** As noted previously, the untranslated title of Nergal-Sharezer, the chief of the Magi at the court of Nebuchadnezzar, is mentioned in Jer. 39:3, 13. Magi of lesser rank serving at the same court as advisers and interpreters of dreams are, in all probability, mentioned in the accounts given in Dan. 2:10, 27; 4:7, 9; 5:11. In these references the term *māg* is not used. Instead we find an Aramaic term, *ḥarṭōm H10282,* usually translated "magician." As noted previously in the definitions, the concept of magician in the form of a common noun was developed as a corruption of the older proper noun of Magus or Magian. In spite of older usage of the Hebrew term, it is not unlikely that in this context the officials referred to are Magians rather than magicians. It must be remembered that the Babylonian court of that day was of combined Babylonian and Median influence, and in naming the soothsayers for each group the Babylonians are simply referred to as such. However, the author, who was obviously pro-Median in his sympathies, would scarcely have omitted mention of their senior Median counterparts.

It is to be noted that JEREMIAH, writing objectively from outside the court milieu, uses the appropriately untranslated term *Rabmag* when referring to the chief Magian. DANIEL, on the other hand, writing from within, chose to make a distinction by translating the Median proper noun into an Aramaic common noun. The king, as a reward for services rendered, apparently appointed Daniel to the office of Master of the Magians (i.e., the Rabmag). As pro-Median as Daniel may have been, he was nevertheless fiercely proud of his Jewish identity and chose to describe the Magian office to which he had been appointed by official decree (rather than by hereditary right) with an appropriate Jewish term. Had he done otherwise, he would tacitly have identified himself as a Mede of Magian ancestry. This could also have had serious repercussions in the ranks of the Magi themselves, who doubtless would have resented the appropriation of their hereditary name by an appointee from outside their ranks. In his account Daniel evidently attempted to make it quite clear that he recognized the distinction. It is noteworthy that when Daniel did become the intended victim of a plot fomented by jealousy (Dan. 6), it was at the hands of regional governors (satraps) rather than the Magian dominated hierarchy of the court.

**IV. NT references.** In identifying the Magi in Matthew's account of the birth of Christ (Matt. 2:1, 7, 16), it is necessary to call attention to some significant historical background. Since the days of the prophet Daniel in the 6th cent. B.C., the fortunes of Persia and the Jewish nation had been closely intertwined. There is a strong probability that a Jewish-Median conspiracy had accomplished the fall of Babylon and gained for Cyrus the Persian undisputed supremacy of the ancient world. Persian gratitude was magnanimous. With the exception of the interlude during the reign of Cambyses, the consistent Persian policy toward the reemerging Jewish nation was overwhelmingly supportive.

Both nations had in their turn fallen under Seleucid domination in the wake of Alexander's conquests. Subsequently both had regained their independence—the Jews under Maccabean leadership, and Persians as the dominantly ruling group within the Parthian empire. It was at this time that the Magi, in their dual priestly and governmental office, composed the upper house of the council of the Megistanes whose duties included the absolute choice and election of the king of the realm. It was, therefore, a group of Persian-Parthian king makers who entered Jerusalem in the latter days of the reign of HEROD.

Herod's reaction was understandably one of fear when one considers the background of Roman-Parthian rivalry that prevailed during his lifetime. POMPEY, first Roman conqueror of Jerusalem in 63 B.C., had attacked the Armenian outpost of Parthia. In 55 B.C. Crassus led Roman legions in sacking Jerusalem and in a subsequent attack on Parthia proper. The Romans were decisively defeated at the battle of Carrhae with the loss of 30,000 troops, including their commander. In retribution, moreover, the Parthians counterattacked with a token invasion of Armenia, Syria, and Palestine. Nominal Roman rule was reestablished under Antipater, the father of Herod, who in his turn retreated before another Parthian invasion in 40 B.C. Mark Antony reestablished Roman sovereignty three years later, and like Crassus before him also embarked on a similarly ill-fated Parthian expedition. His disastrous retreat was followed by another wave of invading Parthians that swept all Roman opposition completely out of Palestine (including Herod himself, who fled to Alexandria and then to Rome). With Parthian collaboration, Jewish sovereignty was restored and Jerusalem was fortified with a Jewish garrison.

Herod had by this time secured from AUGUSTUS Caesar the title of king of the Jews. However, it was not for three years, including a five months' siege by Roman troops, that the king was able to occupy his own capital city. Herod had thus gained the throne of a rebellious buffer state that was situated between two mighty contending empires. At any time his own subjects might again be instrumental as a fifth column in bringing the Parthians to their aid.

At the time of the birth of Christ (prob. c. 4 B.C.), Herod was certainly close to his last illness. Augustus was also aged; and Rome, since the retirement of TIBERIUS, was without any experienced military commander. Pro-Parthian Armenia was fomenting revolt against Rome (a revolt that was successfully accomplished within two years). The time was ripe for another Parthian invasion of the buffer provinces, except for the fact that Parthia itself was racked by internal dissension. Phraates IV, the unpopular and aging king, had once been deposed, and it was not improbable that the Persian Magi were already involved in the political maneuvering requisite to choosing his successor.

It is possible that the Magi might have taken advantage of the king's lack of popularity to further their own interests with the establishment of a new dynasty, which could have been implemented only if a sufficiently strong contender could be found. At this point in time it was entirely possible that the messianic prophecies of the OT, culminating in the writings of Daniel, one of their own chief Magians, was of profound motivating significance. The promise of divinely imposed world dominion at the hands of a Jewish monarch was more than acceptable to them. Their own Persian and Medo-Persian history was studded with Jewish nobles, ministers, and counselors; and in the great Achaemenid days some of the kings themselves were apparently partly of Jewish blood.

In Jerusalem the sudden appearance of the Magi, probably traveling in force with all imaginable oriental pomp, and accompanied by adequate cavalry escort to insure their safe penetration of Roman territory, certainly alarmed Herod and the populace of Jerusalem, as is recorded by Matthew. It would seem as if these Magi were attempting to perpetrate a border incident that could bring swift reprisal from Parthian armies. Their request of Herod regarding him who "has been born king of the Jews" (Matt. 2:2) was a calculated insult to him who had contrived and bribed his way into that

office. (Because of the three gifts mentioned in the biblical narrative, early Christians deduced that the visitors were three kings [cf. Ps. 68:29]; subsequent legends attributed to them the names of Gaspar, Melchior, and Balthasar.)

In the providence of God, the messianic prophecy of the kingdom was not then fulfilled; the Magi, being "warned in a dream" (a type of communication most acceptable to them), "returned to their own country" (Matt. 2:12) with empty hands. Within two years Phraataces, the parricide son of Phraates IV, was duly installed by the Magi as the new ruler of Parthia. (It should be noted, however, that most scholars view these Magi more generally as Mesopotamian astrologers or "wise men" with some knowledge of Hebrew traditions, and not necessarily as officials involved in Parthian politics. See ASTROLOGY.)

In the book of Acts, reference is made to a certain Simon who "had practiced sorcery" (Acts 8:8; the verb is *mageuō G3405)* and who used to amaze people with his MAGIC (V. 11, *mageia G3404)*. See SIMON MAGUS. In addition, a man in CYPRUS named BAR-JESUS or ELYMAS is specifically called a *magos* (13:6, 8). In the western Hellenistic and Roman world, this term was used in general description of any juggler, magician, or astrologer; such implication may have been intended here. Some of these magi, however, may have been of Median or Persian descent and may have laid claim to some degree of mystical authority. It also is possible that some of them were Jews descended from appointed Magi of Daniel's day. Elymas could have been such a person. It is doubtful that the PROCONSUL, described as "an intelligent man" (v. 7), would have employed a total impostor.

D. W. JAYNE

**magic and sorcery.** In its widest sense, magic is "the science of the occult," that is, the attempt to influence persons and events by recourse to superhuman powers. The word derives from the MAGI, a priestly caste in MEDIA whose functions have largely been associated with "magic" ever since. They claimed to mediate between gods and human beings, conducted sacrifices, supervised the disposal of the dead, interpreted dreams, omens, and celestial phenomena, and foretold the future. The term *magic* came into the Greek world *(mageia G3404)* from Persia and thence into the Roman (Lat. *magus);* gradually it acquired a pejorative sense, which the word *sorcery* has possessed to an even greater degree. (The large number of Hebrew terms for the various magical practices are noticed below.)

Traditionally, a distinction has been made between "black" and "white" magic. The former is a means of invoking evil upon one's enemies, with the aid of evil spirits, curses, and spells: it presupposes malevolent powers who are willing to be manipulated. "White" magic postulates benevolent powers through whom good ends can be achieved and evil spells undone. In a well-known definition, J. G. Frazer wrote, "Magic is a kind of savage logic, an elementary species of reasoning, based on similarity, contiguity and contrast" *(The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion,* 3rd ed. [1917–20], 1:61). This often is compared with the systematic procedures of science.

**I. Magic in the ANE.** The Hebrews are portrayed in the OT within a world in which magic had been practiced for many centuries. The Persian Magi were, in fact, relative late-comers.

In Sumero-Akkadian folklore, gods as well as people needed the services of magic (see SUMER; ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA). Thus, in the Babylonian "Creation Epic," Ea-Enki was the "Lord of Incantation," and his son MARDUK defeated the female deity TIAMAT because his spells were more

potent than hers. Handbooks have survived which list a wide range of errors that bring evil on humans, with appropriate rites of purification (See E. Reiner, *Surpu: A Collection of Sumerian and Akkadian Incantations* [1958]). A manual "Maglu" similarly prescribes ritual for warding off the effects of black magic. The cult of DIVINATION was highly developed: tablets survive describing many omens observable in the heavens, in human events, in the flight of birds, and in the organs of animals. Hence the reference in Nahum to Assyria as "the mistress of sorceries" (Nah. 3:4).

In EGYPT, magic had been equally prominent. It was under the patronage of the leading gods Thoth and Isis (see OSIRIS), and papyri provide abundant detail. Magic was learned in temple schools ("the House of Life"), and priesthoods devoted especially to the art. The lore was extended to the dead, who needed their own magical equipment to preserve them in the next life. The manual "Instructions for King Merikare" (c. 2200 B.C.) shows how closely magic was linked with medicine in Egypt. The interpretation of dreams was a highly sophisticated art, and Egyptian magicians were also renowned as wonder-workers, the evidence of their extraordinary feats (going back to the 3rd millennium) being recorded in the "Tales of the Early Magicians" (see A. H. Gardiner in *ERE,* 8:262-69, for six categories of Egyptian magic).

As in Assyria and Babylonia, so in early Canaanite epics both divine and human magic


Babylonian astrological tablet in cuneiform script, giving omens regarding lunar eclipses.

were practiced. In the "Epic of Baal," for example, the victory of Mot over BAAL is reversed by the goddess ANATH through magical means: and in the "Legend of Keret," king of UGARIT, the god EL carries out elaborate rituals to restore the king to health. Other epics mention the practice of augury and astrology by women. Evidence of Canaanite magic is relatively plentiful in the OT, and will be summarized below.

**II. The OT and magic.** In the light of this universal phenomenon, its impact on the life of Israel was inevitable. The OT is clear-cut in its message: as in other areas of their spiritual development, the

uniqueness and power of the revelation of Yahweh were here apparent.

The reality of occult powers is acknowledged, but magic and sorcery are consistently forbidden. A notable passage is Deut. 18:10-14: "Let no one be found among you 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. Anyone who does these things is detestable to the LORD…The nations you will dispossess listen to those who practice sorcery or divination. But as for you, the LORD your God has not permitted you to do so." This passage incorporates practically all the OT types of magic, except those practiced by Egyptians and Babylonians (cf. Lev. 19:26; note also the general terms used in Exod. 22:18; 2 Ki. 9:22; et al.).

Faithful Hebrews were trained from childhood to regard as dangerous superstition much of the religious practice around them; it could not coexist with the pure WORSHIP of Yahweh. Those who became mediums or wizards were to be put to death (Lev. 20:27). The same uncompromising attitude is found in the prophets (e.g., against necromancy, Isa. 8:19; against DIVINATION, Jer. 27:9-10; against witches, Ezek. 13:18). A long list of the finery of women includes several articles used as charms (Isa. 3:18-23).

Genesis contains some instructive examples: the power of the spoken word and the irrevocability of blessings and cursings (Gen. 27:18-40); the use of mandrakes as a love-philter (30:14-18); Jacob's peeled rods in connection with animal breeding (30:37-41). Of special note are the TERAPHIM, figurines that were virtually household gods and used for divination (Laban, 31:30-35; cf. Micah, Jdg. 17:1-6; and Michal, 1 Sam. 19:13-16, where a larger image is suggested). Teraphim are condemned everywhere as a piece of Canaanite IDOLATRY. In the narrative of JOSEPH (Gen. 41) the special gift of dream interpretation given to him is to be noted, surpassing that of Pharaoh's magicians.

In Exodus, the encounter between Moses and Aaron and Pharaoh's magicians and sorcerers (Exod. 7-8) accords with evidence of wonderworking magic in Egypt. The signs of the serpent rod and the plagues, however, were given not merely to outdo Egyptian wizardry; they demonstrated the OMNIPOTENCE of the God of Israel—"I will bring judgment on all the gods of Egypt. I am the LORD" (12:12). In Numbers the story of BALAAM is instructive (Num. 22-24). The Moabite BALAK hires Balaam, who was a diviner (22:7) accustomed to "look for omens" (24:1 NRSV; NIV, "resort to sorcery"). He was to injure the Israelites by his curses; however, he was granted prophetic powers and blessed them instead, under the guidance of God (23:20, "he has blessed, and I cannot change it").

Many other OT practices come under the general heading of divination. Casting lots to discover the divine will was very frequent: Lev. 16:8; Num. 26:55; Josh. 7:14; Jdg. 20:9; 1 Sam. 10:20 are illustrations of a wide variety of circumstances. Particular methods are sometimes mentioned (e.g., belomancy, the shaking of arrows in a quiver, Ezek. 21:21), but most significant are the URIM AND THUMMIM, kept on the breastplate of the high priest in the EPHOD. They were probably a pair of sacred objects for casting lots, and fell into disuse by the prophetic period (Num. 27:21; Deut. 33:8, 10; 1 Sam. 28:6). Dreams and visions often are recorded as means of divine communication; they could either be sent unsolicited or sought after (cf. Deut. 13:1 –15, "one who foretells by dreams"). Necromancy, or the consultation of the dead, is strongly condemned. Best-known is the medium of ENDOR consulted by SAUL (1 Sam. 28:7-19) in spite of his show of obedience in the banishing of mediums and wizards. Linked with necromancers are the FAMILIAR SPIRITS said to possess them.

In 2 Kings are found the best examples of royal attitudes to magic. JEZEBEL is condemned as a sorceress (2 Ki. 9:22), and MANASSEH'S apostasy included BAAL worship, human sacrifice,

soothsaying and augury, and dealing with mediums and wizards (21:3-6). By contrast, JOSIAH his grandson "got rid of the mediums and spiritists, the household gods, the idols and all the other detestable things seen in Judah and Jerusalem" (23:24).

Finally, the book of Daniel reflects the opposition of Jewish faith and Babylonian magic. The young captives surpassed in skill all Nebuchadnezzar's magicians, particularly in the interpretation of dreams and visions (Dan. 1:17-20; at 2:2 sorcerers and Chaldeans [NIV, "astrologers"] are added). Daniel as chief of the whole class is given the name BELTESHAZZAR (4:8; the name itself may be an invocation, "[may] Bel protect his life") but declares the superiority of the "God in heaven" as revealer of mysteries (2:28). It is notable that astrology was not practiced in early Jewish history, and is indeed belittled by Isaiah as part of Babylonian error: "Let your astrologers come forward, those stargazers who make predictions month by month, let them save you from what is coming upon you" (Isa. 47:13; cf. Jer. 10:2).

**III. The NT and magic.** The OT repugnance for magic was inherited by the Christian church in a world that was as thoroughly imbued with such practices as ever. The Epistles therefore echo OT denunciations: PAUL lists witchcraft among the "acts of the sinful nature" that bar people from God's kingdom (Gal. 5:20), and in the somber description of 2 Tim. 3:1-9, the godless are compared to the magicians JANNES AND JAMBRES who withstood MOSES (in v. 13, "impostors" may also describe sorcerers). In Revelation sorcery appears among those practices that merit judgment (Rev. 9:21; 18:23; 21:8; 22:15).

The Gospels mention certain Pharisaical customs that appear to have bordered on the superstitious—the wearing of PHYLACTERIES (Matt. 23:5) and repetitious prayers (6:7), but the former practice did have a higher significance for the pious (cf. Exod. 13:9, 16; Deut. 6:8). What is emphasized is the supremacy of Christ over the spirit world (Mk. 3:22,23; Lk. 10:17-20). Sorcerers appearing in Acts are SIMON MAGUS and ELY-MAS (cf. also Acts 16:16-18 and 19:14-17).

(See further T.W. Davies, *Magic, Divination and Demonology among the Hebrews and Their Neighbours* [1898]; G. Coutenau, *La magie chez les Assyriens et les Babyloniens* [1947]; M. F. Unger, *Biblical Demonology* [1952], 107-64; A. L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East* [1956]; G. Luck, *Arcana Mundi: Magic and the Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds: A Collection of Ancient Texts* [1985]; A. Jeffers, *Magic and Divination in Ancient Palestine and Syria* [1996]; F. Graf, *Magic in the Ancient World* [1997]; H.-J. Klauck, *Magic and Paganism in Early Christianity: The World of the Acts of the Apostles* [2000]; A. Mastrocinque, *From Jewish Magic to Gnosticism* [2005]; M. Labahn and L. J. Lietaert Peerbolte, eds., *A Kind of Magic: Understanding Magic in the New Testament and Its Religious Environment* [2007]; *ABD,* 4:464-71.)

B. F. HARRIS

**magistrate.** This English term, referring to an official entrusted with the administration of laws, is used to render the Aramaic terms šĕ*paṭ H10735,* "judge" (Ezra 7:25), and *tiptāy H10767,* "[police] officer" (Dan. 3:2-3). It also renders Greek *archōn G807,* "ruler," in one passage (Lk. 12:58) and especially *stratēgos G5130* (Acts 16:20-38). The latter was a common term in classical Greek literature for a high military officer and is usually translated "general" or "captain" (e.g., Acts 4:1; see CAPTAIN OF THE TEMPLE). In Hellenistic times, however, it was used as the equivalent for a large number of technical terms denoting Roman provincial officials.

In the context in Acts 16, *stratēgos* is used as the title of the Roman official of the colony of

PHILIPPI and probably stands for the Latin *duumviri* (also *duoviri),* referring to the magistrates of the colony. This Greek term, however, was used also of the much higher Roman official, the PRAETOR. In the provincial colonial seats of the Roman empire there often were several of these officials whose power included paramilitary and police affairs as well as administrative and political functions. There were usually three to five such officials who levied taxes, commanded the Roman garrison, tried criminal cases, and kept civil order. Frequently the names of the magistrates appear on the local coinage of the Asiatic provinces. The precise differentiation between the Greek *archōn* and *stratēgos,* as they appear together in Acts 16:19b-20a, is that most likely the second word is a subclass of the first and refers to the Roman judges of the court, a usage that would accord with extrabiblical sources.

(See further D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* [1950]; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World,* vol. 1 [1953]; A. H. M. Jones; *The Later Roman Empire: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey, 2* vols. [1964]; C. K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles,* ICC, 2 vols. [1994-98], 2:789.) See also CITY AUTHORITIES.

W. WHITE, JR.

**Magnificat** mag-nif'uh-kat. The title given to Mary's psalm of praise (Lk. 1:46-55), drawn from the first line of the Latin VULGATE, "Magnificat anima mea Dominum" ("My soul magnifies the Lord"). The passage is similar to the prayer or song of HANNAH (1 Sam. 2:1-10) and contains allusions to it. It is one of the three psalms in Hebrew poetic style in this narrative of the birth of our Lord. The text makes a most fitting ending to the expectations of the OT covenant which looked forward to the consummation of the promised blessing to ABRAHAM through the MESSIAH. The utter humility of the means by which God is pleased to bring this grace to his people is glorified as a singular instance of his sovereign power. The psalm also initiates the age of the messianic fulfillment. (Cf. S. Farris, *The Hymns of Luke's Infancy Narratives: Their Origin, Meaning and Significance* [1985], 108-26.)

The text in its medieval guise as "The Canticle of the Blessed Virgin" has had wide acceptance in all branches of Christendom. Since the codification of the worship service by Pope Gregory the Great (590-604) and the official acceptance of the rule of St. Benedict (480-543), the Magnificat has been sung in the Roman Catholic Church at Vespers (evening prayers). In the Reformation and evangelical churches it has often been paraphrased and sung as a congregational hymn. Some of the greatest works of Christian art have been produced around the Magnificat themes. Artists, poets, and musicians have celebrated its theme of joy at the salvation now graciously offered mankind through the gift of his Messiah. See also BENEDICTUS.

W. WHITE, JR.

**Magog** may'gog (מָגוֹג *H4470,* possibly from Akk. *mātgugi,* "land of Gyges" [cf. *NIDOTTE,* 4:686]; Μαγώγ *G3408).* In Ezek. 38:2 and 39:6, Magog is described as a land in which (or people over which) GOG acts as chief ruler. The name appears first in the Table of NATIONS for one of the sons (or descendants) of JAPHETH (Gen. 10:2; 1 Chr. 1:5), who are eponymous ancestors of national groups. JOSEPHUS *(Ant.* 1.6.1) identifies Magog with the SCYTHIANS of the far N. Resemblance of names has caused some to identify Gog with Gyges (Gugu) of LYDIA, and so Magog with Lydia. Ezekiel's association of Gog and Magog with peoples at the extremities of the then known world (Ezek. 38:2) suggests that they might be interpreted in a representative and eschatological sense rather than

identified particularly (Rev. 20:8 uses the terms this way). Ezekiel sees them as representing northern nations (Ezek. 38:16), who in the "latter days" come against Israel in battle and experience God's wrath in defeat. (For bibliography, see GOG.) L. J. WOOD

**Magor-Missabib** may'gor-mis'uh-bib (מָגוֹר מִסָּבִיב *H4474,* "terror all around"). The name that JEREMIAH gave to PASHHUR, the priest who beat him and put him in stocks (Jer. 20:3-4). In describing the coming of the Babylonian army, Jeremiah used the same phrase (meaning "terror on every side") on a number of occasions to press home the terrible truth. In one of his sermons, for example, he says, "Do not go out to the fields or walk on the roads, for the enemy has a sword, and there is terror on every side" (6:25). This expression is in fact the theme of Jeremiah's preaching (cf. 20:10; 46:5; 49:29; cf. Lam. 2:22). The phrase appears also in Ps. 31:13.

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**Magpiash** mag'pee-ash (מַגְפִּיעָשׁ *H4488,* derivation uncertain). An Israelite leader who sealed the covenant of NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:20). Some think that the personal name Magpiash may have been derived from MAGBISH (Ezra 2:30) if the latter was the village settled by the family (cf. H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra-Nehemiah,* WBC 16 [1985], 324).

**Magus** may'guhs. See MAGI; SIMON MAGUS.

**Mahalab** may'huh-lab (from a conjectured place name, מַחֲלַב). A border town within the tribal territory of ASHER, near ACZIB and the Mediterranean Sea (Josh. 19:29 NRSV). The MT, however, reads *mēḥebel,* "from the territory" (cf. KJV, "from the coast to Achzib"; NIV, "in the region of Aczib"). The conjecture *mĕḥallēb* is based on CODEX VATICANUS of the SEPTUAGINT *(kai apo Leb,* "and from Leb," which suggests that the MT reading may have resulted when a scribe transposed the consonants *l* and *b)* and on the fact that a town named Mahalliba is mentioned in an inscription by SENNACHERIB *(ANET,* 287). If this proposal is correct, Mahalab probably should be identified with AHLAB (Jdg. 1:31), which in turn may be the same as modern Khirbet el-Maḥalib, some 4 mi. NE of TYRE (see Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], 235; *ABD,* 4:471-72).

**Mahalah** may'huh-lah. KJV alternate form of MAHLAH (only 1 Chr. 7:18).

**Mahalaleel** muh-hay'luh-lee'uhl. KJV form of MAHALALEL.

**Mahalalel** may-hal'uh-luhl (מַהֲלַלְאֵל H4546, "praise of God" or "God shines"; see Noth, *IPN,* 205, and J. D. Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew* [1988], 126-27; Μαλελεήλ *G3435).* KJV Mahalaleel; KJV NT, Maleleel. (1) Son of Kenan and grandson of ENOSH in the line of SETH (Gen. 5:12-17; 1 Chr. 1:2); included in the GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Lk. 3:37; NRSV, "Mahalaleel"). Some relate this name with MEHUJAEL, grandson of ENOCH in the line of CAIN (Gen. 4:18).

(2) Descendant of PEREZ and ancestor of ATHAIAH, a postexilic Judahite who settled in Jerusalem (Neh. 11:4).

**mahalath, mahalath leannoth** may'huh-lath, may'huh-lath-lee-an'oth (מָחֲלַת *H4714* and לַעֲנוֹת *H4361).* Musical terms of uncertain meaning found, respectively, in the titles of Pss. 53 and 88. The first term is often interpreted as referring to a musical instrument, such as the flute; and if the word *lĕʿannôt* is analyzed as the piel infinitive of the verb *ʿānâ H6702,* the phrase could mean "[upon] a flute for singing." According to a different analysis, the phrase indicates a tune perhaps entitled "The Suffering of Affliction" (so NIV mg.). See also MUSIC VI.

**Mahalath (person)** may'huh-lath (מָחֲלַת *H4715).* (1) Daughter of ISHMAEL (Gen. 28:9). ESAU married her because his previous marriages to Canaanite women had displeased ISAAC (V. 8). Mahalath may be the same as the BASEMATH mentioned in 36:3, but some scholars argue that the two passages preserve conflicting traditions.

(2) Daughter of JERIMOTH and ABIHAIL, granddaughter of DAVID, and wife of REHOBOAM (2 Chr. 11:18). She gave birth to three sons (v. 19).

**Mahali** may'huh-li. KJV alternate form of MAHLI (only Exod. 6:19).

**Mahanaim** may'huh-nay'im (מַחֲנַיִם *H4724,* "double camp"; variously transliterated and translated in the LXX). A city in N TRANSJORDAN, important especially in the time of the monarchy. Mahanaim, according to Gen. 32:2, was named by JACOB after he left LABAN, his father-in-law, and met God's angels on the way back to Canaan. The Hebrew word *maḥănayim H4724* looks like a dual noun, although it may not have originally been so (cf. v. 10, where the expression "two groups" or "two camps" renders Heb. šĕ*nê maḥănôt,* plural of *maḥăneh H4722).*

Mahanaim was on the border between the tribes of GAD (Josh. 13:26) and MANASSEH (v. 30). It also was one of the Transjordanian CITIES OF REFUGE (21:38) and one of the LEVITICAL CITIES (1 Chr. 6:80). Later the town became the seat of AHINADAB, one of SOLOMON'S district governors (1 Ki. 4:14). There may be a mention of Mahanaim in Cant. 6:13 (NIV, "the dance of Mahanaim"; NRSV, "a dance before two armies").

It is in connection with DAVID, however, that Mahanaim is most frequently mentioned. After SAUL died, a civil war was beginning in Israel. ABNER, Saul's general, wanted ISH-BOSHETH, a son of Saul, to be king (2 Sam. 2:8). From their base of operations at Mahanaim, Abner and Ish-Bosheth went to GIBEON, where a war by representation was fought around the great pool. After an indecisive outcome and some foul play by Abner, JOAB (David's general) chased Abner back to Mahanaim (2:29). Presumably it was there that RECAB and BAANAH murdered Ish-Bosheth (4:5-7).

In the war between David and ABSALOM, David made his headquarters temporarily at Mahanaim (2 Sam. 17:24-27 and 19:32). At this time the battle of the forest of Ephraim occurred, where Absalom was caught by his hair in a tree and subsequently slain by Joab. Apparently David was at Mahanaim when news of Absalom's death came and he wept, crying out, "O my son Absalom! My son, my son Absalom! If only I had died instead of you—O Absalom, my son, my son!" (18:33).

The Bible gives little information to identify the site, apart from the deduction in Gen. 32:22 that it was N of the JABBOK River. Various proposals have been made, including modern Khirbet Maḥneh and Tell er-Reheil, but the most likely site is western Telul edh-Dhahab, that is, Tell edh-Dhahab el-Gharbi, on the N bank of the Jabbok and some 7 mi. E of the Jordan (just NW of T. edh-Dhahab esh-Sherqiyeh, which is identified with PENUEL). (See E. Kraeling, *Bible Atlas* [1956], 204-6; Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], 34, *314; ABD,* 4:472-73.)

Mahanaim.

**Mahaneh Dan** may'hun-uh-dan' (מַחֲנֵה־דָן *H4723,* "camp of Dan"). Also Mahaneh-dan. A place between ZORAH and ESHTAOL (i.e., 14-15 mi. W of Jerusalem) where "the Spirit of the LORD began to stir" SAMSON (Jdg. 13:25; KJV, "the camp of Dan"). The area received its name because 600 Danites camped there before attacking the Ephraimites (18:12). The latter passage describes the place as being "west" (lit., "behind") KIRIATH JEARIM, which seems inconsistent with 13:25. Some scholars suspect textual corruption in 13:25; others speculate that two different places had the same name; still others interpret "west of Kiriath Jearim" loosely. In any case, the precise location of Mahaneh Dan is unknown. (See the discussion in *ABD,* 4:473-74.)

**Maharai** may'huh-ri (מַהְרַי *H4560,* possibly "impetuous *[i.e.,* for Yahweh]"). A warrior from the town of NETOPHAH who became one of DAVID'S Thirty (2 Sam. 23:28; 1 Chr. 11:30). Elsewhere he is identified as a descendant of ZERAH and as an army commander in charge of the division for the tenth month (1 Chr. 27:13).

**Mahath** may'hath (מַחַת *H4744,* perhaps "harsh" [cf. *HALOT,* 2:572, "terror" or "hard"]). (1) Son of AMASAI, descendant of KOHATH, and ancestor of the musician HEMAN (1 Chr. 6:35).

(2) Son of Amasai (prob. different from #1 above); this Mahath was a Kohathite Levite who assisted in the reforms of King HEZEKIAH (2 Chr. 29:12) and is probably also to be identified with the Mahath who was one of the supervisors of the temple offerings (31:13).

**Mahavite** may'huh-vit (מַחֲוִים *H4687,* derivation unknown). Epithet applied to ELIEL, one of DAVID'S mighty warriors (1 Chr. 11:46); it serves to distinguish him from the Eliel in the following

verse. The term, which occurs only here, appears to be a gentilic, but its reference is unknown. Many scholars emend the text to *hammahniî,* "the Mahanite" (alternatively *hammaḥănaymî [BHS];* see MAHANAIM), or to *hammĕʿônî*, "the Maonite" (see BAAL MEON and MAON), but these forms too are unattested.

**Mahazioth** muh-hay'zee-oth (מַחֲזִיאוֹת *H4692,* prob. from a root meaning "vision"). Son of HEMAN, the king's seer (1 Chr. 25:4). 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 twenty-third lot fell to Mahazioth, his sons, and his relatives (25:30).

**Maher-Shalal-Hash-Baz** may'huhr-shal al-hash'baz (מַהֵר שָׁלָל חָשׁ בַּז *H4561,* prob. "hurry [to seize] plunder, hasten [to seize] spoil"). A symbolic name given to one of the sons of Isaiah to signify the speedy destruction of REZIN and PEKAH by the king of ASSYRIA (Isa. 8:1, 3). In this phrase, the roughly synonymous verbs *māhar H4554* and *ḥûš H2590* ("to hurry, hasten, be quick") are usually understood as imperatives, but it is possible to take them as participles ("the one who hurries…who hastens"; for these and other interpretations see H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12: A Commentary* [1991], 332). On the significance of the passage as a whole, see ISAIAH, BOOK OF, VI.A.

**Mahlah** mah'luh (מַחְלָה *H4702,* possibly "weak"). (1) The eldest of the five daughters of ZELOPHEHAD of the tribe of MANASSEH (Num. 26:33). Since Zelophehad had no sons, his daughters requested ELEAZAR the priest that they be allowed to inherit their father's property, and the request was granted on condition that they marry into their father's tribe (27:1-11; 36:11; Josh. 17:3-4). This decision was very important and became a precedent.

(2) Son (or daughter) of HAMMOLEKETH, who was apparently the sister of GILEAD; included in the genealogy of MANASSEH (1 Chr. 7:18). It is unclear why the name of Mahlah's father is not given. See ABIEZER#1.

**Mahli** mah'li (מַחְלִי *H4706,* derivation uncertain; gentilic מַחְלִי *H4707,* "Mahlite"). (1) Son of MERARI and grandson of LEVI (Exod. 6:19; Num. 3:19; 1 Chr. 6:19, 29; 23:21; 24:26, 28; Ezra 8:18). His offspring, the Mahlites (Num. 3:33; 26:58), along with their brothers, the Mushites (see MUSHI), were responsible for carrying the frames of the TABERNACLE with its bars, pillars, bases, and all the accessories attached to these things (Num. 4:31-33). (For the significance of the inclusion of the name Mahli in the various lists, see *ABD,* 4:476.)

(2) Son of Mushi, grandson of Merari, and thus nephew of #1 above (1 Chr. 6:47; 23:23; 24:30). He is listed as an ancestor of ETHAN, one of the Levites that DAVID put in charge of the temple music (cf. 6:31,44).

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**Mahlon** mah'lon (מַחְלוֹן *H4705,* possibly "sickly"). Son of ELIMELECH and NAOMI; first husband of RUTH (Ruth 1:2, 5; 4:10). He and his brother KILION, as well as their father, died in MOAB. (On the possible significance of his name, see *ABD,* 4:476-77.)

**Mahol** may'hol (מָחוֹל *H4689,* "[round or circle] dance"). A term used to designate the father of four sages who are compared with SOLOMON for WISDOM (1 Ki. 4:31). Elsewhere, however, their father is said to be ZERAH (1 Chr. 2:6). Since *māḥôl* means "dance," and two of these sages, HEMAN and ETHAN, are ascribed authorship of one psalm each (Heman, Ps. 88; Ethan, Ps. 89), it is likely that "sons of Mahol" is an appellative expression indicating membership in a musical guild. These men apparently were dancers whose activity played an important role in religious exercises (cf. Ps. 149:3; 150:4).

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**Mahseiah** mah-see'yah (מַחְסֵיָה *H4729,* "Yahweh is [my] refuge"). KJV Maaseiah. Father of NERIAH and grandfather of BARUCH and SERAIAH; the latter two men assisted the prophet JEREMIAH (Jer. 32:12; 51:59; Bar 1:1 [KJV, "Maasias"]).

**Maianeas** may-an'ee-uhs. KJV Apoc. form of MAIANNAS (1 Esd. 9:48).

**Maiannas** may-an'uhs (Μαιαννας). A Levite who helped EZRA instruct the people in the law (1 Esd. 9:48 NRSV; KJV, "Maianeas"). The RSV calls him "Maaseiah" on the basis of the parallel (Neh. 8:7).

**maid, maiden.** The English term *maid* (already found in Middle English) is a short form of *maiden,* both of which mean "unmarried young woman," usually applied to virgins. The shorter form, however, often has the more specific meaning of "female servant," its most common modern use. The KJV uses *maid* (in both the general and the specific meaning) over forty times to render several Hebrew and Greek words. Modern versions as a rule apply this term only to servants and thus employ it less frequently (similar terms used include *maidservant* and *slave-girl;* cf. also *handmaid* and *handmaiden* in the KJV).

The fuller term, *maiden,* occurs twenty-six times in the KJV as the translation of such words as Hebrew *na(ărâ H5855,* "girl," and *bĕtûlâ H1435,* "virgin" (cf. both terms in Gen. 24:16). The NRSV, by contrast, uses it only seven times in Song of Solomon to render several Hebrew words (Cant. 1:3 et al.) and once elsewhere to render *bĕtûlâ* (Amos 5:2). In the NIV, *maiden* occurs sixteen times, usually as the translation of *bĕtûlâ* (e.g., Ps. 78:63), but

Young Palestinian maiden.

a few times it renders (*almâ H6625* (Gen. 24:43; Ps. 68:25; Prov. 30:19; Cant. 1:3).

The latter Hebrew term, *ʿalmâ,* has proven controversial because of its use in Isa. 7:14. Following the SEPTUAGINT (which uses *parthenos G4221* here [also in Gen. 24:43]), the KJV translates "virgin," as does the NIV. Many scholars, however, argue that it should be rendered "young woman" (cf. NRSV). It is true that Hebrew *ʿalmâ* does not fully correspond to English *virgin,* but it may well indicate a marriageable young woman, who in that culture would have been presumed to be a virgin. In this respect, English *maiden* may be a close equivalent of this Hebrew word. See discussion under VIRGIN.

**mail.** See ARMOR, ARMS IV.B.

**Makaz** may'kaz (מָקָץ *H5242,* derivation uncertain). One of four towns within the second of the twelve districts that supplied provisions for SOLOMON and the royal household (1 Ki. 4:9); governed by BEN-DEKER, this district was apparently in the N SHEPHELAH, but the precise location of Makaz is unknown.

**Makbannai** makljanai. TNIV form of MACBANNAI.

**Makbenah** mak-bee'nuh. TNIV form of MACBENAH.

**Maked** may'kid (Μακεδ). A strong city in GILEAD from which Judas MACCABEE rescued Jews who were being threatened by their pagan neighbors (1 Macc. 5:26, 36; KJV, "Maged"). Maked must have been E of the Sea of Galilee, apparently between BOSOR and Chaspho (CASPIN), and some have identified it with modern Tell el-Jemid.

**Makheloth** mak-hee'loth (מַקְהֵלוֹת *H5221,* "places of assembly"). A stopping place of the Israelites, between Haradah and Tahath, during their forty years of wilderness wanderings (Num. 33:25-26). The location is unknown.

**Maki** may'ki' (מָכִי *H4809,* possibly short form of MAKIR). Also Machi. Father of Geuel, who was one of the twelve spies sent out to reconnoiter the Promised Land; he represented the Gadites (Num. 13:15). See GAD, TRIBE OF.

**Makir** may'kihr (מָכִיר *H4810,* prob. "bought"; gentilic מָכִירִי *H4811,* "Makirite"). (1) Son of MANASSEH (through an Aramean concubine, 1 Chr. 7:14) and grandson of JOSEPH. Makir may have married a woman "from among the Huppites and Shuppites" (so NIV, v. 15, but NRSV has, "Machir took a wife for Huppim and for Shuppim" [similarly NJPS]). In any case, his wife MAACAH bore him two sons (Pesher and Sheresh, v. 16); his son GILEAD may have been borne by another wife. We read that the children of Makir "were placed at birth on Joseph's knees," apparently an adoption ritual (Gen. 50:23). A daughter of Makir married the Judahite HEZRON and bore him SEGUB, who became the father of JAIR (1 Chr. 2:21-23).

Makir's descendants, the Makirites, are at the head of the list of Israelites who came out of Egypt (Num. 26:29). Makir's son Gilead gave his name (or was named for?) the area in TRANSJORDAN that his family inhabited (Num. 27:1; 32:39-40). In addition, BASHAN was allotted to

the Makirites because they were "great soldiers" (Josh. 17:1; NRSV, "because he [Makir] was a warrior"). Makir's great-grandson, ZELOPHEHAD, had no sons and thus his daughters claimed the inheritance (Num. 27 and 31). Further light is thrown on the exact situation regarding the Makirites and their inheritance in Josh. 13:29-31, which records the method by which the tribe of Manasseh was divided: half the family of Makir moved into Transjordan, while the other half went with that portion of the tribe of Manasseh that settled in Palestine proper.

(2) Son of Ammiel and probably a descendant of #1 above. This Makir is identified as a citizen of LO-DEBAR in whose house MEPHIBOSHETH the son of JONATHAN stayed (2 Sam. 9:4-5). He sub sequently helped DAVID when the latter went into exile (17:27-29). (For other scholarly reconstructions of the family of Makir, see *ABD,* 4:458-60, s.v. "Machir.")

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**Makkedah** muh-kee'duh (מַקֵּדָה *H5218,* possibly related to a root that in Aram. means "to be clean"). A Canaanite royal city taken by JOSHUA in his battle with the southern confederacy of five kings (Josh. 10:10-29). These kings, having been defeated at GIBEON, fled first eastward toward BETH HORON and then southward toward AZEKAH and Makkedah. The kings sought refuge, under pressure of Joshua's attack and God's rain of "stones," in a cave near Makkedah. There Joshua killed them in the presence of his men. Then Joshua took the city of Makkedah nearby, killing the king (10:28).

The town was in the SHEPHELAH and was later incorporated into the tribe of JUDAH, in the same district as LACHISH (Josh. 15:41). Its precise location is uncertain, however. Though mentioned with Azekah in the story, it need not have been near it, for the two cities are recorded in different lists in Josh. 15 (Azekah in vv. 33-36; Makkedah in vv. 37-41). Proposed sites include Khirbet el-Kheishum (between Azekah and BETH SHEMESH), Khirbet el-Kum (el-Qom, c. 6 mi. ESE of Lachish; cf. A. F. Rainey in *BASOR* 251 [Summer 1983]: 1-22; *NEAEHL,* 4:1233-35), and Tell Bornat (c. 5 mi. NE of Lachish; favored by Z. Kallai, *Historical Geography of the Bible* [1986], 381, but see LIBNAH). Joshua's route in the conquest of the individual cities (Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, Hebron, Debir; see Josh. 10:28-39) may favor the first site mentioned. (See E. G. Kraeling, *Bible Atlas* [1956], 138; D. Baly, *Geographical Companion to the Bible* [1963], 175.)

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**Maknadebai** mak-nad'uh-bi. TNIV form of MACNADEBAI.

**Maktesh** mak'tesh. KJV transliteration of *maktēš H4847* in Zeph. 1:11, "Howl, ye inhabitants of Maktesh, for all the merchant people are cut down; all they that bear silver are cut off." This Hebrew term occurs in only two other places: (1) Jdg. 15:19, where it is usually translated "hollow" in an attempt to fit the context (a place God opened so that water might come out of it); and (2) Prov. 27:22, where it evidently refers to an object used for grinding, thus "mortar." In Zeph. 1:11, it is unclear whether the term is used as a proper name (thus KJV and NJPS ["Machtesh"]; cf. also NRSV, "the Mortar") or as a common noun (cf. NIV, "the market district," since its inhabitants are merchants). In favor of taking it as a name is the mention of the FISH GATE and the Mishneh (see SECOND DISTRICT) in the previous verse. In either case, it must have been a well-known place in JERUSALEM, and it may have been so named because it was a hollow place in shape like a mortar (or perhaps it was a section where grinders of grain worked).

**Malachi, Book of** mal'uh-ki (מַלְאָכִי *H4858,* "my messenger"). The last book among the twelve Minor Prophets.

1. Background
2. Unity
3. Authorship
4. Date
5. Place of origin
6. Destination and occasion
7. Purpose
8. Canonicity
9. Text
10. Content
11. Theology

**I. Background.** With the prophecies of HAGGAI and ZECHARIAH, the book of Malachi is of great importance in supplying information about the period between the return from the EXILE and the work of EZRA and NEHEMIAH because of the scarcity of sources, both secular and religious, that relate to this period of Hebrew history. While the prophecy is not dated in the opening verses in the manner of some others, it is possible from an examination of the internal evidence to locate the activities of the author within the period of Persian suzerainty over Palestine (see PERSIA). This latter is evident from the mention in Mal. 1:8 of *the peḥâ H7068,* referring to the office of civil governor in the Persian empire, to which further references are found in Neh. 5:14 and Hag. 1:1.

Obviously then, the historical background of the prophecy is that of the postexilic period in Judea. Yet the book portrays religious and social conditions that point to a time subsequent to that of Haggai and Zechariah. The fact that sacrifices were spoken of as being offered in the TEMPLE (Mal. 1:7-10; 3:8) implies not merely that the structure had at last been completed, but also that it had been standing for a considerable time. In addition, the rituals of the cultus had become well established once more (1:10; 3:1, 10), and this would point to a date later than 515 B.C. That the prophet may actually have uttered his complaints against the priests and people in the following century seems highly probable from the fact that a certain degree of laxity had crept into cultic worship. The priests were not observing the prescriptions relating to the nature and quality of the animals offered for sacrifice (1:8), and had gone one step further in their attitude of indifference to the sacrificial requirements of the Lord by offering polluted bread before him. Indeed, the prophet rebuked them sharply because their general attitude showed that they had become tired of the ritual procedures connected with worship (1:13).

Clearly the initial enthusiasm that must have attended the opening of the second temple had diminished, and with a lessening of zeal came a more casual attitude toward the prescriptions of cultic worship. This degree of neglect also extended to the payment of requisite TITHES (Mal. 3:8-10), which were important for the support of both the

Because Israel was using blemished and diseased animals in worship, Malachi called for the people's repentance.

temple and the priesthood in the postexilic period. The way in which Malachi inveighed against mixed marriages (2:10-16) suggests the traditional conservatism of the Mosaic Torah rather than the infraction of legislation already in existence relating to this matter. The expression "the daughter of a foreign god" means "a woman of foreign or strange religion," and its usage would seem to imply that the practice of intermarriage with women of alien religious beliefs and traditions had become so commonplace that the earlier Hebrew ideals that looked with disfavor upon such unions had long since been forgotten. Since Malachi does not seem to appeal to specific regulations in this matter, it can be assumed with reasonable certainty that he was proclaiming his prophetic oracles at some point prior to 444 B.C., when Nehemiah legislated for this particular problem during his second term of office. The historical background of the book of Malachi, therefore, is that of the period following the work of Haggai and Zechariah, and preceding the period of Ezra and Nehemiah.

**II. Unity.** The prophecy consists of six sections or oracles that can be distinguished quite clearly. They reflect an accredited historical background and deal in a uniform manner with interrelated problems. The series of questions and answers in the prophecy has obviously been arranged in such a manner as to convey an overall message relating to divine judgment and blessing, and the book bears all the marks of a single author. The only serious question as to the unity and integrity of the prophecy has been raised in relation to its final words (Mal. 4:4-6), which may actually be an integral part of the sixth oracle. Some scholars have taken the reference to ELIJAH as constituting a later addition by the editor of the Minor Prophets, who may have believed that, with the end of prophecy, it was more than ever necessary for the precepts of the TORAH to be followed as a preliminary to the advent of the divine herald. While this view has certain points in its favor, not the least of which was the attitude of the QUMRAN sectaries toward prophecy and the law, it does not admit of objective demonstration.

**III. Authorship.** The traditional ascription of the prophecy to an individual named Malachi was derived from the superscription in Mal. 1:1. Considerable scholarly debate has surrounded the question as to whether or not *malʾākî* is a genuine proper name, since the SEPTUAGINT, unlike the MT, took the word not as a cognomen but as a common noun, rendering it *angelou autou,* "his messenger," and thus giving an anonymous quality to the prophecy in the process. Unless this work was one of three separate prophetic oracles that terminated the twelve Minor Prophets, as some scholars have supposed, it would seem preferable, on the analogy of the other prophetic compositions, to regard "Malachi" as a proper name, since the writings of the literary prophets were never anonymous works.

That there was some question in antiquity about the authorship of the book of Malachi is

apparent from the *Targum of Jonathan,* which added the explanatory gloss "whose name is Ezra the Scribe" to Mal. 1:1. Although this tradition was accepted by JEROME, it is actually no more valuable than similar ones that were associated with Nehemiah and Zerubbabel. While there may perhaps be some ground for thinking of the prophecy as an anonymous composition, it cannot be stated for certain that this was the case. In any event, even skeptical scholars have found it convenient to refer to the author as "Malachi."

**IV. Date.** The internal evidence points clearly to the postexilic period as the time when Malachi proclaimed his oracles. Yet the religious and social conditions indicate that he prophesied some time after the second temple had been rebuilt. The absence of any reference to the work of Ezra and Nehemiah would indicate a date prior to the religious reforms of 444 B.C. Most scholars posit a time of composition about 450, which is consistent with the internal evidence of the book. There is no reason to suppose that any significant interval of time separated the oral and written forms of the prophecy.

**V. Place of origin.** Given a date in the middle of the 5th cent B.C., it appears obvious that the oracles of Malachi originated in JERUSALEM itself. In the light of the intimate knowledge which the prophet possessed of abuses within the cultus, it would seem that he was a resident of the city and was suffering under the somber conditions of life that obtained in the province of Judah prior to the work of Ezra and Nehemiah.

**VI. Destination and occasion.** Because the primary objective of the prophet was to restore to the contemporary scene a sense of the essential worth of the service of God in terms of the COVENANT relationship, his oracles were meant for consump tion by the local populace. The lay members of the theocracy had succumbed largely to indifference and skepticism, while less responsible individuals had lapsed so far from the covenantal ideals as to treat the religion of the cultus with scorn (Mal. 1:14; 3:7-12). Intermarriage with pagan women brought with it the danger of indulgence in heathen religious rites, while adultery, perjury, and oppression of the poor were rife (3:5). To the priests Malachi addressed equally severe reprimands, accusing them of becoming bored with their religious duties and of compromising the offerings intended for the altar of God. The gross laxity of contemporary religious life, coupled with the almost complete indifference of the people of Jerusalem toward the obligations of covenant-living in the restored theocracy, prompted the strictures and the promises contained in the prophecy.

**VII. Purpose.** The prophet Malachi appears to have been as concerned as Haggai and Zechariah were about the deteriorating spirituality of the repatriated exiles. While Malachi was not in a position to engender enthusiasm for the construction of some visible symbol of the divine presence in Judea, he was able to point to the heart of the spiritual malaise that had overtaken his people. His aim was to restore the Jews to a fresh relationship with God by indicating the precise causes of contemporary spiritual declension and setting out the steps by which the life of the community could be renewed. Mindful of the fact that those elements which had precipitated the catastrophe of the exile in 597 B.C. were still very much alive in the social order of his day, Malachi sought to instruct his hearers in the lessons taught by history and guide them to a state of deeper spirituality and increasing material prosperity. Like Haggai before him, his dominant concern was for the recognition of spiritual priorities on the part of the restored community.

**VIII. Canonicity.** The prophecy of Malachi ranked last in the collection of minor works known as the Twelve Prophets. As well as regarding it as an anonymous composition, some scholars have thought that it originally had been part of the prophecy of Zechariah, but had somehow assumed an independent existence under the name of Malachi, its attributive author. But a fundamental difference in the historical background of the two works precludes such a situation, and although there may be some doubt about "Malachi" as a proper name, there was never any question among the Jews as to the canonicity of the prophecy itself. See CANON (OT).

**IX. Text.** On the whole the Hebrew text of Malachi has been transmitted in good condition. Only a few minor corruptions are at all evident, and in such cases the SEPTUAGINT is a great help in attempts at restoring the text. This Greek version contains the occasional extra word which may have become displaced from the original Hebrew, as in Mal. 1:6; 2:2, 3; 3:5. However, the LXX textual tradition was not uniform, since a few MSS omitted 3:21.

**X. Content.** The prophecy can be analyzed as follows:

1. Superscription (Mal. 1:1)
2. First oracle (1:2-5)
3. Second oracle, in dialog form (1:6—2:9)
4. Third oracle (2:10-16)
5. Fourth oracle (2:17—3:5)
6. Fifth oracle (3:6-12)
7. Sixth oracle (3:13—4:3)
8. Conclusion (4:4-6)

The foregoing oracles can be distinguished in the text quite clearly. The first oracle (Mal. 1:2-5) followed the thought of HOSEA in reaffirming his statement of divine love for the chosen people. Although the economic circumstances of the repatriated exiles were far from ideal, their hereditary enemies the Edomites, who had exulted over the fall of Jerusalem (Ps. 137:7), had themselves suffered a major disaster. By comparison with the judgment of God upon EDOM, the blessings of the divine love upon Israel were quite evident.

The second oracle (Mal. 1:6—2:9) employed an arresting dialog form to denounce the priestly hierarchy for its inability to furnish that kind of moral and religious leadership which would have enabled the returned community to avoid much of the current distress. Far from honoring their God in sacrifice and cultic worship, the priests had been indifferent and even contemptuous in discharging their duties. They condoned the offering to God of animals that would have been pronounced unworthy of the service of the civil Persian governor (1:7-8), and their behavior contrasted unfavorably with that of pagan Gentile cults, where the sacrificial tariffs were much more stringent. Whereas the primitive Levitical priesthood had displayed spiritual integrity, its postexilic successors were in danger of falling into the evil ways of their preexilic forebears. The true priest must be essentially an evangelist, and a "messenger of the LORD Almighty" (2:6-7).

In the third oracle (Mal. 2:10-16), the prophet concerned himself with the problem of mixed marriages and divorces among the laity. The whole issue had arisen because the Israelites had disregarded the implications of the covenant for community life. As a result, they had felt free to

leave the fellowship of the THEOCRACY in their search for suitable marital partners, and had imported alien women with strange beliefs which by nature were contrary to those of the law. Such actions could hardly go unpunished (2:12), nor could the people make legitimate protest when they received the due reward of their sins, since they had only themselves to blame (2:13). See DIVORCE; MARRIAGE.

The coming of God in an act of judgment was the subject of the fourth prophetic oracle (Mal. 2:17—3:5). God had grown tired of the common complaint that, by not interfering, he was actually condoning the prosperity of the wicked (2:17), and leading his people to think that there was no justice in human life. Because he was morally and ethically consistent, he would come suddenly upon the nation in judgment, being heralded in this intent by means of his messenger. His purpose would be to separate the faithful from the impious, and the temple priesthood would be the first to feel the weight of his judgments. Once the cultus had been purified and the worship of the temple had been made more acceptable (3:3-4), the lay members of the theocracy would themselves be judged. All who had been guilty of religious or moral crimes would be condemned (3:5), and the covenantal ideals of purity and holiness would be reestablished. In consequence of these procedures, the offerings of Judah and Jerusalem would once again be pleasing to God.

The fifth oracle (Mal. 3:6-12) laid the responsibility for the current displeasure of God squarely upon the shoulders of the people. Because God was ethically consistent, his attitude toward them could not change without a good reason. A change had in fact occurred because the people had disobeyed his laws, and his former feelings of graciousness could be restored only when the repatriates submitted in obedience to his demands. The offense about which Malachi complained in particular was their failure to pay the tithe laid down by the law (Num. 18:21). Only when this deficiency had been remedied would their land again bear fruit, and freed from the devastation of locust plagues, it would be the envy of their neighbors for productivity (Mal. 3:8-12).

The final oracle of the prophecy (Mal. 3:13—4:3) dealt again with the problem of evil in human life (cf. 2:17). The devout members of the theocracy, perplexed by the fact that arrogant and willful unbelievers in the nation seemed to be more prosperous than their fellowmen and under no apparent reproach from God, had begun to question the value of a life lived in obedience to the commands of God (3:13-15). In reply the prophet indicated that a "scroll of remembrance" was kept before the Lord, in which the deeds of the righteous were recorded (3:16). When the day of judgment upon sinners came into being, the Lord would remember the virtuous life of the faithful and would make it clear that his service brings its own rich blessings. The promised judgment would see sinners destroyed for their iniquity, while the pious believers would enjoy felicity and blessedness (4:1-3).

The concluding verses of the prophecy (Mal. 4:4-6) have been regarded by some scholars as an editorial addition to the entire book, on the ground that they either summarized the message of Malachi or that they indicated that the people should henceforth look to the traditional Mosaic law now that the voice of prophecy had ceased.

**XI. Theology.** The spirituality of Malachi is akin to that of the 8th and 7th cent. B.C. prophets. He recognized the absolute lordship of the God of Israel and the implications of the COVENANT relationship for the growth and well-being of the postexilic theocratic community. Personal commitment to the claims of God could alone insure blessing and peace, either for the individual or the nation. Although Malachi, with EZEKIEL, laid considerable stress on the importance of proper ritual procedures in worship as a means of preserving a pure and holy nation, he never condoned ritual as a substitute for an obedient heart. The true service of God included moral rectitude, justice and mercy, as well as correct ritual forms.

Important also in the theology of Malachi was his insistence that the first step toward a proper spiritual relationship with God was true REPENTANCE. Because of the many objections that had been raised against the traditional approach to the problem of evil, Malachi found it necessary to emphasize that iniquity would not go unpunished for ever, but that a just and holy God would exact proper recompense in due time. His ESCHATOLOGY drew heavily upon prophets such as AMOS and ZEPHANIAH in outlining the conditions that would obtain in the DAY OF THE LORD. It would be a time of calamity rather than blessing, in which deluded sinners would be punished for their violations of covenant love.

Malachi, however, also introduced an original theme, namely the concept of a book of remembrance in which the deeds of the righteous were recorded. This development was important in subsequent thought relating to the idea of a life beyond death. Another significant emphasis was upon the personage of a forerunner who would herald the coming of the Lord at the time of judgment. Since this individual was identified with a revived ELIJAH (cf. 2 Ki. 2:11), it would seem probable that the forerunner was thought of as a prophetic figure who would offer a disobedient people one last chance of repentance before the onset of divine judgment. Christ regarded the prophecy as foreshadowing the work of JOHN THE BAPTIST (Mk. 9:11-13), and the early church saw in the relationship between the work of the Baptist and that of Jesus the fulfillment of this prophecy (Mk. 1:2; Lk. 1:17).

(Significant commentaries include H. G. Mitchell et al., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi and Jonah,* ICC [1912]; W. C. Kaiser, Jr., *Malachi: God's Unchaging Love* [1984]; R. L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi,* WBC 32 [1984]; P. A. Verhoef, *The Books of Haggai and Malachi,* NICOT [1987]; E. H. Merrill, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi: An Exegetical Commentary* [1994]; D. L. Petersen, *Zechariah 9-14 and Malachi: A Commentary,* OTL [1995]; D. Stuart in *The Minor Prophets: An Exegetical and Expository Commentary,* ed. T. McComiskey [1992-98], 3:1245 –1396; A. E. Hill, *Malachi,* AB 25D [1998]; R. A. Taylor and R. Clendenen, *Haggai, Malachi,* NAC 21A [2004].

(See also W. O. E. Oesterley and T. H. Robinson, *An Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament* [1934], 427-33; R. K. Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament* [1968], 958–62; B. Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi: The Divine Messenger* [1987]; J. M. O'Brien, *Priest and Levite in Malachi* [1990]; G.P. Hugenberger, *Marriage as a Covenant: A Study of Biblical Law and Ethics Governing Marriage, Developed fom the Perspective of Malachi* [1994]; and the bibliography compiled by W. E. Mills, *Zechariah and Malachi* [2002].)

R. K. HARRISON

**malachite.** This English term, referring to a bright green-colored valuable ore of COPPER (hydrated basic carbonate of copper), is used by the NEB to translate a Hebrew word of uncertain meaning that occurs only once (Esth. 1:6; the NIV and other versions render it PORPHYRY). Malachite often shows different shades of color following a concentrically banded arrangement and is sometimes used for ornamental purposes. It is found together with other ores of copper in the zone of weathering or oxidation of copper deposits, with large amounts of ornamental quality in the Ural Mountains near Nizhni-Taglish. Malachite was an important ore in the copper deposits worked in ARABAH (cf. Deut. 8:9), and some may have been of ornamental quality.

D. R. BOWES

**Malachy** mal'uh-kee. KJV Apoc. form of MALACHI (2 Esd. 1:40).

**Malcam** mal'kam (מַלְכָּם *H4903,* from a root meaning "king"). KJV Malcham; TNIV Malkam. (1) Son of SHAHARAIM and descendant of BENJAMIN; a family head (1 Chr. 8:9). Malcam was one of seven children that were born to Shaharaim in MOAB by his wife HODESH after he had divorced Hushim and Baara (v. 8).

(2) The same Hebrew form occurs in the last phrase of Zeph. 1:5, which speaks of idolaters who swear both by Yahweh and by *malkām.* The SEPTUAGINT (Old Greek) translators, reading the same vowels as does the MT, analyzed the form as the noun *melek H4889* plus the third masculine plural pronominal suffix, and rendered it *tou basileōs autōn,* "their king." These and other early translators, however, were working with an unvocalized Hebrew text (thus simply *mlkm).* The Lucianic recension of the Greek version, reading *milkōm (H4904),* transliterates the word as *Melchom* (similarly the Syriac Peshitta and the Latin Vulgate). Most modern versions take this second approach (as they do also in Jer. 49:1, 3; and cf. 2 Sam. 12:30 = 1 Chr. 20:2; Amos 1:15). Many believe that MILCOM is an alternate name for MOLEK. It is less clear whether *malkām* in these passages should be regarded as an alternate form of *milkōm* or, more likely, as an incorrect analysis preserved by the Masoretes.

**Malcham** mal'kam. KJV form of MALCAM.

**Malchiah** mal-ki'uh. See MALKIJAH.

**Malchiel, Malchielite** mal'kee-uhl, mal'kee-uh-lit. See MALKIEL.

**Malchijah** mal-ki'juh. See MALKIJAH.

**Malchiram** mal'ki-ruhm. See MALKIRAM.

**Malchishua** mal'ki'-shoo'uh. See MALKI-SHUA.

**Malchus** mal'kuhs (Μάλχος *G3438,* prob. from an Arabic name meaning "king"). A servant of the high priest (CAIAPHAS); according to John, Simon PETER struck him with a sword and cut off his right ear when Jesus was arrested (Jn. 18:10). Although this incident is also recorded in the Synoptic Gospels (Matt. 26:51; Mk. 14:47; Lk. 22:50-51 [Luke adds the information that Jesus healed his ear]), John alone reports that his name was Malchus and that it was Peter who struck him. Because the name occurs in NABATEAN and Palmyrene inscriptions (cf. also Jos. *Ant.* 14.14.1 §370 et al.), some have thought that Malchus was an Arabian slave. John also reports that another servant of the high priest who was a relative of Malchus was also present during the arrest of Jesus and thus was able to identify Peter (Jn. 18:26). The Gospels do not state why Peter would have chosen to strike Malchus in particular, but it is likely that the latter, representing the high priest, played a significant role in the arrest.

**Maleleel** muh-lee'lee-uhl. KJV NT form of MAHALALEL.

**Malkam** mal'kam. TNIV form of MALCAM.

**Malkiel** mal'kee-uhl (מַלְכִּיאֵל *H4896, "God* is [my] king" [cf. MALKIJAH]; gentilic מַלְכִּיאֵלִי *H4897,* "Malkielite"). Also Malchiel. Son of BERIAH, grandson of ASHER, and eponymous ancestor of the Malkielite clan (Gen. 46:17; Num. 26:45; 1 Chr. 7:31).

**Malkijah** mal-ki'juh (מַלְכִּיָּה *H4898* and מַלְכִּיָּהוּ *H4899* [only Jer. 38:6], "Yahweh is [my] king"; cf. MALKIEL and MELECH). Also Malchiah (nine times in KJV and three times in NRSV), Malchijah (six times in KJV, twelve times in NRSV, and twice in NRSV Apoc.). Melchiah (KJV only Jer. 21:1), Melchias (three times in KJV Apoc. and once in NRSV Apoc). A rather common Hebrew theophoric name borne by men of exilic and postexilic times who seem to be mostly priests (or Levites) and royalty. The inconsistency in the English spelling between "Malchiah" and "Malchijah" has no textual basis (the NRSV has "Malchiah" only in Jeremiah); the NIV uses "Malkijah" throughout.

(1) Son of Ethni, descendant of LEVI, and ancestor of the musician ASAPH (1 Chr. 6:40).

(2) A priest who received the fifth lot of the twenty-four divisions in DAVID's time (1 Chr. 24:9).

(3) A man identified as "the king's son" (which prob. indicates that he was a royal official with police duties; see R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* [1961], 119-20); he was owner of the cistern into which JEREMIAH's enemies cast him while King ZEDEKIAH pretended to be powerless to stop them (Jer. 38:6). Some believe that this Malkijah is the same man identified elsewhere in Jeremiah as the father of PASHHUR (21:1; 38:1). It is also possible that he is the same Malkijah listed as an ancestor of ADAIAH, the head of a priestly family who resettled in Jerusalem after the EXILE (1 Chr. 9:12; a fuller genealogy is given in Neh. 11:12).

(4-6) In a list of Israelites who pledged themselves to put away their foreign wives, three are named Malkijah, two of whom were descendants of Parosh (Ezra 10:25, but NRSV emends the second to HASHABIAH on the basis of SEPTUAGINT here and at 1 Esd. 9:26), and the third a descendant of Harim (Ezra 10:31; called a descendant of Annan in 1 Esd. 9:32). This third Malkijah may be the same as the son of Harim who helped repair the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. 3:11).

(7) Son of Recab and ruler of BETH HAKKEREM; he was in charge of repairing the DUNG GATE (Neh. 3:14).

(8) A goldsmith who "made repairs as far as the house of the temple servants and the merchants, opposite the Inspection Gate, and as far as the room above the corner" (Neh. 3:31).

(9) One of the prominent men (not identified as priests) who stood near EZRA when the law was read at the great assembly (Neh. 8:4; 1 Esd. 9:44). If this Malkijah was a priest, he may be the same as #10 or #11 below.

(10) A priest who sealed the covenant of NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:3). He may be the same as #11 below.

(11) A priest or Levite listed among those who assisted Nehemiah in the dedication of the rebuilt walls of Jerusalem (Neh. 12:42).

E. B. SMICK

**Malkiram** mal-ki'ruhm (מַלְכִּירָם *H4901,* "[my] king is exalted"). Son (or descendant) of King Jeconiah, that is, JEHOIACHIN (1 Chr. 3:18).

**Malki-Shua** mal'ki-shoo'uh (מַלְכִּי־שׁוּעַ *H4902,* "[my] king is salvation"). KJV Melchi-shua (in 1 Sam.) and Malchi-shua (in 1 Chr.); NRSV, Mal-chishua. The third son of King SAUL (1 Sam. 14:49; 1 Chr. 8:33; 9:39). The PHILISTINES killed him at the battle of GILBOA (1 Sam. 31:2; 1 Chr. 10:2).

**Mallos** mal'uhs. KJV Apoc. form of MALLUS (2 Macc. 4:20).

**Mallothi** mal'uh-thi (מַלּוֹתִי *H4871,* from מָלַל *H4910,* "to speak"). Son of HEMAN, the king's seer (1 Chr. 25:4). 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 nineteenth lot fell to Mallothi, his sons, and his relatives (25:30).

**mallow.** This term (which strictly speaking refers to various herb plants of the *Malvaceae* family) is used in the KJV and NRSV to render Hebrew *mal-lûaḥ H4865,* found only once (Job 30:4; in addition, the NRSV uses it in 6:6 and 24:24 as an emendation on the basis of the LXX). The Hebrew word is evidently related to *melaḥ H4875,* "salt" (cf. NIV, "salt herbs"; NJPS, "saltwort") and is usually thought to refer to the *Atriplex halimus,* which grows in salty regions, such as the shores of the DEAD SEA. It is a loose-spreading, half-evergreen shrub, growing to a height of 8-9 ft., with light greenish-gray leaves. It belongs to the *Chenopodiaceae* family and rarely produces flowers. The leaves are edible, and were eaten by the poorer Israelites as a kind of salad. The plant is sometimes referred to as the sea orache or as the (Spanish) sea purslane. (See *FFB,* 136-37.)

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

**Malluch** mal'uhk (מַלּוּךְ *H4866,* variant מַלּוּכִי *H4868* [Neh. 12:14, *Qere* מְלִיכוּ*],* from a root meaning "king"). TNIV Malluk. (1) Son of Hashabiah, descendant of LEVI through MERARI, and ancestor of the musician ETHAN (1 Chr. 6:44).

(2) One of the descendants of BANI who agreed to put away their foreign wives (Ezra 10:29; called "Mamuchus" in 1 Esd. 9:30).

(3) One of the descendants of HARIM who agreed to put away their foreign wives (Ezra 10:32).

(4) One of the priests who signed the covenant of NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:4).

(5) One of the leaders of the people who signed the covenant of NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:27). Possibly the same as #2 or #3 above.

(6) One of the priests (or priestly families) who returned from the EXILE with ZERUBBABEL (Neh. 12:2). He is probably the same person mentioned later, when a certain Jonathan is listed as the head of the family of Malluch (v. 14; KJV, "Melicu"; NRSV, "Malluchi"). (See *ABD,* 4:488.)

S. BARABAS

**Malluchi** mal'uh-ki. See MALLUCH #6.

**Malluk** mal'uhk. TNIV form of MALLUCH.

**Mallus** mal'uhs (Μαλλός). KJV Mallos. An important coastal city in CILICIA whose inhabitants *(Mallōtai),* along with those of TARSUS, rebelled when ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes gave their cities to his concubine as a present (2 Macc. 4:20). According to Strabo *(Geogr.* 14.5.16), Mallus was on a height near the Pyramus River.

**Malta** mawl'tuh (Μελίτη *G3514).A* Mediterranean island lying between Sicily and Africa. The name occurs once in the NT as the place where PAUL was shipwrecked on his journey to ROME (Acts 28:1;

KJV, "Melita"). Some early writers, apparently confused by the reference to A DRIA earlier in the text (27:27), identified the island with Mljet (Meleda), which is much farther N, well into the Adriatic Sea, off the coast of DALMATIA. Also unpersuasive is the recent view that it should be identified with Kefal-linia (Cephalonia, ancient Cephallenia), the largest of the Ionian Islands off the W coast of GREECE (see discussion in F. F. Bruce *The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary,* 3rd ed. [1990], 530).

Paul and the other travelers stayed in Malta three months (Acts 28:11). Its inhabitants treated the survivors with "unusual kindness" (v. 1; cf. v. 10). Soon after reaching the island, Paul was bitten by a snake, but nothing happened to him, so the islanders thought he was a god (vv. 3 – 6). The chief official, PUBLIUS, welcomed Paul and the others in his home. Publius's father was sick and Paul healed him; as a result, "the rest of the sick on the island" came to the apostle, and they too were healed (vv.7-9).

Located 90 mi. from Syracuse, the great commercial center of the W Mediterranean, Malta occupied a strategic position in the ancient world. Endowed with good harbors safe from the stormy waters of the sea, it offered a convenient haven for commercial traffic moving both E–W and N–S.

The island of Malta.

Some 18 mi. long and 8 mi. wide, it was barren and arid, with few natural resources other than building stone. The eastern half, however, was somewhat productive; olive oil, wool, and lapdogs are mentioned as commodities that were profitable.

Malta shows evidences of early habitation. There are remains of Neolithic culture antedating 2000 B.C., and also traces of a Bronze Age culture from about the 14th cent. Then follows a blank period lasting until about 1000 B.C., when the Phoenicians colonized the island, drawn by its favorable location for trade (see PHOENICIA). The result was an outburst of commercial activity that made the island prosperous. A colony was even established in N Africa.

Next to control Malta were the Carthaginians, who ruled the Mediterranean from the 6th to the 3rd centuries. Their presence is attested by coins and inscriptions, although these are meager when compared to the Greek material found there. This suggests that ties to Carthage were not very strong,

nor relations cordial. The Carthaginians were very harsh in their treatment of the people and levied oppressive taxes upon the island. During the 3rd cent. B.C., Carthage and ROME engaged in a series of wars for mastery of the W Mediterranean, and in the course of the struggle Malta passed into Roman hands (218 B.C.), though Carthaginian and Greek elements remained strong for a long time afterward.

The Romans granted Malta the status of a municipium, which allowed them to control their own domestic affairs. It seems, too, that the island acquired Roman CITIZENSHIP, although it is not clear just when this took place. Cicero and others speak of the beauty and elegance of the houses on Malta, and of the prosperity of the island, indicating a high degree of civilization and wealth. Under AUGUSTUS, the island was seemingly administered by an official who was known by the people of Malta as "chief" or "first man" of the island (Gk. *ho prōtos,* Acts 28:7). Tradition has it that Publius, who held this position when Paul was shipwrecked there, was the first Christian convert in Malta, and that from this time there developed a Christian community. Catacombs from the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. give evidence of Christian influence on the island. When Rome fell, approximately at the end of the 4th cent., the island became Byzantine in culture, and finally in the 9th cent. passed into the hands of the Arabs. (See further Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissen-schaft,* 15/1 [1931], 543-47; W. G. Berg, *Historical Dictionary of Malta* [1995]; C. Cassar, A *Concise History of Malta* [2000];ABD,4:489 –90.)

R. C. STONE

**Mamaias** muh-may'uhs. KJV Apoc. variant of SHEMAIAH (1 Esd. 8:44).

**Mamdai** mam'di (Μαμδαι). One of the descendants of BANI who agreed to put away their foreign wives in the time of EZRA (1 Esd. 9:34; KJV, "Mabdai").

**Mamitanemus** (Μαμνιτανναιμος). One of the descendants of BANI who agreed to put away their foreign wives (1 Esd. 9:34 NRSV [KJV, "Mamnitanaimus"; RSV emends to "Machnadebai"; see MACNADEBAI]; possibly corresponding to MATTANIAH in Ezra 10:37).

**mammon** mam'uhn. This term, derived from Greek *mamōnas G3440* (via the Latin VULGATE) comes ultimately from Aramaic *māmôn,* "wealth" (emphatic state *māmônā),* the etymology of which is disputed (see E. Nestle in *EncBib,* 3:2914-15). The equivalent Hebrew term appears in various postbiblical writings (e.g., 1QS VI, 2; *m.)Abot* 2:12). In Matt. 6:24 and Lk 16:13, the term is personified, and the NIV translates, "You cannot serve both God and Money." In Lk. 16:9, Jesus speaks of "the mammon of unrighteousness" (equivalent to "the unrighteous mammon," v. 11), which the NIV renders as "worldly wealth" (more negative is the NRSV rendering, "dishonest wealth"). There has been much discussion of the implications of unrighteousness in connection with WEALTH, but the simplest explanation seems to be that material riches (whether money or gems or landed property) is a resource open to misuse and characteristically employed by wicked, unscrupulous men for wicked purposes. Yet it is possible for a true servant of God to use wealth for good and salutary purposes, and thus procure for himself treasure in heaven such as money cannot buy.

G. L. ARCHER

**Mamnitanaimus.** See MAMITANEMUS.

**Mamre (person)** mam'ree (מַמְרֵא *H4935,* derivation uncertain). An AMORITE, brother of ESHCOL and ANER, who apparently resided near HEBRON (Gen. 14:13, 24). All three were allies of ABRAHAM when LOT was rescued from KEDORLAOMER. The expression "the great trees of Mamre the Amorite" (v. 13; cf. 13:18) suggests that he owned the place that came to be known by his name. See MAMRE (PLACE). However, some scholars believe that there is confusion in the text and that the names of all three brothers refer to localities.

**Mamre (place)** mam'ree (מַמְרֵא *H4934,* derivation uncertain). After LOT separated from Abram (ABRAHAM), the latter "moved his tents and went to live near the great trees of Mamre at Hebron, where he built an altar to the LORD" (Gen. 13:18). Abraham was still living there when he entertained the three heavenly visitors (ch. 18). It was in Mamre that he prayed for the deliverance of SODOM and GOMORRAH. After SARAH died, he bought a burial plot from EPHRON the HITTITE. Thus Abraham came into possession of the field of MACHPELAH, which is E of Mamre, and there he buried his wife (23:17-20). The four other times Machpelah is mentioned are always in relation to Mamre (23:19; 25:9; 49:30; 50:13). (See the recent monograph by D. Jericke, *Abraham in Mamre* [2003].)

Through the centuries there have been several places vying for the site of Mamre and Abraham's oaks. The first problem in establishing its identity is the great antiquity of the place—nearly 4,000 years (and oaks do not live that long). Moreover,

Traditional tomb of Isaac in the Machpelah (Hebron).

the building and destruction of shrines by Jews, pagans, and Christians have focused undeserved attention on some places and perhaps obscured the true site. Khirbet Nimreh and ʿAin Nimreh (Ruin and Spring of Nimreh) have a name similar to Mamre. They are about 1.5 mi. NNW of Hebron. However, the most widely accepted site today is Ramat el-Khalil, "The high place of the friend (of God)," which is c. 2.5 mi. N of Hebron. An enclosure of huge proportions built by HEROD is there. It may have marked where the site was thought to be in NT times. Chalcolithic and Early Bronze remains found in the vicinity show at least that it is an ancient site.

If Machpelah is indeed under the mosque at Hebron, then Ramat el-Khalil does not lie *before* it (in the usual sense of the word in Hebrew, i.e., E of Hebron). On the other hand, if Hebron were generally approached from the N, then this Hebrew preposition would not be out of order in describing the relationship between the two places. (See A. E. Mader, *Mambrie: Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen im heiligen Bezir Râmet et-Halêl in Sudpalästina,* 2 vols. [1957]; *NEAEHL,* 3:939-

42. For the view that Mamre corresponds to Hittite *miu-mar,* "friendship," which is semantically equivalent to Hebron, and that therefore Gen. 14:13 originally said, "Abram was dwelling at the Amorite sanctuary of Alliance," see Y. L. Arbeitman in *ABD,* 4:492-93.) See also MAMRE (PERSON).

R. L. ALDEN

**Mamuchus** muh-myoo'kuhs. KJV Apoc. form of MALLUCH (1 Esd. 9:30).

**Mamukan** mi-myoo'kuhn. TNIV form of MEMUCAN.

**man.** See ADAM; HUMAN NATURE; SOCIETY.

**man, new.** The words *eis hena kainon anthrōpon,* "into one new man," occur in Eph. 2:15 with reference to the unity that Jews and Gentiles enjoy in Christ. This article, however, deals with the phrase as it occurs in two other passages. In Eph. 4:24, *ho kainos anthrōpos* ("the new man") is contrasted with *ho palaios anthrōpos* ("the old man," v. 22). In Col. 3:10, instead of the adjective *kainos G2785*, PAUL uses the synonym *neos G3742* (with *anthrōpos G476* understood), also contrasted with *palaios G4094* (v. 9). The NIV and the NRSV render both constructions as "the new self." The phrase, in general terms, refers to human beings as changed by the HOLY SPIRIT through faith in Jesus Christ. Some believe that *neos* points to the idea in respect to its historical context, while *kainos* in respect to its quality of perennial newness. The distinction is blurred, however, by the fact that in these two passages the one idea is qualified by the other.

"Newness" is a special predicate of the gospel order of things in Scripture (see NEW, NEWNESS), and thus "new man" is associated with the new covenant (Jer. 31:31; Heb. 8:8), in contrast with the first or old covenant, which was "obsolete," "aging," and about to "disappear" (Heb. 8:13). Other associated references are to the new creation (2 Cor. 5:17; Gal. 6:15) and the new birth (Jn. 3:3, 7; 1 Pet. 1:23; 2:2). Paul talks of newness of life and spirit (Rom. 6:4; 7:6) in contrast with "the old way of the written code" (7:6), "the old self" (Eph. 4:22; Col. 3:9), "the old yeast" (1 Cor. 5:7), "your former way of life" (Eph. 4:22; cf. 1 Pet. 1:14; 2 Pet. 1:9). The new self or new nature is part of the future renewal of all things in Christ (future in Matt. 19:28; Acts 3:21; Rev. 21:4; but it operates now, Jn. 3:18-21; 11:24-25; 1 Jn. 2:8).

**I. Significance in NT usage.** The term has, in the first place, reference to individual believers, for by becoming Christians (normally expressed in BAPTISM, Rom. 6:1-7) they enter on a life "in Christ" so radically new as to be based upon a prior death with him. "New" here is contrasted with the former way of life to which a person is born as a human being. It is spiritual, as opposed to carnal (Rom. 8:4-11); it is also contrasted with what is natural (1 Cor. 2:14-15) and with life under prescribed behavior patterns (Rom. 7:6).

For Paul and his contemporaries, this overlapped a further reference to the claims of Judaism as an old-established religion. So the new covenant replaces the old, decaying one (Heb. 8:13); believers are ransomed from it as "the empty way of life" (1 Pet. 1:18). The Christian stands in the new relationship to God foretold by the prophets (e.g., Ezek. 36:24-27) through the events of Calvary and Pentecost, and the powers of the new age are already at work in him (1 Cor. 10:11; Heb. 6:5).

This relegation of the old religion embodied in Jewish ordinances abolished the greatest single racial distinction, namely, the Jewish possession of divine REVELATION (Rom. 9:4; Eph. 2:11-22). In its place appears a new kind of humanity—what may be called a "third race" in which this distinction

and therefore all the old racial and cultural differences are irrelevant. This truth gives the "new man" its corporate significance with a creative, supraracial unity, "in this one body" (Eph. 2:16; "body" here is ambiguous, perhaps deliberately so; cf. Col. 3:15).

The newness of the gospel extends even beyond history to cosmic proportions. The regenerate person is a new creation *(kainē ktisis*, 2 Cor. 5:17; Gal. 6:15); he belongs to a second Adam (1 Cor. 15:45) and is remade in the image of his Creator (Col. 3:10).

**II. Theological significance.** The phrase in general refers to the subject of REGENERATION. The question arising here is, What, in fact, is "new" in regenerate individuals? Interpretations range from a Socinian conception of a new and perfect moral law, to Tillich's "New Being" in the existential trend set by Kierkegaard (see P. Tillichs sermon, "The Yoke of Religion," in *The Shaking of the Foundations* [1957]). The first is not new, but an intensification of Jewish moralism; but the idea of the "New Being," a partaking of a new order of reality in which all religion is irrelevant, strikes at the continuity expressed by "man" in our phrase, for man is, by definition, *homo religiosus.* It is tempting to take a hint from IGNATIUS *(Eph.* 20.1) and equate the "new man" with Jesus himself. But there is a distinction: the believer is a new person, born anew, but not Jesus Christ reborn. Reformed theology, following John Calvin and based on the two primary texts, has specified righteousness, holiness, and true knowledge as the "new" elements of regenerate persons.

The difficulty arises in understanding this truth in the light of the Christian's only too obvious inconsistencies. Possibly one may understand it more easily as a fact progressing through concentric circles of influence. (1) There is a new relationship with God whereby a person, sins and all, comes under God's favorable consideration and pleasure. Everything is instantaneously new because it is placed in a new light. (2) Consequently, God's Spirit implants new motives of LOVE and FAITH which replace the old domination of self-sufficiency and extend their influence progressively over the old system of motivation. (3) The outward behavior is modified correspondingly, and in particular the attitudes and relationships toward other people are changed. Thus regenerate human beings are still human—even, until the PAROUSIA, sinners—but their environment, and their inner principle of life are new: both are, in fact, Jesus Christ. "Jesus Christ brought nothing that was new; he made all things new in himself." (See T. Boston, *Human Nature in its Fourfold State* [1720, repr. 1964]; J. Stewart, *A Man in Christ* [1935]; B. Kenrick, *The New Humanity* [1958]; J. R. Stott, *Men Made New* [1966]; H. Darling, *Man in Triumph* [1969], esp. ch. 4.) See also HUMAN NATURE.

J. PECK

**man, old.** The expression *ho palaios anthrōpos,* "the old man," occurring three times in the NT, refers to the unregenerate nature and activities that characterized a person prior to his new life "in Christ." It is frequently translated "the old self" or "the old nature." PAUL states in Rom. 6:6 that "our old self" was crucified with Christ, and exhorts Christians to live conscious of this fact. In Eph. 4:22 he urges his converts to "put off your old self, which is being corrupted by its deceitful desires," and in Col. 3:9, similarly, he pleads for honesty on the basis of having "taken off your old self with its practices." In this period in redemptive history between the finished work of Christ in the past and the consummation of God's plan in the future, Christians live as citizens of two worlds who are constantly conscious of (1) the crucified nature of "the old man," and yet (2) the need to deaden the effects of that depravity in their lives which will be eradicated finally when Christ comes again. This tension, experienced by all believers, provides the context for almost all of the exhortations in the NT. See MAN, NEW.

R. N. LONGENECKER

**Manaen** man'uh-en (Μαναήν *G3441,* from מְנַחֵם *H4968,* "comforter" [see MENAHEM]). One of the five "prophets and teachers" listed as ministering in the church at ANTIOCH OF SYRIA (Acts 13:1). The others were BARNABAS, Simeon NIGER, LUCIUS of Cyrene, and Saul (PAUL). Manaen's position indicates a man of spiritual power and influence. Nothing further is known about Manaen beyond Luke's designation of him as one "who had been brought up with Herod the tetrarch." The relation to HEROD Antipas has been interpreted as "fosterbrother" (ASV), "childhood companion" (Berkeley), "intimate friend" (MM, 615), or "member of the court" (cf. NRSV). Whatever the precise meaning, it was a relationship of honor and distinction. But it points to a striking contrast between the lives of the two men. Some think Manaen may have been related to an earlier man named *Manaēmos,* an ESSENE who was a friend of Herod the Great (Jos. Ant. 15.10.5 § §373-78).

D. E. HIEBERT

**Manahath (person)** man'uh-hath (מָנַחַת *H4969,* prob. "resting [place]"). Son of SHOBAL and grandson of SEIR the HORITE (Gen. 36:23; 1 Chr. 1:40); he was a chieftain living in EDOM (Gen. 36:21). See also MANAHATHITE.

**Manahath (place)** man'uh-hath (מָנַחַת *H4970,* prob. "resting [place]"). A city to which certain sons or descendants of EHUD—described as heads of families among the Benjamites who lived in GEBA—were deported (1 Chr. 8:6). The town is usually identified with modern el-Malḥah, about 4 mi. SW of Jerusalem. It has also been argued, however, that Manahath should be sought in GILEAD and identified with modern Maḥnah, about 8 mi. SE of JABESH GILEAD (see E. A. Knauf in *ABD,* 4:493-94).

E. B. SMICK

**Manahathite** man'uh-ha'thit (מָנַחְתִּי *H4971,* gentilic of מָנַחַת *H4969).* KJV Manahethite. A clan descended from CALEB through HUR. According to 1 Chr. 2:54, the descendants of SALMA (son of Hur) included "half the Manahathites," while v. 52 says that the descendants of SHOBAL (another son of Hur) included "half of the Menuhoth" (NRSV, following the MT). Many scholars believe that *mĕnuhôt* must be a variant (or textual corruption) of *mānaḥtî* and therefore read "half the Manahathites" in v. 52 as well (so NIV; cf. KJV). A more difficult problem is raised by the fact that a HORITE (Edomite) named Manahath is identified as son of Shobal. See MANAHATH (PERSON). Since the Calebites lived in the S of Palestine, some scholars argue that the Manahathites were in fact connected with this Manahath, and that their presence in the Calebite genealogy is evidence of Edomite penetration into Judah (cf. *ABD,* 4:494). Others, however, believe that the Manahathites received their name from the town or district in which they lived. See MANAHATH (PLACE).

**Manahethite** man'uh-heh'thit. KJV form of MANAHATHITE.

**Manasseas** muh-nas'ee-uhs (Μανασσῆας, Gk. form of MANASSEH). One of the descendants of Addi who agreed to put away their foreign wives (lEsd.9:31).

**Manasseh (person)** muh-nas'uh (מְנַשֶּׁה *H4985,* "one who causes to forget"; gentilic מְנַשִּׁי *H4986,* "Manassite"; Μανασσῆς *G3442*). KJV Apoc. and NT Manasses. (1) The older of two sons born to JOSEPH and his Egyptian wife ASENATH (Gen. 41:50-51; 46:20). The name is evidently derived from the verb *nāšâ H5960,* "to forget," and Joseph interprets it by the statement, "God has made me forget all my trouble and all my father's household" (41:51). When Joseph brought his sons EPHRAIM and Manasseh to his father for his blessing, JACOB adopted them as his own, placing them on an equality with his own sons as progenitors of separate tribes (48:1 –5). In blessing the two boys, Jacob subordinated Manasseh the elder to Ephraim the younger, who thus inherited the position of privilege, the blessing of the FIRSTBORN (48:13-14).

Notwithstanding his subordination in the INHERITANCE, Manasseh was to be blessed by the Angel who had delivered Jacob from all harm (Gen. 48:16) and was to become a great people (48:19; Jacob's statement in v. 20, "In your name will Israel pronounce this blessing, saying, 'May God make you like Ephraim and Manasseh,'" is the basis of the benediction Jewish parents pronounce upon their sons on the Sabbath and holy days). According to a Jewish tradition (preserved in *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan)*, Manasseh was a steward in the house of Joseph and acted as interpreter in Joseph's conversation with his brothers (42:23). The same tradition records that Manasseh was possessed of unusual physical strength, which he demonstrated when he retained SIMEON (42:24). It was Manasseh's Aramean concubine who gave birth to MAKIR, whose descendants became the tribe of Manasseh (1 Chr. 7:14). See MANASSEH (TRIBE).

(2) Son of HEZEKIAH and king of Judah from c. 696 to 641 B.C. (2 Ki. 21:1; 2 Chr. 33:1). Manasseh was only twelve years of age when he succeeded his father as king (according to a different system of CHRONOLOGY, Manasseh was coregent with his father for ten years). His reign of fifty-five years was the longest in Judah's history, and its events are recorded in 2 Ki. 21:1-18 and 2 Chr. 33:1-20. Judah, during practically the entire reign of Manasseh, was a tribute-paying province of the Assyrians. This situation began under TIGLATH-PILESER III when the Assyrian came to the help of AHAZ against PEKAH of the northern kingdom and REZIN of Syria (Aram), and continued so on through the reign of ESARHADDON (c. 681-669) and ASHURBANIPAL (c. 669-630). In the Assyrian inscriptions of these kings, Manasseh is specifically referred to as a vassal king. Each of these Assyrian rulers invaded and plundered Egypt, and Manasseh sent a contingent of troops to aid their armies in these campaigns. See JUDAH, KINGDOM OF II.B.

Second Chronicles describes the arrest of Manasseh and his deportation to Babylon in chains by "the army commanders of the king of Assyria." The Chronicler declares that from the prophetic point of view Manasseh's arrest and deportation was the result of the judgment of God upon the king's wickedness (2 Chr. 33:9-11). Scholars disagree as to why the Assyrians forced Manasseh to go to Babylon. It may not necessarily have been because of Manasseh's rebellion against Assyria, for which there is no clear evidence. It may have been the way by which the Assyrians forced the Judean king to demonstrate his loyalty as a vassal. This procedure apparently was an Assyrian policy toward vassals whose loyalty was in doubt. Assyrian inscriptions give no specific suspicious act of Manasseh as the reason for his arrest. In Ashurba-nipal's record of his first campaign against Egypt, he lists twenty-two vassal kings among whom is Manasseh. A rebellion of serious proportions erupted in 652 B.C. against Ashurbanipal, led by his brother Shamash-shumukin of Babylon. The civil war raged for four years and ended with the defeat of Babylon. If Manasseh had been interested in throwing off the yoke of Ashurbanipal, this would have been his time for action. Some scholars find no problem in Manasseh's journey by coercion to Babylon, followed by his restoration to his throne.

The Assyrian records report the parallel case of Pharaoh NECO I, who was also one of the royal prisoners of Ashurbanipal and then restored to Egypt.

The Assyrian kings of this period spent much of their time in Babylon. In the course of his imprisonment, Manasseh repented of his sins and was restored to his kingdom (2 Chr. 33:12-13). A penitential psalm attributed to Manasseh is included in the apocryphal Prayer of Manasseh, probably from the Maccabean period. See MANASSEH, PRAYER OF. It is an attempt to give expression to Manasseh's repentance and faith at the time of his arrest by the Assyrians. His religious reforms when he was restored were superficial, for he did not remove the HIGH PLACES of paganism (2 Chr. 33:17). Upon his return from Babylon, Manasseh gave himself to a program of building, measures of defense, and administration besides the religious reforms. Considering his fifty-five-year reign, very little is known of these activities. His reign was a period of great material prosperity due to his cooperation with the Assyrians. Assyrian records list Manasseh along with other subjects who paid tribute (2 Chr. 33:12-19).

The reign of Manasseh is distinguished by his personal responsibility for the religious syncretism of his time, which gained him the reputation of being the typical evil king of Judah. According to the account in 2 Ki. 23:26-27, his was the most immoral reign of all the kings and was the reason for the ultimate collapse of the southern kingdom. He was greatly influenced by Assyria, and inscriptions excavated at GEZER disclose Assyrian presence there and the use of the Assyrian language and methods of dating. Manasseh's active leadership in the promotion of pagan practices was perhaps prompted by interests that were more political than religious. There was a great surge of paganism involving the spread of the various cults, with their mythologies emanating from the great population and culture centers of the Assyrian empire. The resulting religious syncretism as it involved Judah is referred to by Isaiah (Isa. 2:6-8). The popular religion of Judah became a medley of Assyrio-Babylonian cults, the Canaanite FERTILITY CULT of Baalism (see BAAL), and Yahwism. Ezekiel's picture of the situation is quite vivid (Ezek. 8). The most degraded aspects of this pagan cultus was human sacrifice, and like Ahaz before him Manasseh "sacrificed his sons in the fire in the Valley of Ben Hin-nom" (2 Chr. 33:6).

The record in 2 Ki. 21:1-18 and 24:3-4 emphasizes three degrading aspects of the regime of Manasseh: upon his accession to the throne he led in a reaction against the reforms instituted by his father Hezekiah; he accelerated the development of heathenism in the country; he instituted a bitter persecution of the prophetic party that opposed the popular syncretism led by the king. He "filled Jerusalem with innocent blood" (2 Ki. 24:4), and the prophets were put to the sword (Jer. 2:30). Rabbinical literature places emphasis upon the idea that Manasseh was even more evil than Ahaz, and that he killed ISAIAH, who had fled and hidden in a tree, by sawing him asunder. When Manasseh's immediate successor, JOSIAH, came to the throne, the supreme need was religious revival (2 Ki. 23:26). Jeremiah said that Manasseh's sin had yet to be expiated (Jer. 15:4; cf. 2 Ki. 23:26). Manasseh is included in the GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Matt. 1:10). (See P. S. F. van Keulen, *Manasseh through the Eyes of the Deuteronomists: The Manasseh Account (2 Kings 21:1–18) and the Final Chapters of the Deuteronomistic History* [1996].)

(3) Father of Gershom and grandfather of JONATHAN; the latter was a priest for the Danites (Jdg. 18:30 KJV, following the MT). See DAN (PERSON AND TRIBE). The NIV and other versions, however, read MOSES. It is generally presumed that the reading in the MT is an intentional misspelling, since the Jonathan referred to is said to be a priest of the idolatrous shrine of MICAH. Thus Jonathan's grandfather was probably Moses, but his name was changed to Manasseh to avoid stigmatizing the revered name and sparing Moses the humiliation of having an idolatrous descendant. The change was

accomplished by merely inserting a small *nun* (נ) between the first two letters of the name for Moses. This not only removed the stigma but also gave to the man a name familiar to the Hebrews as an idolater. Hubert Grimme's attempt to equate the names Moses and Manasseh on the basis of the Sinai inscriptions has been generally rejected by scholars.

(4) One of the descendants of PAHATH-MOAB who agreed to put away their foreign wives (Ezra 10:30; called "Manasseas" in 1 Esd. 9:31).

(5) One of the descendants of HASHUM who agreed to put away their foreign wives (Ezra 10:33; 1 Esd. 9:33).

(6) According to JOSEPHUS, Manasseh was the name of a man that NEHEMIAH describes as follows: "One of the sons of Joiada son of Eliashib the high priest was son-in-law to Sanballat the Horonite. And I drove him away from me" (Neh. 13:28). Josephus (*Ant.* 11.7.2) reports that he married Nicaso, daughter of SANBALLAT, and was consequently deposed from the priesthood by Nehemiah. Josephus also describes how the high priest JADDUA, Manasseh's brother, expressing the feeling of the people of Jerusalem, presented Manasseh with the alternative of putting away his wife or leaving the priesthood. Manasseh went to Sanballat and told him that although he loved his wife he could not leave the priesthood. Upon Sanballat's promise that he would build with the approval of the king a temple on Mount GERIZIM where Manasseh should be the high priest, Manasseh stayed with his wife and father-in-law *(Ant.* 11.8.2-4) and thus became the high priest of the schismatic temple.

A. C. SCHULTZ

**Manasseh (tribe)** muh-nas'uh(מְנַשֶּׁה *H4985,"one* who causes to forget"; gentilic מְנַשִּׁי *H4986,* "Manas-site"; Μανασσῆς *G3442).* KJV NT Manasses. One of the twelve tribes of Israel descending from MANASSEH, the grandson of JACOB through JOSEPH; the other Joseph tribe was EPHRAIM. At the time of the exodus, Manasseh numbered 32,200 (Num. 1:35; 2:21) while Ephraim had 40,500 (1:32, 33; 2:19). At the time of Israel's conquest of Canaan forty years later, Manasseh had increased to 52,700 (26:34), while Ephraim had fallen to 32,500 (26:37). At the time of the entrance into Canaan, Manasseh was sixth in the numerical strength of the twelve tribes, being surpassed by Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, Dan, and Asher.

During the journey through the wilderness, the position of Manasseh was on the W side of the TABERNACLE with Ephraim and Benjamin (Num. 2:18-24). The head of the tribe was Gamaliel son of Pedahzur (1:10; 7:54). According to *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan,* the standard of the RACHEL tribes—Manasseh, Ephraim, and Benjamin—carried the figure of a boy with the statement, "The cloud of the Lord rested on them until they went forth out of the camp." The TALMUD says that Manasseh's tribal banner was a black flag carrying the embroidered figure of a unicorn. The tribe of Manasseh was represented by Gaddi, son of Susi, when MOSES sent the twelve spies to survey the land of Canaan (13:11).

Manasseh took an important part in the victories of Israel over her enemies. The biblical account describes how the descendants of MAKIR son of Manasseh took GILEAD and conquered the AMORITES (Num. 32:39). JAIR the Manassite took the whole region of BASHAN and called the villages HAVVOTH JAIR after his own name (32:41; Deut. 3:14;1 Chr. 5:18-22). Another Manassite, NOBAH, captured KENATH and its villages, then renamed it after himself (Num. 32:42). Troops of the tribe of Manasseh contributed effectively to the victories of the conquest under the leadership of JOSHUA (Josh. 22:1-7). At the conclusion of the fighting, the tribe of Manasseh cooperated with the Reubenites and the Gadites in building an altar by the Jordan; this action nearly led to civil war in Israel because it was

misinterpreted by the other tribes (Josh. 22:10-34). Other prominent leaders from Manasseh included the judge GIDEON, who with a small army defeated the Midianites (Jdg. 6:15). Gideon's son ABIMELECH maintained himself at the head of a short-lived kingdom in the territory of Manasseh (ch. 9). Also from Manasseh was the judge JEPHTHAH, who defeated the Ammonites (ch. 11).

The territory occupied by Manasseh lay on both banks of the JORDAN River. On the E bank its territory was farthest N, adjacent to SYRIA and especially

The tribal territories of Manasseh.

View E across the tribal territory of Manasseh at the Jezreel Valley with Jokneam in the foreground.

adapted for the raising of cattle. On the W bank it was on the northern and most fruitful area of the mountain of Ephraim. The boundaries of the two sections of Manasseh cannot be drawn with exactness. Eastern Manasseh seems to have extended from the JABBOK to Mount HERMON in the N, and western Manasseh lay N of Ephraim extending to the slopes of Mount Carmel (cf. Josh. 17:15; see CARMEL, MOUNT). Thirteen cities in the eastern area of Manasseh were assigned to the Levites, and ten in the western section (21:5-6). GOLAN, a city of refuge, was in the eastern area of Manasseh. Although Manasseh was larger numerically than Ephraim about the time of the conquest of Canaan, in later times Ephraim surpassed Manasseh in population, wealth, and power. Western Manasseh apparently was never able to dominate completely the Canaanites in its area (17:12; Jdg. 1:27). See TRIBES, LOCATION OF, I.C and IV.B.

When DAVID was made king at HEBRON, 18,000 men came from the western half-tribe of Manasseh to join the movement (1 Chr. 12:31), while eastern Manasseh was represented in the 120,000 troops who came together with the men of Reuben and Gad. When David organized his administration under the leadership of "capable men" (26:31), he found Joel son of Pedaiah in W Manasseh, and in E Manasseh he appointed Iddo son of Zechariah (27:20-21). In spite of its being a part of the northern kingdom of Israel, Manasseh participated in the revival and reform movements in the southern kingdom. Manassites were involved in the revival under ASA, in the Passover celebration in the reign of HEZEKIAH, and in his attack upon idolatry. They were also involved in the reform of JOSIAH and the restoration of the TEMPLE (2 Chr. 15:9; 30:1, 10-11, 18; 31:1; 34:6, 9). The eastern tribe of Manasseh was more exposed to the attacks of the Arameans and Assyrians than other parts of the country. Manasseh suffered the same fate as the other northern tribes in the deportations by TIGLATH-PILESER III and later by SARGON at the time of the fall of SAMARIA in 722 B.C.

Manasseh eventually lost its identity in becoming assimilated with the people of the new environment after the destruction of the northern kingdom, whose gods the Manassites came to worship. The biblical account emphasizes that the children of Manasseh were among those who proved themselves "unfaithful to the God of their fathers and prostituted themselves to the gods of the peoples of the land, whom God had destroyed before them" (1 Chr. 5:25).

In Pss. 4:7 and 108:8 Manasseh is called a most precious possession of God. Ezekiel has a place for the tribe of Manasseh in his picture of the future (Ezek. 48:4), and John includes the tribe in his vision described in Rev. 7:6.

A. C. SCHULTZ

**Manasseh, Prayer of** muh-nas'uh. KJV Prayer of Manasses. A relatively brief (fifteen verses) penitential prayer that constitutes a separate book of the APOCRYPHA.

**I. Background.** Of exceptional beauty and poignancy, this prayer embodies the best of Jewish piety and is attributed (but only in the title) to MANASSEH, the king whose reign was the longest (696-642 B.C., but prior to 686 prob. as coregent with HEZEKIAH) and one of the most regrettable in the history of Judah. Manasseh, according to the OT account (2 Ki. 21:1-18; 2 Chr. 33:1-9), turned from the ways of his father Hezekiah to a renewal of IDOLATRY and to various iniquitous practices, including the burning of his sons as offerings to pagan deities, as well as the shedding of "much innocent blood" (2 Ki. 21:16). The Chroni cler gives us the additional information that God brought the Assyrians upon Jerusalem in judgment causing Manasseh to be taken captive to Babylon. (The exact date of this event is unknown, but it may have been c. 648 in connection with a widespread rebellion against

ASHURBANIPAL.)

In his dire need Manasseh turned to the Lord in REPENTANCE, and the Lord heard his cry and brought Manasseh back to Jerusalem where he tried his best to undo in a few years the tragic deeds of his past. The Chronicler, in closing the narrative concerning Manasseh, twice refers to a prayer by Manasseh that is to be found in "the annals of the kings of Israel" and also in "the records of the seers" (2 Chr. 33:18-19). Unfortunately, neither these early sources nor the original prayer has survived. It is almost certain that what is known by the title "Prayer of Manasseh" is the creation of a much later author designed to fit the prayer mentioned in 2 Chr. 33.

**II. Author and date.** The author of the prayer is unknown. That he lived much later than the time of Manasseh seems probable from the form, content, and language of the prayer. The form follows a liturgical pattern that was common during the three or four centuries before the coming of Christ. Despite the fact that the author has specifically attempted to relate the content of the prayer to the situation of Manasseh (cf. the reference to the setting up of abominations and the iron fetters in Pr. Man. 10), a number of the concepts of the prayer are more suitable to a later age, and particularly to postexilic Judaism. It seems probable that the author was a Hellenistic Jew, but it cannot be ascertained beyond doubt whether he wrote in Greek or in Hebrew. If he wrote in Greek, his language contains several Hebraisms and possibly also reflects the influence of SEPTUAGINT phraseology. All of this uncertainty makes the determination of an approximate date difficult. The majority of scholars date the prayer sometime in the period 2nd cent. B.C. to the 1st cent. of our era, but the probability would seem to lie in favor of the earlier part of this time span, particularly the Maccabean era (see MACCABEE).

**III. Content.** The author follows a well-defined pattern in formulating the prayer. He begins (Pr. Man. 1-7) with an ascription of sovereignty and glory to the Creator who by virtue of his incomparable greatness is unapproachable, yet who has promised mercy and forgiveness having "appointed repentance for sinners, so that they may be saved" (v. 7). The verses that follow contain a moving confession of sin which is made in the first person (vv. 8-10). Thereupon comes the plea for mercy and forgiveness (vv. 11-14), and the prayer concludes with a doxology, the final words of which are reminiscent of the traditional ending of the Lord's Prayer, "and yours is the glory forever. Amen."

**IV. Purpose and theology.** If the prayer may correctly be placed in the Maccabean age, the purpose in the author's mind is readily apparent. Presumably it was written to fill the void caused by the unavailability of the documents that originally contained the prayer. The author, however, wrote not merely to satisfy this deficiency but also to speak a word to those of his own generation who had made the mistake of lapsing into idolatry. If there had been hope for the wicked Manasseh, the implied argument runs, how much more was there hope for the writer's own contemporaries. A number of the theological ideas of the prayer, although not impossible in an earlier period, fit well what is known of postexilic Judaism. This is particularly true of the emphasis upon God as "the God of those who repent" (Pr. Man. 13), and the "God of the righteous" (v. 8), but also of other emphases, such as the sinlessness of the PATRIARCHS (v. 8), the combination of universalism and particularism (God, as sovereign Creator and as specially related to the patriarchs, vv. 1 –2, 8), and the power of the "glorious name" (v. 3). The prayer, however, by its nature centers upon the two main theological ideas of the abundance of God's mercy and the efficacy of sincere repentance.

**V. Canonicity and text.** Although the prayer appears as part of the Apocrypha, it is not included among the books finally accepted as canonical by the Roman Catholic Church in the deliberations of the Council of Trent. It was not a part of the original VULGATE (JEROME appears not to have known of it) nor was it originally to be found in the SEPTUAGINT. The earliest literary evidence concerning the prayer is its presence in the 3rd-cent. Syriac work, DIDASCALIA APOSTOLORUM (2.21), from which it was also taken up into the 4th-cent. writing, APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS. (The lateness of this evidence has, unnecessarily, caused some scholars to date the prayer in the Christian era.) The prayer is found in CODEX ALEXANDRINUS (5th cent.) among the collection of Odes appended to the Psalms. Only in some later MSS was the prayer ever associated with 2 Chronicles, and after the Council of Trent the work was customarily relegated to an appendix.

The Greek text is available in some editions of the SEPTUAGINT (e.g., Ode 12 in Rahlfs's *Septuaginta).* English translations are available in Protestant editions of the Apocrypha, where it has held a place since its initial appearance in the Bible of Thomas Matthew (1537). (See further H. E. Ryle in *APOT,* 1:612-24; W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Books of the Apocrypha* [1915], 404-10; E.J. Goodspeed, *The Story of the Apocrypha* [1939], 52-56; R. H. Pfeiffer, *History of New Testament Times, with an Introduction to the Apocrypha* [1949], 457–460; B. M. Metzger, *An Introduction to the Apocrypha* [1957], 123-28; D.J. Harrington, *Invitation to the Apocrypha* [1999], ch. 13; D. A. deSilva, *Introducing the Apocrypha: Message, Context, and Significance* [2002], ch. 14.)

D. A. HAGNER

**Manasses** muh-nas'eez. KJV Apoc. and NT form of MANASSEH.

**Mandaic** man-day'ik. See MANDEAN.

**Mandean** man-dee'uhn. Also Mandaean. This term (from an Aram. word meaning "knowledge") refers to a member of Mand(a)eism, a religious community that claims to have originated in Palestine, with JOHN THE BAPTIST regarded as one of its prophets; its earliest extant writings (bowls with magical texts) are from 4th-cent. MESOPOTAMIA. A number of Mandean villages still survive today, mainly in S Iraq. The Mandean religion is a form of GNOSTICISM, with complex MYTHS based on a strong DUALISM between light (life, goodness, spirit) and darkness (death, evil, matter); it is also characterized by intricate rituals. The Mandean language, usually referred to as Mandaic, is a form of E ARAMAIC. (See E. S. Drower, *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran: Their Cults, Customs, Magic, Legends, and Folklore,* 2nd ed. [1962]; E. M. Yamauchi, *Gnostic Ethics and Mandaean Origins* [1970]; K. Rudolph, *Mandaeism* [1978]; N. Deutsch, *The Gnostic Imagination: Gnosticism, Mandaeism, and Merkabah Mysticism* [1995]; J.J. Buckley, *The Mandaeans: Ancient Texts and Modern People* [2002].) See also MANICHEAN.

**mandrake.** The English term *mandrakes* is the usual rendering of the Hebrew word *dûdāʾîm H1859* (a pl. form related to *dôd H1856,* "beloved"), which occurs only in Gen. 30:14-16 and Cant. 7:14. It is thought that it refers to the *Atropa mandragora,* an herb like the deadly nightshade, and therefore a member of the same family. This plant bears yellow fruits, somewhat smaller than the tomato, and has an "acquired," pleasant taste. Because of its reputation as an aphrodisiac, it is sometimes known as the "love apple," and it is called by the Arabs "a devil's apple." The description in Genesis of RACHEL'S conversation with LEAH certainly gives the impression that the mandrake was thought to be

a love potion. The plant was used in ancient times as a purgative and anesthetic, and is considered poisonous. Its near relation, *Atropa belladonna,* is the source of Atropine, an important medicinal drug.

The Royal Horticultural Society's *Dictionary of Gardening* names the plant *Mandragora officinarum,* and describes the fruit as a globose berry. This plant has a large tap root; it produces leaves like a primrose, and blue or greenish-white flowers similar to those of the potato. The yellow plum-like fruits invariably lie in the middle of the rosette of leaves, rather like the eggs of some bird in a nest. There is little doubt that its amorous properties are pure superstition, but the plant is certainly found in Palestine.

According to Cant. 7:13, "The mandrakes send out their fragrance," and it is this statement that has made some feel that the plant could not have been *Mandragora,* which has no definite scent—no more, for instance, than the tomato. Some have therefore argued that the plant must be *Citrus medica.* In view of where the mandrakes were found by REUBEN, the writer feels this idea quite unacceptable. (See *FFB,* 138-39.) See also FLORA (under *Solanaceae*).

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

**maneh** may'neh. KJV term for MINA (only Ezek. 45:12).

**Manes** may'neez. See MANICHEAN.

**manger.** A receptacle for feeding livestock. The NIV uses this term as the rendering of Hebrew *)ēbûs H17,* "feeding trough" (Job 39:9; Prov. 14:4; Isa. 1:3; KJV and NRSV have "crib"), and most versions use it to translate Greek *phatnē G5764* in the nativity story (Lk. 2:7, 12, 16). This Greek term sometimes has the broader meaning of "stall" or "stable" (cf. possibly Lk. 13:15). In the ANE, animals might be kept in outdoor enclosures with lean-to roofing, or in permanent shelters made of stone and mud-wall, or in cave stalls. When Joseph and Mary were unable to find room in the "inn" (prob. a private home or a public shelter), they sought refuge in some kind of stable, perhaps next to the inn, though it is not possible to ascertain what type of animal shelter this was.

In early Christian tradition, the place of our Lord's birth was thought to be a cave, and a number of possible sites were revered in and about BETHLEHEM. The present Church of the Nativity on a slight rise of hillside in Bethlehem covers one of these ancient grotto stalls. The traditional artistic representation in Western churches is influenced to a great extent by the work of the Renaissance painters, who naturally portrayed the scene of virgin and

A stone feeding trough or manger at Megiddo.

child in the heavy wooden constructions of Europe. In the ANE, however, such stalls and mangers usually were cut from the natural stone of the caves or transported into the shelter. Many examples of such stone fodder troughs have been found. In the scenes from DURA-EUROPOS and other early decorated churches, it is such stone mangers that are shown. The essential character of the narrative of Jesus' birth is clear, irrespective of the exact state of the manger: Jesus Christ was born in the humblest and lowliest of surroundings among the poor of the Jewish people.

W. WHITE, JR.

**Mani** may'ni (Μανι). (1) The ancestor of several Israelites who agreed to put away their foreign wives (1 Esd. 9:30; called BANI in Ezra 10:29).

(2) See MANICHEAN.

**Manichean** man'uh-kee'uhn. Also Manichaean, Manichee. A follower of the teachings of Mani (also

Manes, from Gk. *Manēs).* The term is sometimes applied more broadly to a believer in DUALISM. Born of PARTHIAN princely blood in 216, probably in Babylonia, Mani was under MANDEAN influence as a child, and claimed to have received his first revelation at the age of twelve. He first preached in India, but later, during the long and tolerant reign of Shapur (c. 242-273), he made numerous converts in Babylonia, Media, and Parthia. Upon the accession of Bahram I in 273, ZOROASTRIANISM gained the upper hand; the Manicheans were persecuted, and Mani died in prison (prob. 276). Mani taught that Buddha, Zoroaster, and Jesus were great prophets, but that he was the last and greatest. His system was a dualism in which God opposed matter. See GNOSTICISM. The elect among his followers abstained from meat, all killing of animals and plants, and sexual relations. The influence of this teaching lasted over a millennium. (See S. N. C. Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China: A Historical Survey* [1985]; P. A. Mirecki and J. BeDuhn, eds., *The Light and the Darkness: Studies in Manichaeism and Its World* [2001]; P. A. Mirecki in *ABD*,4:502-11.)

P. WOOLLEY

**Manichee** man'uh-kee. See MANICHEAN.

**Manius, Titus** may'nee-uhs, ti'tuhs (Τίτος Μάνιος). Titus Manius was one of two Roman legates who, in 164 B.C., sent a letter to the Jewish people confirming the concessions that had been made to them by LYSIAS after he had been beaten by them in battle, and offered to act in their behalf in the coming negotiations with ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes at Antioch (2 Macc. 11:34; see MACCABEE). Attempts to identify Titus Manius have not been successful.

S. BARABAS

**manna** man'uh. This term is a transliteration of Greek *manna G3445,* which is the usual SEPTUAGINT rendering of Hebrew *mān H4942.* (The stricter Gk. transliteration *man* occurs in LXX Exod. 16:31-35; some believe that the choice of *manna* in Num. 11:6-9 et al. may have been influenced by a Gk. word that has the same form and that means "small grain.") When the Israelites saw the "thin flakes like frost" that God had miraculously provided as food (lit., "bread") for them, they asked, *mān hû',* "What is it?" (Exod. 16:15), and so they called the substance *mān* (v. 31). This food is also described as "white like coriander seed," and we read that it "tasted like wafers made with honey" (v. 31). According to Num. 11:7-8, "The manna was like coriander seed and looked like resin. The people went around gathering it, and then ground it in a handmill or crushed it in a mortar. They cooked it in a pot or made it into cakes. And it tasted like something made with olive oil." In Exod. 16:13-14, the manna is associated with the dew, and Ps. 78:24-25 says that God "rained down manna for the people to eat, / he gave them the grain of heaven. / Men ate the bread of angels; / he sent them all the food they could eat."

God provided the manna on a daily basis to the Israelites through all the years of their wanderings (Exod. 16:35; Josh. 5:12). They were told to take only one *omer* (about two liters) per person, but on the sixth day they were to take twice as much so that it would last them through the SABBATH (Exod. 16:16-30). Following the Lord's command, MOSES instructed AARON to put some manna in a jar that was to be kept in the TABERNACLE as a memorial for future generations (vv. 31-34; cf. Heb. 9:4). Near the end of the Israelites' wandering, Moses explained to them that the manna was part of God's testing: "He humbled you, causing you to hunger and then feeding you with manna,

which neither you nor your fathers had known, to teach you that man does not live on bread alone but on every word that comes from the mouth of the LORD" (Deut. 8:3; cf. v. 16; Neh. 9:20). (See P. Maiberger, *Das Manna: Eine literarische, etymologische und naturkundliche Untersuchung, 2* vols. [1983].)

The Lord Jesus quoted this last text to SATAN at the time of his temptation in the wilderness (Matt. 4:4; Lk. 4:4; see TEMPTATION OF CHRIST). Later in his ministry, after miraculously providing bread to the crowds, some people challenged him by pointing out that God had given manna to the Israelites in the desert (Jn. 6:31). In response, Jesus claimed that he himself was the "bread from heaven" (vv. 32-35, 41, 48-51, 58; see P. Borgen, *Bread from Heaven: An Exegetical Study of the Concept of Manna in the Gospel of John and the Writings of Philo* [1965]). And in the book of Revelation, the glorified Lord says to the church in PERGAMUM: "TO him who overcomes, I will give some of the hidden manna" (Rev. 2:17), which probably refers to the eschatological fellowship believers will enjoy with Christ at the MESSIANIC BANQUET (cf. 19:9; for a discussion of various views, see G. R. Osborne, *Revelation,* BECNT[2002],147-48).

Some believe that the manna was a gum-resin, which exuded from trees such as *Alhagi maurorum* (called the prickly alhagi and sometimes the Sinai manna). Two other trees that are found in Palestine and could produce similar globules of gum are *Fraxinus ornus,* a flowering ash, and *Tamarisk gallica* (or *T. nilotica),* variety *manifera.* See also BREAD V.

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

**Manoah** muh-noh'uh (מָנוֹחַ *H4956,* "[place of] rest"; cf. NOAH). The father of SAMSON. Manoah lived in ZORAH, a town in the tribal territory of DAN before the Danites moved N to take the city of LAISH. Manoah's wife, who was sterile, received a message from the angel of the Lord, announcing the birth of a son, who was to be a NAZIRITE (Jdg. 13:2-5). Manoah asked God for instruction on how to bring up the boy (v. 8). On a second appearance of the angel, Manoah did not request a repetition of the promise, but with implicit faith said, "When your words are fulfilled, what is to be the rule for the boy's life and work?" (v. 12). After another reminder of a perpetual Nazirite vow (Num. 6), which was to begin with the child's mother, Manoah sought to reward the messenger with food, but was told instead to prepare a burnt offering. It seems strange that Manoah did not know that the messenger was the angel of the Lord (v. 16), but his wife had said merely, "He looked like an angel of God, very awesome" (v. 6). Manoah realized that he was indeed the angel of the Lord when he ascended in the flame of the offering into heaven (v. 21). Manoah responded with fear, but his wife, who remains nameless, seemed to have a better understanding of the divine will (vv. 22-23).

E. B. SMICK

**man of lawlessness, man of sin.** See ANTICHRIST.

**mansion.** This term, which in present English usually refers to an imposing house, is used by the NIV a few times (e.g., for the expression "great houses," Amos 3:15). The KJV uses it only once in the well-known words of Jesus, "In my Father's house are many mansions" (Jn. 14:2), but the meaning here is certainly not "palatial residence." The English term *mansion* used to mean simply "dwelling," and thus in the 17th cent. it was an appropriate rendering of the Greek term here, *monē G3665* (derived from the verb *menō G3531,* "to remain, dwell," which is used frequently in Jn. 14-15). This noun occurs in only one other place in the NT—in this same chapter, where Jesus says, "If anyone loves me, he will obey my teaching. My Father will love him, and we will come to him and make our

home *[monē]* with him" (14:23; here the KJV renders it "abode"). On this basis it has been argued that v. 2 does not refer (at least not exclusively) to HEAVEN, but to the presence of Christ in the believer's heart. (See R. H. Gundry in *ZNW 58* [1967]: 68-72.)

**mantelet.** This English term, referring to a movable shelter used to protect besiegers, is used by the NRSV to render Hebrew *sōkēk H6116,* a term of uncertain meaning that occurs only once (Nah. 2:5; KJV, "defence"; NIV, "protective shield"). The sense of "protection" is supported by ancient versions (LXX, *prophylakē;* Vulg., *umbraculum).* Assyrian bas-reliefs depict thick shields made of reeds behind which the besieging archers stand (see *ANEP,* nos. 368 and 369). See ARMOR, ARMS.

J. REA

**mantle.** This English term, referring to a loosely worn upper garment, occurs frequently in the KJV and other versions (rarely in the NIV, which prefers CLOAK). One's daily work was performed while usually wearing only an undergarment such as a waist cloth or TUNIC. In bad weather and for protection by night, an upper garment was added.

In the Bible several words are used for the upper garment. Common in the OT is Hebrew *śimlâ H8529,* which seems to refer to garments in general (e.g., Gen. 9:23; 35:2; 37:34; 41:14; 44:13; Deut. 8:4; 10:18; cf. *śalmâ H8515,* Exod. 22:9 et al.), and also more specifically to an article of clothing that was used as a protective covering to be used with some form of undergarment (Exod. 12:34; Deut. 22:3). Frequently it is difficult to determine precisely what type of garment is meant. In the NT the corresponding Greek word is *himation G2668* (Matt. 5:40; Lk. 8:27).

A type of mantle mentioned several times is the *mĕʿîl H5077.* From its apparent association with men of high social position, or of the priestly order, one may likely infer that it was more ornate and elaborate than the ordinary robe. This was the type of garment that was made annually for young SAMUEL by his mother (1 Sam. 2:19) and which he wore on important occasions (15:27; 28:14). It also is mentioned in reference to SAUL (24:4, 11), JONATHAN (18:4), and DAVID (1 Chr. 15:27). Mention is made of robes and embroidered garments elsewhere (Exod. 28:31; 2 Sam. 13:18; Job 29:14; Ps. 109:29; Isa. 59:17).

A third type of mantle was the *ʾadderet H168,* a garment of distinction worn by kings (Jon. 3:6), and especially by prophets (1 Ki. 19:13, 19; 2 Ki. 2:8, 13-14; Zech. 13:4). Made of animal hair, this type of robe was one of the objects coveted by ACHAN (Josh. 7:21, 24). A comparable NT term is *stolē G5124,* which important people wore (Mk. 12:38; Lk. 20:46). Martyrs are described as being given a white robe (Rev. 6:11). It is also the garment of the redeemed (7:9, 13). (See M. G. Houston, *Ancient Egyptian and Persian Costume and Decoration,* 2nd ed. [1954]; *ANEP,* figs. 1-66 and passim; *BA* 24 [1961]: 119-28.) See also COAT; DRESS; ROBE.

S. WOUDSTRA

**Manual of Discipline.** See DEAD SEA SCROLLS IV.

**manuscript.** A handwritten document (from Latin *manus,* "hand," and *scriptus,* "written"). Prior

Medieval Hebrew scroll (14th cent.) opened to Gen. 4.

to the invention of printing, any document, whether a work of literature or a private writing, was written by hand and was thus a "manuscript" (although in present-day English the term is also used of typewritten compositions).

Manuscripts have been made of many materials, including CLAY TABLETS, wax tablets, LEATHER, broken pieces of pottery (see OSTRACA), cloth, and the bark of trees. The Jews commonly used SCROLLS of leather for the MSS of their Scriptures. For 4,000 years, PAPYRUS scrolls were commonly used to write documents. The scroll form began to be replaced by the CODEX or modern book form near the beginning of the Christian era. About the 4th Christian cent., papyrus was replaced largely by PARCHMENT (or vellum). Paper, invented in China and introduced into the Western world through the Arabs, began to replace parchment about the 12th cent. See WRITING.

Manuscripts of the Bible are more numerous than those of any other ancient literature. Most ancient works have either not survived at all or are extant in only one MS or in a few; some exceptional writings (such as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey)* have survived in several hundred copies. In contrast, the Bible is extant in thousands of MSS, varying from small fragments to complete Bibles, both in the original languages and in numerous ancient translations. See TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (OT); TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (NT).

J. H. GREENLEE

**Maoch** may'ok (מָעוֹךְ *H5059,* derivation uncertain, but possibly a variant of מַעֲכָה *H5082,* which may mean "dull" or "oppression"). TNIV Maok. Father of ACHISH, who was the PHILISTINE king of GATH with whom DAVID and his men took refuge when they were fleeing SAUL (1 Sam. 27:2; cf. 1 Ki. 2:39). See AACAH #8.

**Maok** may'ok. TNIV form of MAOCH.

**Maon (person)** may'on (מָעוֹן *H5062,* "dwelling"). Son of Shammai, descendant of CALEB, and "father" of BETH ZUR (1 Chr. 2:45). The latter description means either that he was the ancestor of the people of Beth Zur or the founder of that city. It is also possible that the name in this passage is a collective for the people of the town of Maon, and that they were the ones who founded the city of Beth Zur. See MAON (PLACE); MAONITES.

S. WOUDSTRA

**Maon (place)** may'on (מָעוֹן *H5063,* "dwelling"). A town in the hill-country of JUDAH, in the same

district as CARMEL and ZIPH (Josh. 15:55). It is identified with modern Khirbet Maʿin, situated on a hilltop about 8 mi. SSE of HEBRON. Hiding from SAUL, DAVID and his men took refuge in the Desert of Maon (1 Sam. 23:24-25), which was a wilderness area E and SE of the town. Maon was the residence of NABAL, whose widow ABIGAIL became the wife of David (25:1-2). (See *NEAEHL,* 3:942-44.)

S. WOUDSTRA

**Maonites** may'uhnz'ts (מָעוֹן *H5062,* "dwelling"). Name given to a group of people who were hostile to Israel (Jdg. 10:12; lit., "Maon"). They are probably not to be connected with the town of Maon; see MAON (PLACE). Perhaps these people are the same as the MEUNITES (1 Chr. 4:41; 2 Chr. 20:1; 26:7), but this identification is by no means established.

S. WOUDSTRA

**maps**. See CARTOGRAPHY, BIBLICAL.

**Mara** mair'uh (מָרָא *H5259,* "bitter" [possibly an Aram. formation corresponding to Heb. מָרָה *H5288;* see MARAH]). The name that NAOMI chose for herself when she returned from MOAB to her native country, bereaved of her husband and sons. Earlier, Naomi had said to her two daughters-in-law, "It is more bitter *[mar H5253]* for me than for you" (Ruth 1:13). When she arrived in BETHLEHEM, she asked the women of the town not to call her Naomi: "Call me Mara, because the Almighty has made my life very bitter *[mārar H5352]"* (v. 20).

**Marah** mair'uh (מָרָה *H5288,* "bitter"). The name that the Israelites gave to a place (between ETHAM and ELIM) where they found water that was brackish and undrinkable (Exod. 15:23; Num. 33:8-9). They had traveled in the Desert of SHUR without finding water (Exod. 15:22). When the people came to the spring and were unable to drink from it, they murmured against MOSES. Then the Lord showed Moses a piece of wood, which he threw into the

This oasis may be the site of biblical Marah.

water, thereby miraculously sweetening the spring (vv. 24-25). The location of Marah is uncertain, but proposals include modern ʿAin Hawarah (some 47 mi. SE of Suez) and Bir Mara (much farther N, only 10 mi. E of Suez).

S. WOUDSTRA

**Maralah** mahr'uh-luh (מַרְעֲלָה *H5339,* possibly "mountain ledge"). A town on the W border of the tribal territory of ZEBULUN between SARID and DABBESHETH (Josh. 19:11; RSV, "Mareal"). Maralah was in the Valley of JEZREEL, but its precise location is uncertain. Possible identifications are modern Tell el-Ghaltah (about 7 mi. NNW of MEGIDDO) and, more likely, Tell Thorah (2 mi. closer to Megiddo).

**maranatha** mair'uh-nath'uh (μαράνα θά *G3448,* from Aram. מָרַנָא תָא "our Lord, come!" or מָרַן אֲתָא, "our Lord has come"). This term, which is a transliteration of two ARAMAIC words, occurs once in the NT (1 Cor. 16:22, after an ANATHEMA against anyone who does not love the Lord) and once in the APOSTOLIC FATHERS (*Didache* 10.6). The first part of the phrase is the Aramaic word for "lord, master" (vocalized either *mar* or *mār)* with the suffix of the first person plural pronoun (resulting in the form *māran* or, if the older form of the suffix is used, *māraniā)* see G. Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch,* 2nd ed. [1905], 152 n. 3). The second part is a form of the Aramaic word for "to come": either the third person perfect*)#259;tā),* "has come," or the second person imperative *tā),* "come!"

The rendering "Our Lord has come" makes good sense, especially if a eucharistic background is assumed (the context in *Didache* 10.6 definitely centers on the Lord's table). If so, the reference is either to the INCARNATION or to his presence at the EUCHARIST. Most scholars, however, prefer the meaning "Our Lord, come!" in view of the parallel expression, "Come, Lord Jesus" (Rev. 22:20).

This rendering too is fitting to the LORD'S SUPPER, at which time Jesus' death is proclaimed "until he comes" (1 Cor. 11:26).

A eucharistic context is made further plausible by the following consideration. An Aramaic expression in a letter addressed to a Greek-speaking group appears very strange indeed, unless it be a form consecrated in the worship of the earliest Christian community in Jerusalem, and with which all Christians, whatever their native language, would become familiar (something like AMEN or HALLELUJAH). The Lord's Supper would easily fit that picture. In spite of these arguments, the identification of the context of "maranatha" with the Eucharist remains speculative, and some able scholars offer alternative views, notably C. F. D. Moule (in *NTS* 8 [1960]: 307-10), who envisions this expression as a part of a curse or of a solemn asseveration.

If the imperative is preferred, the term *maranatha* would be a very early evidence of a prayer addressed to Jesus as Lord. It bears witness in any case to the fact of a Palestinian recognition of Christ as LORD. (J. A. Fitzmyer, *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays* [1979], ch. 5, esp. p. 124, provides evidence that the Aram. word could mean "the Lord" in an absolute sense with reference to Yahweh. See also R. G. Kuhn in *TDNT* 4:466-72, which has a lucid discussion with extensive bibliography up to 1937.)

R. NICOLE

**marble.** Limestone (calcium carbonate) or dolomite (calcium-magnesium carbonate) that has been recrystallized under metamorphic conditions, either by heat adjacent to a large igneous intrusion or by heat and pressure in the earth's crust, particularly in mountain belts. However, the term *marble* often is also applied to some special types of nonmetamor-phic limestone. The stone is capable of high polish (Lat. *marmor,* "shining stone") and was much used in ARCHITECTURE, as in the building of Solomon's TEMPLE (1 Chr. 29:2, where the Hebrew term is š*ayiš H8880),* with pillars of marble being used as a representation of strength (Cant. 5:15, Heb. šēš *H9253).* In addition, the use of marble as a paving stone was widespread, although other polished material also was used for this purpose (Esth. 1:6; see MALACHITE).

Marble was used for making jars and other ornamental vessels (Rev. 18:12; Gk. *marmaros G3454),* particularly those varieties showing variegated patterns resulting from their formation with concentric color-zones in stalagmitic deposits. Such marble commonly was referred to as ALABASTER and used for making ointment jars (Matt. 26:7; Mk. 14:3; Lk. 7:37; Gk. *alabastros G223).* It also was referred to as onyx-marble, with Algerian ONYX being used in buildings of Carthage and Rome.

Much of the marble for sculpture came from Greece, especially the Pentelic marble from Mount Pentelicus in Attica and the Parian marble from the isle of Paros. Carrara marble, which is found in the Apuan Alps, Italy, and is used by many sculptors of the present day, was employed in Rome for architectural purposes in the time of AUGUSTUS. (See H. H. Read, *Rutley's Elements of Mineralogy,* 26th ed. [1970], 270-77.)

D. R. BOWES

**Marcheshvan** (מַרְחֶשְׁוָן, not found in the OT; prob. of Persian origin). The postbiblical name for the eighth month (October-November), corresponding to Canaanite BUL and Babylonian *Arahsamna* ("eighth month"). The name is already attested in the Aramaic papyri from ELEPHANTINE. It is also known as Heshvan.

S. BARABAS

**Marcion** mahr'shuhn (Μαρκίων). A native of Sinope in PONTUS, Marcion moved to ROME c. A.D. 140 and joined the church there but in 144 was excommunicated for his heretical opinions (however, an earlier date for Marcion's work is argued by R. J. Hoffmann, *Marcion: On the Restitution of Christianity* [1984], 44-47). The sect he founded spread widely and was for a time a serious menace to the church. Strongly anti-Jewish, he distinguished the merely just God of the OT from the loving God and Father of Jesus revealed in the NT, and accordingly rejected the OT altogether (see A. von Harnack, *Marcion: The Gospel of the Alien God* [1990; German orig. 1924]). He believed that only PAUL had truly grasped the contrast of law and gospel, so the Pauline letters (purged of what he considered Jewish accretions) formed the basis of his canon. See CANON (NT).

Marcion's *Gospel* was not an independent work, but an expurgated version of Luke, adapted to Marcion's own doctrinal theories. It does not appear that Marcion added much if anything of his own. According to IRENAEUS *(Haer.* 1.25.1, trans. W. W. Harvey), he excised "all that is written about the birth of the Lord and many things from the teaching in his discourses, in which he clearly confessed the Creator of this universe as his Father." Other deletions include the baptism and temptation narratives, which were inconsistent with Marcion's docetic CHRISTOLOGY. Altogether he omitted between a quarter and a third of Luke's gospel.

A second view, which would make Luke dependent on Marcion's *Gospel* and not the reverse, seems in H.-C. Puech's words "paradoxical and impossible to maintain" *(NTAp* [1963-65], 1:348), but a third theory has been advanced by J. Knox, namely, that what Marcion used was an *Urlukas,* an earlier and shorter version that was later expanded by the church "in the interest of anti-Marcionite polemic" (*Marcion and the New Testament* [1942], ch. 4). The difficulty is that there is no evidence for such an *Urlukas* (Streeter's conjectured Proto-Luke is another matter), and Irenaeus within half a century of Marcion is quite unambiguous. (See now J. B. Tyson, *Marcion and Luke–Acts: A Defining Struggle* [2006].)

The reasons for Marcion's choice of Luke have been debated. Was it the only gospel he knew, or the gospel of his native Pontus? Or did he make a deliberate choice? Matthew, of course, would be out of the question because of its strong Jewish flavor, but what of Mark or John? Probably use of John would have been difficult to reconcile with Marcion's view of the relations of Paul and the Twelve, and this gospel has a mystical background out of keeping with Marcion's spirituality (H. E. W. Turner, *The Pattern of Christian Truth: A Study in the Relations between Orthodoxy and Heresy in the Early Church* [1954], 172). Mark was never widely popular in the early church, and is mostly incorporated into Luke. That Marcion's *Gospel* was an adaptation of one of the church's Gospels shows the prestige they were already beginning to enjoy even at this early period. (See R. M. Grant, "Marcion, Gospel of," in *ABD,* 4:516-20.)

Because Marcion's edition of Luke and Paul is quoted extensively by other writers, these citations are an important source for the work of NT textual criticism. See TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (NT). The textual variants that have survived in these quotations shed significant light on the transmission of the NT text, and at least some of them have a claim to originality. (See J. J. Clabeaux, *A Lost Edition of the Letters of Paul* [1989]. More generally, G. May and K. Greschat, eds., *Marcion und seine kirchengeschichtliche Wirkung* [2002], which includes several articles in English and an important bibliography.) See also ANTI-MARCIONITE PROLOGUES; MARCIONITE PROLOGUES TO PAUL.

R. McL. WILSON

**Marcionite Prologues to Paul** mahr'shuh-nit. The earliest MSS of the VULGATE, as well as some Old

Latin MSS, include brief introductions (no longer than three sentences) to the letters of PAUL. These prologues are already attested in the 4th-cent. commentaries of Marius Victorinus. The origin of this material is shrouded in controversy, but many believe that it was produced by a Marcionite community because some of the comments imply an order for the Pauline letters that corresponds to the edition of the NT prepared by MARCION. Moreover, the material includes an emphasis on Paul as the true apostle that is consonant with Marcionite concerns. The evidence is ambiguous, however, and apparently the orthodox church was not aware that the prologues had a heretical origin. (See *ABD,* 4:520-21.)

**Marcus** mahr'kuhs. KJV alternate form of *Mark.* See MARK, JOHN.

**Marcus Aurelius** mahr'kuhs aw-reel'yuhs. Roman emperor from A.D. 161 until his death in 180. Born in 121 (and originally named Marcus Annius Verus), he was adopted in 138 by Antoninus Pius (emperor 138-161). Marcus Aurelius was made consul at the age of nineteen, and sometime during his twenties he became a committed STOIC. Upon the death of Pius, he was named emperor and took the name Antoninus. (His adoptive brother, Lucius Verus, shared the throne until the latter's death in 169.) The empire enjoyed a period of internal peace and prosperity during the rule of Marcus Aurelius, but much of his time was spent fending off the PARTHIANS and various Germanic tribes. Although he viewed Christians as a danger to the state and persecuted them, his administration was generally marked by leniency and benevolence. Marcus Aurelius is best known for his *Meditations,* an assortment of philosophical and religious reflections published after his death. This work, second only to the *Discourses* of EPICTETUS in importance, has proven to be a strikingly popular expression of Stoic thought. (See A. R. Birley, *Marcus Aurelius: A Biography,* rev. ed. [1988]; P. Hadot, *The Inner Citadel: The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius* [1998]; M. Morford, *The Roman Philosophers: From the Time of Cato the Censor to the Death of Marcus Aurelius* [2002].)

**Mardocheus** mahr'duh-kee'uhs. KJV Apoc. form of MORDECAI (Add. Esth. 11:2 et al.).

**Marduk** mahr'dyook (מְרֹדַךְ *H5281,* from Akk. *Mar(u)duk).* A Babylonian deity (Jer. 50:2; KJV and other versions, MERODACH; cf. also the personal names EVIL-MERODACH, MERODACH-BALADAN, MORDECAI). Already known in SUMER in the 3rd

The Royal Inscription of Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.), which describes his rebuilding of the temple of Marduk in Babylon.

millennium B.C., Marduk became chief god of the Babylonian pantheon at the time of HAMMURABI.

To him were transferred the functions and exploits of the storm-god and creator ENLIL. His principal temple was the Esagila ("the house that lifts up its head") in BABYLON. In the myth and ritual of the Babylonian New Year Festival each spring, his victory as champion of the gods was celebrated. Marduk was given the title BEL ("Lord") and eventually became known primarily by that name (cf. Isa. 46:1; Jer. 50:2; 51:44). (See E. Dhorme, *Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie* [1945], 139—50; W. Sommerfield, *Der Aufstieg Marduks* [1982]; *ABD,* 4:522-23; *DDD,* 543-49.)

L. WALKER

**Marduk-Baladan** mahr'dyook-bal'uh-duhn. TNIV form of MERODACH-BALADAN.

**Mareal** may'ree-uhl. See MARALAH.

**Mareshah (person)** muh-ree'shuh (מָרֵשָׁה *H5359,* possibly "head place"). (1) Son of Mesha (or of Ziph), grandson (or great-grandson) of CALEB, and father of Hebron (1 Chr. 2:42 NIV). The MT appears to have suffered scribal corruption, and it is possible that "Mesha" in the first part of the verse should be "Mareshah" also (so LXX), in which case Mareshah would be the firstborn of Caleb and the father of Ziph (cf. NRSV mg.). See HEBRON (PERSON) #2.

(2) Son of LAADAH and descendant of JUDAH (1 Chr. 4:21). However, in the phrase "Laadah the father of *Mareshah," father* could mean "founder" or "civic head," in which case the reference would be to MARESHAH (PLACE).

**Mareshah (place)** muh-ree'shuh (מָרֵשָׁה *H5358* [מָרֵאשָׁה in Josh. 15:44], "head place, summit"). A town in the SHEPHELAH of JUDAH, in the same district as LIBNAH (Josh. 15:44). Mareshah is identified with modern Tell Sandaḥannah, about 3 mi. NE of LACHISCH. The town was strengthened by REHOBOAM in the early 9th cent. B.C. (2 Chr. 11:8). ASA met a threateningly large Ethiopian army under ZERAH nearby in the Valley of ZEPHATHAH. Victorious by divine aid, Asa drove the enemy back to GERAR, 30 mi. SW of Mareshah (2 Chr. 14:9-15).

General overview of the ruins at Mareshah.

A prophet from Mareshah, ELIEZER son of Dodavahu, foretold the failure of JEHOSHAPHAT'S naval expedition bound for TARSHISH, because of the unholy alliance with AHAZIAH of Israel (2 Chr. 20:35-37). In a play on words, Micah speaks of a conqueror *(yōr ēš)* who will be brought against Mareshah (Mic. 1:15). During the EXILE, the Edomites infiltrated S Judah, and Mareshah—thereafter commonly known as Marisa—became a capital city. Beginning early in the 3rd cent. B.C., the place was successively occupied by the Seleucids (Syrians), the Ptolemies (Egyptians), and again by the Seleucids. About 250 B.C. a Sidonian colony under Apollophanes settled in Marisa, which archaeological discoveries confirm.

Even under Egyptian rule, the Sidonians began to use Greek names instead of Phoenician. Excavations reveal a Grecian style city, with right angle streets and a number of houses in regular blocks. The place was the center of Idumean slave trade in the 3rd cent. B.C. (see IDUMEA). In Maccabean times, Marisa retained its importance. It is mentioned in connection with Judas MACCABEE (1 Macc. 5:66; KJV, "Samaria"). Gorgias, governor of Idumea, took refuge there in 164 B.C. (2 Macc. 12:35). About the year 110, John Hyrcanus apparently subdued the city, circumcising such Idumeans as chose to remain (Jos. *Ant.* 13.9.1; see HASMONEAN II.A). In 63 B.C., POMPEY recovered Marisa for the Idumeans; and c. 57 B.C., Gabin-ius, Roman governor of Syria, rebuilt its fortifications. CAESAR'S rule brought the city into Judah's bounds, and in 47 B.C. he appointed Hyrcanus as high priest, and Antipater as PROCURATOR *(Ant.* 14.5.4; 14.8.5; 14.10.3-6). Later, Antipater's son, HEROD, fled to Marisa escaping from Antigonus and allies *(Ant.* 14.13.9). In 40 B.C. the place was destroyed and never rebuilt. Eleutheropolis, about two Roman miles away, became the important regional city. (See *ABD,* 4:523-25; *NEAEHL,* 3:948-57.)

R. F. GRIBBLE

**Mari** mah'ree. An important ancient city of western MESOPOTAMIA; excavations at Mari have yielded many significant discoveries.

**I. Location.** The city of Mari was situated c. 7 mi. NW of modern Abu-Kemal at Tell Hariri. Its importance and its prosperity were due to its strategic location at the intersection of two caravan roads: one beginning on the Mediterranean coast and passing across the Syrian desert to the EUPHRATES, and the other beginning in N Mesopotamia and passing southward through the valleys of the Khabur and Euphrates Rivers. This strategic location is reflected not only in the fabulous wealth of the city but also in the truly international character of its population, including cultured Babylonians, Assyrians, W Semites from the kingdom of Yamkhad-Aleppo, Hurrians, and semino-madic Khaneans, Suteans, and Benjaminites. It was the center of an important AMORITE kingdom c. 1800-1700 B.C. and preserves in the personal names of many of its citizens at that time an important part of the documentation for the little known Amorite language. See ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA.

**II. Excavations.** Between 1933 and 1939 six seasons of excavations took place at Tell Hariri under the auspices of the Louvre Museum and directed by André Parrot. The Second World War interrupted the excavations until 1951, when work was resumed. Four further campaigns were undertaken until 1956, when work was discontinued again as a consequence of the Suez incident. The chief buildings were: (1) a temple dedicated to the goddess ISHTAR, (2) a ZIGGURAT or stage-tower, and (3) a 300-room palace at the center of the mound and dating to the period of the 1st dynasty of Babylon (c. 1850-1750 B.C.). New campaigns were directed by J. Margueron from 1979 to 1985, focusing on the

city itself and its integration with the region as a whole (see the latter's reports in the journal *Mari: Annales de recherches interdisciplinaires,* beginning with vol. 1,1982).

In the palace area the excavators found c. 20,000 cuneiform tablets, most of which date from the

Mari on the Euphrates River.

reigns of Yasmakh-Adad (c. 1796-1780), under whose reign the palace was begun, and Zimri-Lim (c. 1779-1761), under whom it was finished. Both of these kings were contemporaries of HAMMURABI of Babylon (c. 1792-1750). With the exception of a few religious texts composed in HURRIAN, the documents were written in Akkadian (see LANGUAGES OF THE ANE II.A).

Several rooms contained chiefly texts of an economic, administrative, or judicial nature, while others contained the royal correspondence. King Yasmakh-Adad corresponded with his father, King Shamshi-Adad I of Assyria (c. 1814-1782), with his brother, King Ishme-Dagan I (1781-1742), and with several of his officials (Tarīm-shakin, Hasidān, Ishar-Līm, Il-asu, and Yawi-Ila). He also corresponded with other kings, including Hammurabi of Babylon and Ishkhi-Aadad of Qatna. King Zimri-Lim's correspondence was with King Hammurabi of Babylon, King Yarīm-Līm of Aleppo, and other royal personages. Among his officials he corresponded with Kibri-Dagan, governor of Terqa; Bakhdi-Lim, prefect of the palace of Mari; Mukan-nishum; Yasīm-Sumu; and Shunukh-rakhalu.

Several letters addressed to King Zimri-Lim concern prophetic utterances pronounced in the name of Adad or Dagan. These are instructive in their similarities and differences with biblical prophecy.

**III. History.** The earliest known example of a king claiming to have conquered Mari is Eannatum of LAGASH (c. 2500 B.C.). Around 2350 Sargon the Great of AKKAD made the same claim. During the 3rd dynasty of UR (c. 2113-2006) Mari was ruled by governors (š*akkanakkū)* of the kings of Ur. But c. 2017 Ishbi-Erra, who hailed from Mari and was an official of Ibbi-Sin, king of Ur (c. 2029-2006), seized control of the city of Isin, when it was cut off from Ur by rampaging Amorites. When Ur fell in 2006, Ishbi-Erra of Isin and Naplanum of Larsa became the leading powers in Babylonia.

Some time later Yakhdun-Lim, king of Khana (c. 1830-1800), conquered the city of Mari and incorporated it in his realm. But not long thereafter he was defeated by King Shamshi-Adad I of Assyria (c. 1814-1782). In c. 1800 Yakhdun-Lim lost his life in a palace revolution perhaps instigated by Shamshi-Adad, and his son Zimri-Lim fled to Syria. Four years later Shamshi-Adad installed his son Yasmakh-Adad as vice-king of Mari (c. 1796-1780). When Shamshi-Adad died (1782), Zimri-Lim secured the assistance of Ibal-pi-El II of Eshnunna (c. 1790-1761) and the king of

Aleppo to drive Yasmakh-Adad from the throne of Mari. After an independent rule of nineteen years (c. 1779-1761), Zimri-Lim was reduced to the status of a vassal king or governor of the city, when Hammurabi of Babylon conquered Mari in 1761. As a vassal of Hammurabi, Zimri-Lim continued to rule Mari until the Kassites destroyed the city in 1742.

**IV. Mari's contribution to OT studies.** From a linguistic point of view the Mari texts have aided OT study in the wealth of Amorite personal names, many of which resemble those in the Hebrew Bible. Also of interest to OT students are the so-called "Yahweh names" of Mari. These names (Yawi-Addu and Yawi-El) are not only reminiscent of OT personal names like Joel (= Yawi-El), but have raised the question of whether Yawi was a divine name at Mari. Opinions differ, but it seems unlikely in view of the fact that the word Yawi never occurs with the determinative for deity (i.e., $^{D}$Yawi). More likely *yawi* is a verb telling what the gods Addu and El had done or were expected to do. The OT name of Israel's God, Yahweh, may indeed contain that same verb as a description of the unnamed God (cf Exod. 3:14; see GOD, NAMES OF).

A second contribution to OT study afforded by the Mari texts lies in the description of the customs of the nomadic peoples surrounding Mari (Kha-neans, Suteans, and Benjaminites). The latter in particular have been suspected as relatives of the OT tribe of BENJAMIN, although it is not even clear that the Mari name DUMU.MEŠ *Ya-mi-na* is to be read as *banū Yamina,* which would seem to be a necessary first postulate in any such theory. But whether or not the DUMU.MEŠ *Yamina* are "Benjaminites," the customs held by all these nomadic groups provide interesting insights into certain OT practices of the Israelites.

(The texts have been published in the series *Archives royales de Mari: Transcription et traduction des textes cunéiformes* [1950ff.]. See further A. Parrot, ed., *Studia Mariana* [1950]; M. Noth, *Mari und Israel* [1953]; Georges Roux, *Ancient Iraq* [1964], 164-77, 189-201; G. E. Mendenhall in *The Biblical Archaeologist Reader, 2* [1964], 3–20; A. Parrot, *Mari, capital fabuleuse* [1974]; J. Margueron, *Recherches sur les palais mésopotamiens de l'Age du Bronze, 2* vols. [1982]; A. Malamat, *Mari and the Early Israelite Experience* [1989]; M. Anbar, *Les tribus amurrites de Mari* [1991]; G. D. Young, ed., *Mari in Retrospect: Fifty Years of Mari and Mari Studies* [1992]; A. Malamat, *Mari and the Bible* [1998]; D. E. Fleming, *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors: Mari and Early Collective Governance* [2004]; J.-C. Margueron, *Mari, métropole de l'Euphrate au IIIe et au début du IIe millénaire av. J.-C.* [2004]; *ABD,* 4:525-38.)

H. A. HOFFNER, JR.

**Mariamme** (Μαριάμμη, from מִרְיָם *H5319;* see MIRIAM). Traditionally spelled Mariamne. A HASMONEAN princess, famous for her beauty (Jos. *Ant.* 15.2.5 §23), who became the second wife of HEROD the Great. This marriage strengthened the position of Herod (a foreigner from IDUMEA) as ruler of the Jews. Mariamme bore him four children, but she was accused of unfaithfulness, and Herod, who was exceedingly jealous, had her executed *(Ant.* 15.2.9 §§81-87; 15.7.5 §§232-36). The name Mariamme was borne by another wife of Herod the Great, by Herod's son Archelaus, and by others in the Herodian family.

**Marimoth** mair'i-moth. KJV Apoc. form of MERAIOTH (2 Esd. 1:2).

**mariner.** See SAILOR.

**Marisa** mahr'uh-suh. Greek form of MARESHAH (1 Macc. 5:66 [KJV follows the variant "Samaria"]; 2 Macc. 12:35).

**mark.** This English noun is used variously to translate a number of Hebrew and Greek words in the Bible. For example, Hebrew )ôt *H253* (more frequently translated SIGN) occurs with reference to the mark that God placed "on Cain so that no one who found him would kill him" (Gen. 4:15; the nature of the sign is not known). Similarly the noun *tāw H9338* (also the name of the last letter of the Heb. ALPHABET, which in the earlier script looked like an X) can refer to a mark placed on the forehead (Ezek. 9:4 [used with the cognate verb *tāivâ H9344],* 6). In the NT, the KJV uses "mark" to render Greek *sko-pos G5024* ("that which one looks or aims at," thus "end, goal") in the well-known passage where PAUL compares the Christian life to a race and says that he presses toward the goal (Phil. 3:14). Paul uses a different term, *stigma G5116,* when he refers to the scars he bears in his body as a result of his suffering for the sake of Jesus (Gal. 6:17). When the book of Revelation speaks of the "mark of the beast" (Rev. 16:2 et al.), which the ANTICHRIST will require of all people during his reign of terror in the tribulation period, the term used is *charagma G5916* (from *charassō,* "to cut, engrave, inscribe").

**Mark, Gospel of.** The second account of the gospel of Jesus Christ, according to the present common order of listing in the NT canon. See also MARK, JOHN.

1. Background
    1. Geographical
    2. Historical
    3. Religious
2. Unity
3. Authorship
    1. External evidence
    2. Internal evidence
    3. The author
4. Date
    1. Traditional view
    2. Today's view
5. Place of origin
6. Destination
7. Occasion
8. Purpose
9. Canonicity
    1. Second century
    2. Third century
    3. Fourth century
10. Text
11. Special problems
12. Content
    1. The period of preparation

2. The Galilean ministry
3. The Perean ministry
4. The Judean ministry
5. The passion narrative
6. The resurrection

13. Theology
    1. Christology
    2. Soteriology

**I. Background**

***A. Geographical.*** The geographical setting of Mark's gospel is mainly the PALESTINE of Jesus' day. Palestine proper, between the Mediterranean Sea (GREAT SEA) and the JORDAN Valley, consisted of GALILEE in the N, SAMARIA in the center, JUDEA in the S, and IDUMEA below this. On the other side of the Jordan, E of Judea, was PEREA; N and E of Perea was the DECAPOLIS ("Ten Cities"); W and N of Galilee was PHOENICIA (modern Lebanon), with its two main cities of TYRE and SIDON.

***B. Historical.*** Practically all of Mark's gospel relates to the public ministry of Jesus. During this period Galilee and Perea were ruled by Herod Antipas, son of Herod the Great (see HEROD V). Judea, Samaria, and Idumea were governed by the Roman PROCURATOR (or PREFECT) Pontius PLLATE, who had been directly commissioned by the Emperor TIBERIUS.

Roman domination of Palestine had begun in 63 B.C., when POMPEY took JERUSALEM, by which time the Jews were accustomed to paying taxes to their foreign rulers. These taxes were somewhat oppressive. Everything, it seemed, was taxed—animals, fruit trees, homes, whatever a man owned. This is one reason the TAX COLLECTORS (called "publicans" in the KJV) were hated by their fellow Jews. They symbolized foreign oppression, and their business contacts with GENTILES rendered them ceremonially unclean. They were despised and ostracized by the pious "people of God."

***C. Religious***

**1. The synagogue.** Solomon's TEMPLE was destroyed in 586 B.C. The Jewish captives in Babylonia would naturally wish to assemble for WORSHIP and the reading of their sacred Scriptures. Probably the earliest beginnings of the SYNAGOGUE are to be found at this time, but the wide spread of this new institution seems to have taken place in the Persian period, as a result of EZRA'S work.

By the time of Christ the number of synagogues had multiplied greatly. According to rabbinic tradition there were 480 of them in Jerusalem when the temple was destroyed in A.D. 70. Many of them were built for the convenience of Jewish pilgrims coming from various foreign countries. On the hill OPHEL (the SE ridge of Jerusalem), an inscription was found that describes such a place. It reads thus: "Theodotus, son of Vetenus, priest and synagogue ruler, grandson of a synagogue ruler, built the synagogue for the reading of the Law and for the teaching of the commandments, and the guest house and the rooms and supplies of water as an inn for those who are in need when coming from abroad, which synagogue his fathers and the elders and Simonides founded."

Wherever there were ten adult male Jews in a town or village, a synagogue was to be established. Since the Jews were widely scattered over the Mediterranean world and the Mesopotamian region after the Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem, synagogues were found almost

everywhere. (In the book of Acts are mentioned two cities apparently without synagogues—LYSTRA and PHILIPPI.) The synagogues were centers of education as well as places of worship. The public reading and expounding of the law was the leading function that took place.

**2. The Sabbath.** The main feature that outwardly distinguished Jews from all others was their observance of the SABBATH day. This lasted from sunset Friday night until sunset Saturday. During this time no work was to be done. No devout Jew was permitted to walk more than the "Sabbath day's walk" (Acts 1:12), which was about half a mile. Sabbath observance was one of the crucial issues that the Pharisees raised with Jesus.

**3. The sects.** There were three main religious sects in the JUDAISM of Jesus' day. The dominant one was the PHARISEES, mentioned a hundred times in the NT. The SADDUCEES were second in importance, named fourteen times. The third sect, that of the ESSENES, is not mentioned at all. In general it may be said that the Sadducees held control of the temple worship and the Pharisees oversaw the teaching in the synagogues, while the Essenes preferred to live in secluded groups.

The Pharisees were the men who came into most frequent conflict with Jesus. Many of them gave undue emphasis to minute rules and regulations governing the everyday life of the people. They stressed the importance of almsgiving, fasting, and public prayers. They also emphasized strict separation from all UNCLEANNESS, including unclean people. The latter would embrace not only Gentiles but also Jews who failed to observe the law meticulously. Jesus called them hypocrites because much of this was done for outward show, whereas he emphasized the inner attitude. Of course, not all the Pharisees were hypocrites. Many were sincerely pious. But Jesus charged many of them with inconsistency and insincerity.

The Pharisees accepted the whole of the OT as their sacred Scriptures. In addition, they gave great authority to "the tradition of the elders."These were rabbinical interpretations and applications of the Mosaic law. They covered every aspect of the daily life of the people. Jesus accused the Pharisees of making the TRADITION of the elders more binding than the law that God gave to Moses (Mk. 7:9-13).

The Sadducees came into direct conflict with Jesus only near the close of his ministry. When he cleansed the temple he threatened their prestige as well as their pocketbooks. Actually it was a clash of authority. So in the last hours before Christ was condemned and crucified the Sadducees, particularly the chief priests, led the opposition. They were the ones who agitated the people to demand his death.


This 1st-cent. synagogue at the Herodium functioned like others throughout Israel that served as centers for worship

and education.

It is thought that the name Sadducee was derived from ZADOK, a priest in the time of DAVID and SOLOMON. He was thought of as the father of the Jerusalem priesthood. The Sadducees probably arose as a party in Judaism during the Maccabean period (see MACCABEE). They are first mentioned by JOSEPHUS in the days of John Hyrcanus (135-104 B.C.; see HASMONEAN II.A).

Josephus also states that the Sadducees denied the RESURRECTION of the body (cf. Matt. 22:23; Mk. 12:18; Lk. 20:27) as well as all future punishments and rewards. They held that the soul perishes with the body. Acts 23:8 states that they denied the existence of angels and spirits. They also rejected the oral law, or "the tradition of the elders" (Mk. 7:3), giving almost exclusive attention to the TORAH (the Pentateuch). After the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70, the Sadducees largely disappeared.

The Essenes are described by PHILO JUDAEUS, the famous Alexandrian Jew (c. 10 B.C. to c. A.D. 45). Most of the early information about them comes from Josephus (c. A.D. 37-100). In his autobiography *(Life)* he tells how at the age of sixteen he decided to investigate the three main sects of Judaism. After three years in the Judean wilderness, where he may well have visited the Essenes, he returned to Jerusalem and joined the Pharisees. The Essenes, like the Pharisees, were probably successors of the Hasidim (see HASIDEANS). But the Essenes were more ascetic and rigid than the Pharisees.

With the discovery of the DEAD SEA SCROLLS in 1947, the knowledge of the Essenes was greatly broadened. They practiced a communal ownership of property. Celibacy was common, although marriage was evidently permitted. The members of the community were governed by strict rules of conduct. They avoided the temple at Jerusalem as being unclean. The Scriptures were studied daily and especially on the Sabbath. The Essenes had a strong messianic hope.

**II. Unity.** It is popular today to talk about the sources of the second gospel. But most scholars agree that it comes from the hand of one author. The last twelve verses, as will be noted, were perhaps not a part of the original Gospel of Mark. Aside from those, no serious question is raised as to the unity of the book.

**III. Authorship.** All four Gospels are anonymous; so the matter of authorship can be established only by careful investigation.

***A. External evidence.*** By external evidence is meant the testimony of early church writings as to who wrote this gospel.

**1. Second century.** The only certain noncanonical Christian writing from the 1st cent. is Clement of Rome's *First Epistle to the Corinthians* (A.D. 95; see CLEMENT, EPISTLES OF). One of Clement's quotations *(1 Clem.* 46:8) bears a resemblance to Mk. 9:42, but direct quotation cannot be proved. The earliest certain witness to the authorship of Mark's gospel comes from the 2nd cent.

The early church historian EUSEBIUS (A.D. 326) quotes PAPIAS (c. A.D. 140) as saying: "And John the presbyter also said this, Mark being the interpreter of Peter, whatsoever he recorded he wrote with great accuracy, but not, however, in the order in which it was spoken or done by our Lord, but as before said, he was in company with Peter, who gave him such instruction as was necessary, but not to give a history of our Lord's discourse: wherefore Mark has not erred in any thing, by

writing some things as he has recorded them; for he was carefully attentive to one thing, not to pass by any thing he had heard, or to stateany thing falsely in these accounts" (Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* 3.39). Six statements are made here by Papias: (1) Mark was the "interpreter" (perhaps, translator) of PETER; (2) he wrote accurately, but not necessarily in chronological


Roman coin of the 1st/2nd cent. depicting the running boar, mascot of the Tenth Legion. Mark appears to have written his gospel with a Roman audience in view.

order; (3) he was not himself a follower of Jesus; (4) he was a companion of Peter; (5) he has not recorded the discourses of Christ; (6) his account is reliable.

JUSTIN MARTYR (c. A.D. 150) quotes Mk. 3:17 as from "Peter's Memoirs." The ANTI-MARCIONITE PROLOGUE to Mark (A.D. 150-180), which comments that Mark was called "stump-fingered" because he had small fingers, says that "he was the interpreter of Peter. After the death of Peter he wrote down this same Gospel in the regions of Italy." IRENAEUS) (c. A.D. 185), as quoted by Eusebius, says that after the "departure" (death?) of Peter and Paul, "Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, also transmitted to us in writing what had been preached by Peter" (Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* 5.8).

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (c. A.D. 195) has this to say about the origin of the Gospel of Mark: "When Peter had proclaimed the word publicly at Rome, and declared the gospel under the influence of the spirit; as there was a great number present, they requested Mark, who had followed him from afar [for a long time], and remembered well what he had said, to reduce these things to writing, and that after composing the gospel he gave it to those who requested it of him. Which, when Peter understood, he directly neither hindered nor encouraged it" (Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* 6.14; there are two other similar statements by Clement). Finally, TERTULLIAN (c. A.D. 200), in his book *Against Marcion* (4.5), says that the gospel "which Mark published may be affirmed to be Peter's, whose interpreter Mark was."

**2. Third century.** It is generally agreed that the greatest Bible scholar in the early church was ORIGEN (d. c. A.D. 254). In his *Commentary on Matthew* he declares that the four Gospels "are the only undisputed ones in the whole church of God throughout the world." After discussing Matthew, he writes: "The second is according to Mark, who composed it as Peter explained to him, whom he also acknowledges as his son in his general Epistle, saying, 'The elect church in Babylon salutes you, as also Mark my son'" (Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* 6.25).

**3. Fourth century.** The year after the famous Council of Nicaea (A.D. 325), EUSEBIUS wrote his *Ecclesiastical History,* the most important single sourcebook for the history of the early church. It has

an entire chapter on the Gospel according to Mark. Eusebius writes: "So greatly, however, did the splendour of piety enlighten the minds of Peter's hearers, that it was not sufficient to hear but once, nor to receive the unwritten doctrine of the gospel of God, but they persevered in every variety of entreaties, to solicit Mark as the companion of Peter, and whose gospel we have, that he should leave them a monument of the doctrine thus orally communicated in writing. Nor did they cease their solicitations until they had prevailed with the man, and thus became the means of that history which is called the gospel according to Mark. They say also that the apostle (Peter), having ascertained what was done by the revelation of the spirit, was delighted with the zealous ardour expressed by these men, and that the history obtained his authority for the purpose of being read in the churches" (2.15). Eusebius says he learned this from Clement of Alexandria's writings.

JEROME, in his *Commentary on Matthew* (c. A.D. 380), writes: "Second, Mark, the interpreter of the apostle Peter and the first bishop of the church of Alexandria, who himself did not see the Lord the Saviour, but narrated those things which he heard his master preaching, with fidelity to the deeds rather than to their order." It is generally agreed that Jerome is mistaken in saying that Mark was the first bishop of ALEXANDRIA. But the rest of his statement agrees with the previous ones we have noted.

In all of these quotations, there is a general agreement on two matters: (1) the second gospel was written by Mark; (2) this gospel gives us the preaching of Peter. The point on which there is some difference of opinion is as to whether Mark wrote his gospel before or after the death of Peter. This affects the date, as will be noted later, but the matter of authorship is unaffected. Vincent Taylor declares: "There can be no doubt that the author of the Gospel was Mark, the attendant of Peter" *(The Gospel according to St. Mark,* 2nd ed. [1966], 26). Other scholars, however, are skeptical of this tradition and emphasize the period of oral transmission that must have preceded the writing of the gospel.

***B. Internal evidence.*** This section deals with what we find in the Gospel of Mark itself. Does it point to Mark as the writer?

**1. Petrine characteristics.** There is general agreement among the early church fathers that Mark's gospel reproduces the preaching of PETER. When we turn to the gospel, we can find Peter's personality on almost every page. Peter was impulsive, aggressive, active. That is the character of the gospel.

Undoubtedly the main characteristic of Mark's gospel is action. If one examines carefully a harmony of the Synoptic Gospels, it soon becomes clear that Mark has most of the miracles but few of the parables. Long sections of the harmony have parallel columns of material from Matthew and Luke, with nothing from Mark. In such cases the material almost always consists of the sayings of Jesus. Matthew and Luke devote much of their space to Jesus' teachings; Mark majors on action. This is what one would expect if Mark is reproducing the preaching of Peter.

This rapidity of action is highlighted by the frequent use of the Greek word *euthys G2317,* "straightway, immediately, at once" (although it can have the weakened sense of "then," as in Mk. 1:21 et al.). It occurs forty-two times in this short gospel, as against seven times in the much longer Matthew, three times in John, and only once in Luke. In two passages in the Gospel of Mark the word is repeated three times in three consecutive verses. A glance at the first chapter of Mark shows that almost every verse begins with "and." As someone has said, "The narrative almost runs." It might well be suggested that while John in his gospel gives us a studied portrait of Jesus, and Matthew and

Luke offer a series of colored slides, Mark gives a moving picture of his public ministry.

Another characteristic is vividness of detail. While Mark's gospel is the shortest, its individual narratives are usually longer than the corresponding accounts in Matthew and Luke, sometimes two or three times as long. This difference is due to the addition of details that add vividness to the narrative. (Some of these will be noted under "Content.") Such style is what one would expect from Peter. He was a man of the out-of-doors and thus more observant than a bookish person.

A third characteristic is picturesqueness of description. Peter might be expected to use colorful words in his preaching, and this is what one finds in Mark's gospel. In connection with the feeding of the 5,000, Mark alone observes that the people reclined on the green grass. The word he uses for "groups" (Mk. 6:40 KJV) literally means "flower beds." Thousands of people in bright-colored oriental garments of red, yellow, and blue seated in groups on the green grass of the hillside—it was a picture photographed on Peter's memory. He probably used this expression in his preaching and Mark has retained it for us in his gospel.

**2. Roman characteristics.** Perhaps one reason Mark majors on Jesus' activity rather than his teachings is that, according to early church tradition, he was writing at ROME. The Romans glorified action. The Greeks gave primary emphasis to intellectual pursuits, but the Romans sought military conquest.

Mark presents Jesus to the Romans as a man of action. They were not so much concerned about a person's ancestry as with his ability. Mark has no genealogies of Jesus as in Matthew and Luke. Similarly, he omits all reference to Jesus' birth and childhood. With only a brief introduction—John the Baptist's ministry, followed by Jesus' baptism and temptation—he plunges immediately into the public ministry of the Master. In Mark's gospel there are only thirteen verses of introduction, compared with 76 in Matthew and 183 in Luke. The Romans did not ask "Where did he come from?" or "What did he say?" but "What has he done?" That is the question that Mark answers for them regarding Jesus. He presents Christ as the mighty Conqueror over demons, disease, and death. Even the winds and the waves were subject to his "Peace, be still."

In keeping with the tradition that this gospel was written in Rome is the fact that it contains more Latinisms than any other book in the NT. Three of the ten terms of Latin origin that he uses are in his gospel only. He also has some distinct Latin idioms and translates Jewish terms into Roman equivalents (e.g., Mk. 12:42). He explains Jewish customs for his Roman readers. An outstanding example is that of the ceremonial washing before eating (7:3-4).

Artist's rendering of a trammel boat on the Sea of Galilee. Jesus called James and John to ministry from their occupation as fishermen.

Other examples are the beliefs of the Sadducees (12:18) and the custom of fasting (2:18). All these Markan items fit in well with the tradition that he wrote his gospel in Rome.

***C. The author.*** The first mention of Mark (the person) is in Acts 12:12. When Peter was released from prison, he went "to the house of Mary the mother of John, also called Mark, where many had gathered and were praying." This was in Jerusalem, fourteen years after Jesus' death. It is thought by some that this home may have been the place of the LAST SUPPER and of the events on the day of PENTECOST.

When BARNABAS and Saul (PAUL) returned to ANTIOCH OF SYRIA from their "famine visit" to Jerusalem (Acts 11:27-30), they took John along with them (12:25). Here again it is added, "also called Mark." He accompanied the two leaders on their first missionary journey. He is described in KJV as their "minister" (13:5), but the Greek word means "subordinate, attendant, helper." John acted as their assistant, not as their preacher.

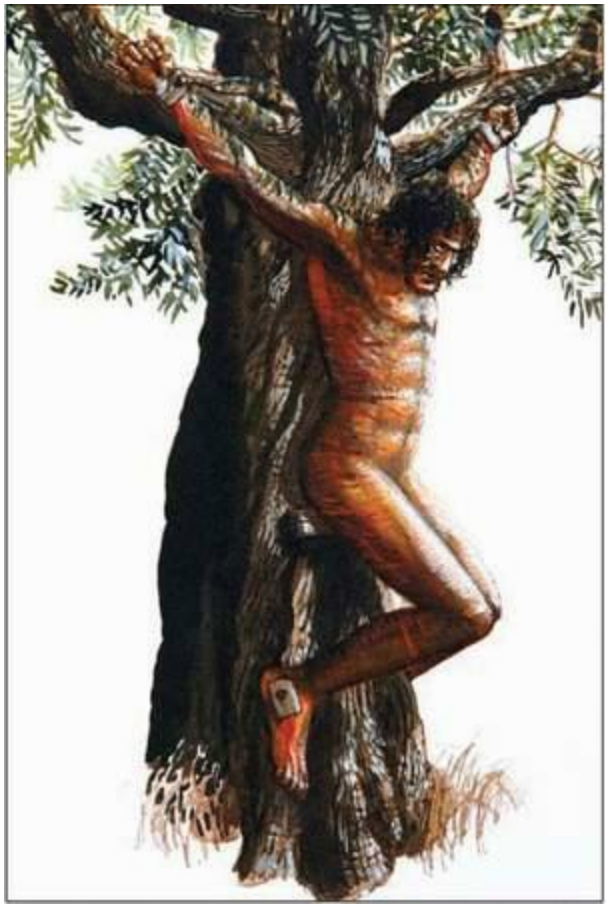
But at PERGA in PAMPHYLIA, John Mark turned back to Jerusalem (Acts 13:13). His action was due probably to a combination of homesickness, fear of the dangers in the mountains ahead, and resentment that Paul had become the leader of the party instead of John's relative Barnabas. When they started out it was "Barnabas and Saul" (13:2). When they left CYPRUS it was "Paul and his companions" (13:13). This change of leadership was hard for the young man to take, and he failed. (It is also possible that Paul's leadership marked a change in tactics—going directly to the Gentiles—that disturbed John Mark's Jewish sensibilities.) When Paul suggested a second missionary journey, Barnabas wanted to give John another chance, but Paul refused. The result was that Barnabas took John and returned to Cyprus, where he disappears from the biblical narrative. Paul chose a new associate, SILAS, and went overland to GALATIA (15:36-41).

Fortunately, the story of Mark does not end there. Paul speaks of Mark as his companion in

Rome (Col. 4:10; Phlm. 24). And finally in 2 Tim. 4:11 the apostle pays high tribute to Mark's service. He also is mentioned by Peter as "my son Mark" (1 Pet. 5:13). John was his Jewish name, Mark his Roman name. See further MARK, JOHN.

**IV. Date.** There is wide agreement today that Mark is the earliest of the four Gospels. When was it written?

***A. Traditional view.*** Adolph Harnack, in *The Date of the Acts and the Synoptic Gospels* (1911), presents the classical argument for dating Mark in the 50s. It starts with the date of Acts, which closes with Paul's two years' imprisonment in Rome (A.D. 59-61 or 60-62). Since the story stops at this point, the natural deduction is that the book of Acts was completed at this time (c. A.D. 62; see ACTS OF THE APOSTLES). Unquestionably Luke's gospel is "the former treatise" (Acts 1:1), and so it must have been written about A.D. 60 (see LUKE, GOSPEL OF). Presumably Matthew appeared in the same general period of time (see MATTHEW, GOSPEL OF). According to the commonly held two-document theory, both Matthew and Luke made



At times, the Romans would crucify their victims by hanging them on a tree.

use of Mark as a historical source. If so, then this shortest of the Gospels must have been written in the 50s. (For the view that Matthew's gospel was written first, see W. R. Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem* [1964]). See also GOSPELS.

***B. Today's view.*** It already has been noted that there is a discrepancy at one point in the witness of the early church fathers to Mark's gospel. Some say it was written before Peter's death, others after his death. Today a majority of NT scholars agree in dating the Gospel of Mark c. A.D. 65-70.

Matthew and Luke are placed ten or twenty years later. For Mark's gospel, D. A. Hayes says: "Some time between A.D. 60 and 70 it is possible that the work was begun and revised and completed" *(The Synoptic Gospels and the Book of Acts* [1919], 123). Donald Guthrie writes: "It is not in fact impossible to regard both Clement and Irenaeus as correct, if Mark began his Gospel before and completed it after Peter's death; a suggestion which merits more consideration than it generally receives." He goes on to say: "Another possibility is that Irenaeus was not referring to Peter's death at all, but to his departure from the place where Mark was…In this case it would also be possible to accept the statements of both Irenaeus and Clement, and this solution seems the more preferable" *(New Testament Introduction: Gospels and Acts* [1961], 69; differently in the revised one-vol. ed. [1990], 85). That is, Mark wrote his gospel after Peter's departure from the city but before Peter's death. This would be in the 50s or early 60s. (For an even earlier date, see J. G. Crossley, *The Date of Mark's Gospel: Insights from the Law in Earliest Christianity* [2004].)

The dating of the Gospels is not a matter of primary importance. The earlier the dates, of course, the nearer the Gospels come to the actual time of Jesus' earthly ministry. It should be remembered, however, that most conservative scholars agree in dating John's gospel about A.D. 85-95. The essential factor is the recognition of the divine INSPIRATION of these accounts of Jesus' life and ministry. Since they were written by men, it is our responsibility to investigate as carefully as possible the details of their human origin. It is obvious that the early church was interested in this matter, and so should we be. (For the view that Mark is a redaction of a "secret" gospel, see MARK, SECRET GOSPEL OF.)

**V. Place of origin.** The majority voice of the early church says that Mark wrote his gospel in Rome. The character of the book fits well with this tradition. CHRYSOSTOM does say that Mark's gospel was written in Egypt, but few modern scholars have accepted this suggestion. J. V. Bartlet *(St. Mark,* NCB [1922], 35-38) even suggested Antioch, but his arguments do not seem convincing. Rome still holds the field.

**VI. Destination.** Mark's gospel clearly was intended for Gentile readers. Not only does the author explain Jewish customs and use a high number of Latinisms, but he also translates the numerous ARAMAIC terms he uses (cf. Mk. 3:17; 5:41; 7:11, 34; 10:46; 14:36; 15:22, 34). These Aramaic words give a primitive touch to this gospel and lend some weight to the idea of an early date. One cannot be certain of a definite locality for the destination of Mark's gospel, but it can be safely assumed that it was written for Gentiles, not Jews.

**VII. Occasion**. It is obvious that the matter of the occasion for the writing of Mark's gospel cannot be settled dogmatically as long as there is uncertainty as to whether Mark wrote before or after Peter's death. In either case the occasion was probably the desire of the Christians to have the substance of Peter's preaching in written form.

**VIII. Purpose.** The first verse of this gospel indicates its purpose: to give the good news about Jesus Christ, the Son of God. It has been increasingly recognized in recent scholarship that Mark has a theological purpose. This does not in any way call in question the historicity of the narrative. It simply means that the author had in mind a definite doctrinal aim. He is writing history. At the same time he is writing more than history; his gospel has a strong theological thrust. It was written to proclaim the fact that Jesus Christ is Son of God and Savior. So Mark's main purpose was

evangelistic, as is true of the other Gospels.

**IX. Canonicity.** By canonicity is meant acceptance by the church at large. This judgment was finally expressed officially in its councils.

***A. Second century.*** In 1740 L. A. Muratori discovered and published a descriptive list of books of the NT recognized in Rome near the end of the 2nd cent. (A.D. 170-190). The list was in a badly mutilated MS from the 7th or 8th cent., kept in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. Unfortunately, the first part is broken off, so that it often is referred to as the Muratorian Fragment (see MURATORIAN CANON). The opening incomplete sentence reads: "…at which, however, he was present, and so set them down." Since the document goes on to say: "The third of the Gospel (according to Luke)…" and then next discusses John's gospel, there seems to be no reasonable doubt that the first two books discussed were the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. This constitutes evidence that these four Gospels were all accepted in Rome at the end of the 2nd cent. This is corroborated by quotations from Justin Martyr and Irenaeus.

***B. Third century.*** By the end of the 2nd cent. and beginning of the 3rd it is obvious that Mark's gospel was accepted throughout Christendom. We have testimonies, given above, from North Africa, Egypt, and Italy to this effect. It was given apostolic authority as representing the preaching of Peter.

***C. Fourth century.*** When Athanasius sent out his Easter Letter in 367, he listed exactly the twenty-seven books of the NT as sacred Scripture to be read in the churches of his diocese. In 397 the Council of Carthage made this official. From that time until the Reformation the canon of the NT was settled and stable. Mark was included. See further CANON (NT).

**X. Text.** The main textual problem relating to Mark's gospel concerns the last twelve verses (Mk. 16:9-20). These—called the Long Ending—are not found in the two oldest Greek uncial MSS, CODEX VATICANUS and CODEX SINAITICUS, from the 4th cent. They also are omitted in one of the oldest versions, the Sinaitic Syriac, as well as most of the Armenian MSS. Clement of Alexandria and Origen evidently had no knowledge of these verses. See TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (NT).

Several uncial MSS of the 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries have an alternative, shorter ending. It is found also in a few minuscules and several ancient versions. It reads: "But they reported briefly to Peter and those with him all that they had been told. And after this Jesus himself sent out by means of them, from east to west, the sacred and imperishable proclamation of eternal salvation." Anyone familiar with the early church will easily recognize that this reading is not genuine. Its last sentence is simply not in the language of the 1st cent. Several MSS have both the Long and the Short Ending. This fact militates somewhat against the genuineness of either one.

The prize MS in the United States (Washing-tonensis or W, 5th cent.) has a long insertion after Mk. 16:14 in the Long Ending. It reads: "And they excused themselves, saying, 'This age of lawlessness and unbelief is under Satan, who does not allow the truth and power of God to prevail over the unclean things of the spirit. Therefore reveal thy righteousness now'—thus they spoke to Christ. And Christ replied to them, 'The term of years for Satan's power has been fulfilled, but other terrible things draw near. And for those who have sinned I was delivered over to death, that they may return to the truth and sin no more, that they may inherit the spiritual and imperishable glory of righteousness that is in heaven'" (see B. M. Metzger and B. D. Ehrman, *The Text of the New*

*Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration,* 4th ed. [2005], 81). It hardly needs to be said that this is spurious. Its language clearly condemns it.

Regarding the last twelve verses found in the KJV, H. B. Swete writes: "As to the origin of this ending there can be little doubt. It has been written by some one whose copy of the Gospel ended at *ephobounto gar* ["for they were afraid"], and who desired to soften the harshness of so abrupt a conclusion, and at the same time to remove the impression which it leaves of a failure on the part of Mary of Magdala and her friends to deliver the message with which they had been charged" *(The Gospel according to St. Mark,* 2nd ed. [1902], cviii).

Two other factors argue against the genuineness of this Long Ending. One is that the language of the original does not fit Mark very well. The other is a somewhat awkward connection between Mk. 16:8 and 9. Guthrie *(New Testament Introduction,* 73) notes that vv. 9-20 "seem to be composed from material drawn from the other three Gospels," and so "this ending wears the appearance of compilation distinct from the rest of the Gospel." His conclusion is: "It would seem that the only course open is to admit that we do not know the original ending" (ibid., 74).

Another textual issue that has raised considerable interest is the claim by the Spanish Jesuit scholar and papyrologist, José O'Callaghan, that several NT fragments, including one that contains part (seventeen letters) of Mk. 6:52-53, were discovered among the DEAD SEA SCROLLS of Qumran Cave 7 (for the first account of his findings, see *Bib* 53 [1972]: 91-100). Although this claim has been strongly supported by a few (notably C. P. Thiede, *The Earliest Gospel Manuscript? The Qumran Papyrus 7Q5 and Its Significance for New Testament Studies* [1992]), scholarly reaction has been largely negative (cf. B. M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament,* 3rd ed. [1992], 264-65; for a strong rejection based on microscopic analysis, see R. H. Gundry in *JBL* 118 [1999]: 698-707). About half of the letters cannot be read with certainty, and the identification rests on two or three assumptions that, while possible, are debatable. (On textual issues more generally, see now H. Greeven and E. Güting, *Textkritik des Markusevangeliums* [2005].)

**XI. Special problems.** Aside from the matter of the ending of Mark, there are not many crucial problems connected with this book. One point that has been raised is this: If Mark is giving us Peter's preaching, why does he omit three striking incidents about this disciple that are narrated in Matthew's gospel? These are Peter's walking on the water (Matt. 14:28-33), the paying of the temple tax (17:24-27), and the statement about the keys to the kingdom of heaven (16:19). These omissions may reasonably be explained as due to modesty on Peter's part. In his preaching he was concerned to exalt Christ, not himself. It is worth noting that in Mark's gospel Peter is never mentioned alone except in connection with his being rebuked by Jesus. This is the kind of humility that one would expect to find in Peter after Pentecost.

The incident of the young man in GETHSEMANE has caused considerable comment. Mark records: "A young man, wearing nothing but a linen garment, was following Jesus. When they seized him, he fled naked, leaving his garment behind" (Mk. 14:51-52). This little item seems like a senseless intrusion into the account of Jesus' agony and arrest in the garden. The only logical deduction would seem to be that the young man was John Mark himself. This is his modest way of saying, "I was there." A. E. J. Rawlinson (*St. Mark* [1925], 215) says: "The story certainly reads like a personal reminiscence."

It is not difficult to make a possible reconstruction of what happened that night. If the Last Supper took place in the home of John Mark's mother, one may assume that JUDAS ISCARIOT, who had left the table early, would lead the mob back there to arrest Jesus. When he arrived he discovered that

the Master and his disciples had already left, so he went on to the MOUNT OF OLIVES to find him. Wakened by the noise and seeing the torches and weapons, young John Mark could easily sense the situation. He hastily threw a linen cloth around himself and hastened out into the night to warn Jesus. By the time he arrived at the garden the soldiers were already there, and he himself was almost arrested.

**XII. Content.** The Gospel of Mark may be divided into six main sections:

1. The period of preparation (Mk. 1:1–13)
2. The Galilean ministry (1:14—9:50)
3. The Perean ministry (10:1-52)
4. The Judean ministry (11:1—13:37)
5. The passion narrative (14:1—15:47)
6. The resurrection (16:1-20)

***A. The period of preparation*** (Mk. 1:1-13). The first verse of this book seems to be a sort of title: "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God" (1:1 KJV). Many of the early church fathers took this to be a heading for the ministry of JOHN THE BAPTIST, which in turn was viewed as the beginning point in the gospel story. Modern scholars, however, usually think of it as a title to the entire gospel. The "beginning of the gospel" is the ministry of Jesus, including his death and resurrection.

The word GOSPEL means "good news." It was not used for a book of the NT until the time of JUSTIN MARTYR, in the middle of the 2nd cent. In the 1st cent. it meant the oral message of SALVATION through Jesus Christ. The earliest Greek MSS label this book simply *Kata Markon,* "According to Mark." The early church spoke of *one* gospel, narrated "according to" Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. The phrase, "the gospel of Jesus Christ," probably means "the good news about Jesus Christ" (objective genitive; cf. NIV) rather than the good news preached by Jesus (subjective genitive). This understanding fits the character of this gospel, which gives a minimum of the teachings of Christ, but rather portrays his redemptive ministry. The last phrase, "the Son of God," is omitted in some MSS, but most modern scholars accept it as genuine. It fits in with Mark's consistent emphasis on the DEITY OF CHRIST as demonstrated in his ministry. The good news is not about a mere man—his human birth is not mentioned in this gospel—but about the Son of God who became the Savior.

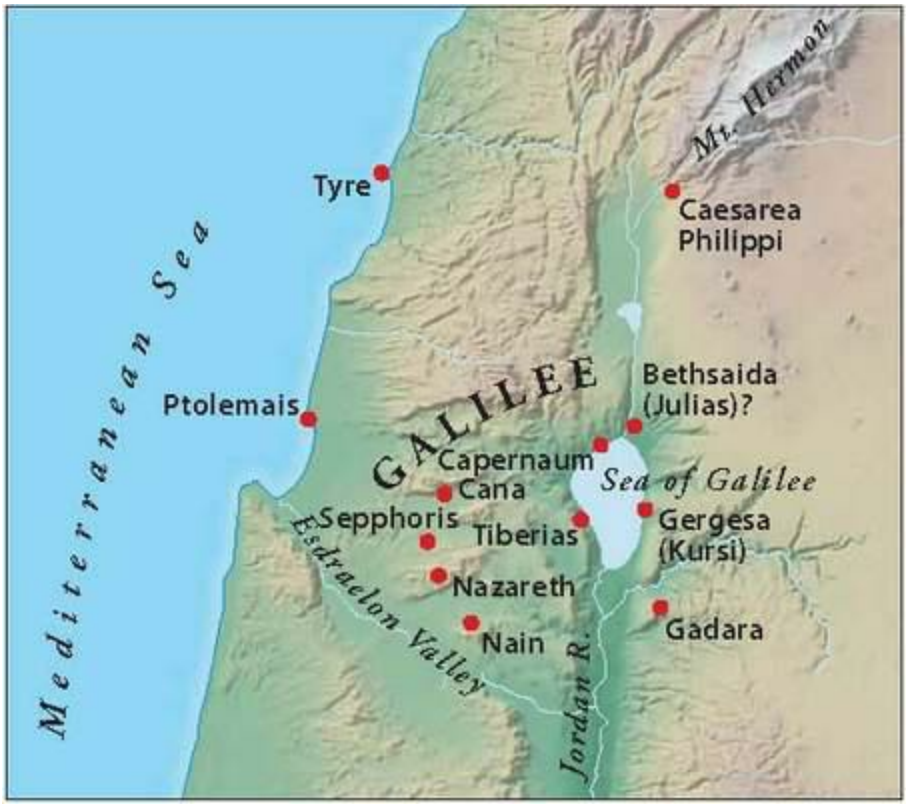
Mark's account of the ministry of John the Baptist (Mk. 1:2-8) is briefer than Matthew's or Luke's. He does not tell of John's discussion with various groups. Peter's forceful personality is probably reflected in the stronger terms that Mark uses, as compared with Matthew and Luke. A case in point is his description of the heavens being "torn open" at the time of Jesus' baptism (1:10). The term here is *schizō G5387;* Matthew and Luke use the weaker verb *anoigō G487,* "open." The temptation of Jesus is recorded in two short verses by Mark (1:12-13), whereas Matthew and Luke spell out the three specific attacks of "the devil" (Mark prefers "Satan"). Even in this brief account Mark adds the graphic detail: "He was with the wild animals." And again he uses a stronger term than Matthew and Luke: "And immediately the Spirit driveth him into the wilderness" (KJV). The Greek verb here (*ekballei,* pres. of *ekballō G1675*) also illustrates Mark's fondness for the historic present to add vividness to the narrative—probably reflecting Peter's frequent use of it in his preaching. There are 151 historic presents in Mark's gospel; Matthew retains only 21 of these.

***B. The Galilean ministry*** (Mk. 1:14—9:50). Matthew and Mark agree that Jesus began his great Galilean ministry after the arrest and imprisonment of John the Baptist (Matt. 4:12; Mk. 1:14). They also indicate that Christ's opening message was, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven [God] is near" (Matt. 4:17; cf. Mk. 1:15)—an echo of John the Baptist's preaching.

The call of the first four disciples is recorded similarly in Matthew and Mark. Typically the latter adds a slight touch. He says that JAMES and John (see JOHN THE APOSTLE) left their father ZEBEDEE in the boat "with the hired men" (Mk. 1:20). This assures us that the father was not left helpless, to carry on alone. It also suggests that he was fairly well off financially. It was successful businessmen that the Master called to work with him. The account of Jesus casting a demon out of a man in the synagogue on the Sabbath day (1:21-28) is closely paralleled in Luke. The healing of Peter's mother-in-law (1:29-31) is recorded in all three synoptics. Twice in this brief memo Mark uses his favorite word "immediately" (*euthys*).

The account of the sunset healing service (Mk. 1:32-34) probably preserves Peter's reaction to the vast crowd outside: "The whole town gathered at the door." This, of course, is hyperbole, but that is the way it looked to Peter as he stood in the doorway of his house, which Jesus made his home when in CAPERNAUM. Typical of Mark's (Peter's) graphic language is the wording of 1:35. Mark uses three adverbs to emphasize how early it was when Jesus rose and went out to a quiet place to pray. This may well reflect Peter's consternation when he wakened in the morning and found the Master gone. He alone says that they "hunted him down" (NRSV; Gk. *katadiōkō G2870*)—another of those forceful expressions. The SERMON ON THE MOUNT (Matt. 5 – 7) is omitted by Mark, although a few of its sayings are paralleled in his gospel. Mark has only one of the long discourses of Jesus, the so-called Olivet Discourse (Mk. 13).

Mark's narrative of the healing of the leper (Mk. 1:40-45) includes the verb *splanchnizomai G5072,* "to feel compassion," indicating Jesus' reaction to human need. The healing of the paralytic (2:1-12) has two added touches in Mark, as compared with Matthew and Luke. So large a crowd had gathered




Jesus in Galilee.

"that there was no room left, not even outside the door" (v. 2). This was doubtless Peter's house, where Jesus was "at home" (v. 1 NRSV), and the apostle had clear recollections of the crowded conditions. Also Mark says that they "made an opening in the roof" (v. 4), digging a hole through which to lower the paralytic in front of Jesus. Peter would not forget the damage to his house! (Luke mentions "tiles" [Lk. 5:19], which suggests that it was an expensive roof.) Another added detail in Mark is the fact that the paralytic was carried by four people (Mk. 2:3). This information gives the clear picture of four men each taking hold of a corner of the pallet on which the paralytic lay, and using it as a stretcher to carry him to Jesus. There is a Roman touch here. Mark alone uses for "mat" the term *krabaton G3187* (v. 4), a word borrowed from Latin that originally meant the bed roll of a Roman soldier. It was nothing more than a padded quilt.

The call of Levi (Mk. 2:13-17) is recorded in all three synoptics, as is also the question about fasting (2:18-22). Typically Mark says that John's disciples and the Pharisees "were fasting" (v. 18). This pinpoints the incident as occurring on a fast day and thus indicates the occasion for the question. Those who were fasting saw Jesus' disciples eating. They wanted to know why.

In Mk. 2:1—3:6 are included five incidents in which Jesus ran into conflict with the Pharisees. In connection with his healing the paralytic (2:1-12), he was criticized for declaring the man's sins forgiven; only God had this authority. Then he was castigated for eating with tax collectors and sinners (2:15-17). The Pharisees probably thought Jesus was less religious because his disciples were not fasting (2:18-22). The fourth conflict concerned the disciples working on the SABBATH day, because they picked some heads of wheat, rubbed off the husks in their hands, and blew away the chaff (2:23-28). They were harvesting, threshing, and winnowing! The fifth was a criticism of Jesus for healing on the Sabbath (3:1-6). The Pharisees allowed such healing only in case of an emergency, if the afflicted person might die before the next day.

Mark 3:7-12 has a summary statement about Jesus healing many people on the shores of the Lake of Galilee. Mark adds the picture of Jesus sitting in a boat a little offshore so as not to be crushed by the large crowd (v. 9). This passage is followed by the call of the twelve apostles (3:13-19). Mark adds the twofold purpose of their appointment: "that they might be with him and that he might send them out to preach" (v. 14). Preparation must precede preaching.

It often has been pointed out that Mark portrays the strenuous life of Jesus more forcibly than the other Gospels. An example of this is the unique item in Mk. 3:20-21: "Then Jesus entered a house, and again a crowd gathered, so that he and his disciples were not even able to eat. When his family heard about this, they went to take charge of him, for they said, 'He is out of his mind.'" At the same time Mark gives more emphasis than the other Gospels to the rest Jesus sought to take. Five times he is described as withdrawing from the crowds and seeking a quiet place outside Galilee.

Another characteristic of Mark's gospel is its emphasis on the looks and gestures of Jesus. A good example is Mk. 3:5, "He looked around at them in anger…deeply distressed at their stubborn hearts." Another example is Mark's added phrase: "Then he looked at those seated in a circle around him" (3:34). Observant Peter caught these items and wove them vividly into his preaching. We are indebted to Mark for communicating them.

Matthew gives seven of Jesus' PARABLES of the kingdom (Matt. 13). Mark has two of them: the sower (Mk. 4:1-20) and the mustard seed (4:30-32). In addition it includes the parable of the seed growing secretly (4:26-29), the only one found in this gospel alone. Altogether Mark has only four parables, as against fifteen in Matthew and nineteen in Luke (this enumeration is based on R. C.

Trench's list of thirty in his *Notes on the Parables of Our Lord* [1882]). In contrast there are eighteen miracles in Mark, compared with twenty-one in Matthew and twenty in Luke—both much longer books. Mark majors on action.

In the miracle of the stilling of the storm (Mk. 4:35-41) Mark adds that Jesus was "in the stern" (v. 38) of the boat, asleep "on a cushion"—the steersman's leather-covered pad. The story of the GERASENE demoniac (5:1-20) offers a good example of how Mark often gives a much fuller record of an incident. Mark's account has 325 words, as against 136 in Matthew. The description of the demoniac (vv. 3-5) is far more vivid than that found in the other two Gospels.

Much the same holds true for the twin miracles (told together) of the healing of the woman with a hemorrhage and the raising of JAIRUS'S daughter (Mk. 5:21-43). Once more, Mark has 374 words, whereas Matthew uses 135. A significant Markan addition is found in vv. 29b – 30: "and she felt in her body that she was freed from her suffering. At once Jesus realized that power had gone out from him." Christ paid a price to heal people; he was conscious that power went out of him. Mark also adds here the Aramaic expression, TALITHA KOUM, and then translates it for his Roman readers: "Little girl, I say to you, get up" (5:41).

In connection with the rejection of Jesus by his neighbors at NAZARETH, Mark alone records that "he was amazed at their lack of faith" (Mk. 6:6). In only one other instance is it stated that Christ marveled, and that was at the faith of a foreigner, a Roman centurion (Matt. 8:10; Lk. 7:9). The mission of the Twelve (Mk. 6:7-13) is found in all three synoptics. Mark adds the interesting detail that Jesus sent them out "two by two" (v. 7). There are obvious advantages in companionship and encouragement, as well as protection.

In the account of John the Baptist's death (Mk. 6:14-29) Mark refers to the ruler of Galilee as "King Herod" (v. 14). Matthew and Luke more precisely call him TETRARCH (Matt. 14:1; Lk. 9:7). At Rome, where Mark was probably writing, it was common to refer to rulers in the E generally as kings. Mark's account, again, is much longer than the only parallel (Matt. 14:1-12). The vividness of his narrative shows up especially in his addition, "So Herodias nursed a grudge against John and wanted to kill him. But she was not able to, because Herod feared John and protected him, knowing him to be a righteous and holy man. When Herod heard John, he was greatly puzzled; yet he liked to listen to him" (Mk. 6:19-20).

In the feeding of the 5,000 (Mk. 6:30-44), the only miracle of Jesus recorded in all four Gospels, Mark has some typical additions. He tells how Jesus said to the Twelve: "Come with me by yourselves to a quiet place and get some rest" (6:31). The reason was that "so many people were coming and going that they did not even have a chance to eat" (v. 31). Mark alone records the question of the disciples: "Are we to go and spend that much on bread and give it to them to eat?" (v. 37).

In connection with Jesus walking on the water (Mk. 6:45-52) Mark adds the observation, "for they had not understood about the loaves; their hearts were hardened" (v. 52). The account of the healings at GENNESARET (6:53-56) is much more vivid and full than the parallel in Matt. 14:34-36. In the discussion of what defiles a person (Mk. 7:1-23) Mark explains for his Roman readers the Jewish ceremony of hand-washing (vv. 3-4). He also uses, typically, the Aramaic term CORBAN and then interprets its meaning. Significantly he adds the momentous statement that by his teaching here Jesus "declared all foods 'clean'" (v. 19). Mark closes this incident with a list of sins (vv. 21-22) that parallels passages in Paul's epistles. Whereas Matthew has seven sins in his parallel account (Matt. 15:19), Mark has thirteen.

Matthew and Mark both record the miracle of Jesus casting the demon out of the

SYROPHOENICIAN woman's daughter (Matt. 15:21-28; Mk. 7:24-30). Mark alone notes: "He entered a house and did not want anyone to know it; yet he could not keep his presence secret" (v. 24). This fits Mark's emphasis on the Master's attempts to get away from the crowds in order to teach his disciples privately.

Two miracles of Jesus are recorded only by Mark. The first is the healing of the deaf mute (Mk. 7:31-37). The other is the healing of the blind man of BETHSAIDA (8:22-26). They have some common elements. In both cases Christ took the victim aside from the crowd, possibly in order to avoid the confusion that often comes to deaf and blind people when surrounded by noise and people. The Master Healer wanted their undivided attention. In both instances, also, he used spittle and touched the afflicted part of the body. The first miracle has another Aramaic word, EPHPHATHA, translated "be opened." The second miracle has a feature not found elsewhere in the miracles of Jesus: the healing took place in two stages. Why? Alexander Maclaren suggests that Jesus was "accommodating the pace of his power to the slowness of the man's faith" (*Expositions of Holy Scripture: St. Mark Chaps. I to VIII* [1893], 326).

Matthew and Mark alone tell about the feeding of the 4,000 (Matt 15:32-38; Mk. 8:1-10). They also refer back to both feedings (Matt. 16:5-12; Mk. 8:14-21). A significant detail is that in all six references to the feeding of the 5,000 (Matt. 14:20; 16:9; Mk. 6:43; 8:19; Lk. 9:17; Jn. 6:13) the same Greek word for "basket" is used (*kophinos G3186*) and in all four references to the feeding of the 4,000 (Matt. 15:37; 16:10; Mk. 8:8, 20) another Greek word (*sphyris G5083*) is employed. This is a strong argument in favor of two separate feedings (rather than a duplicate of one historical feeding): there is no confusion in the careful use of these terms.

One of the great turning points in Jesus' life and ministry came at CAESAREA PHILIPPI far to the N (Mk. 8:27-30). Jesus had gone there to be alone with his disciples. He asked them a pertinent question: "Who do people say that I am?" They gave various answers, then he asked them: "Who do you say I am?" As the spokesman for the apostles, Peter replied, "You are the Christ" (i.e., the MESSIAH). This confession of his messiahship was followed by Jesus' first prediction of his PASSION (8:31-33). Until the apostles recognized him as Messiah, he could not tell them about his coming death and resurrection. Mark says that he "began to teach them" about this (cf. Matt. 16:21). It is clear that the confession at Caesarea Philippi marks a shift in the Master's ministry. Up to this point he had spent most of his time with large crowds—teaching, preaching, healing. From that time he gave major attention to instructing his disciples and preparing them for the day when they would take over in his place. Peter rebuked Jesus for talking about his death. The Master, in turn, rebuked the disciple who was acting the part of "Satan" (adversary) in tempting him to turn aside. Then follows Jesus' important teaching on the meaning of DISCIPLESHIP (8:34—9:1). All three Synoptic Gospels have the key saying of Christ: "If anyone would come after me, he must deny himself and take up his cross and follow me" (8:34). This is the cost of discipleship.

The TRANSFIGURATION (Mk. 9:2-8) was one of the high points of Jesus' ministry. Its purpose for the disciples was probably to confirm Peter's confession of his deity. For him it was a bright moment of glory before the humiliation and suffering of the cross. Only Peter, James, and John were present. They were also the only disciples with Jesus at the raising of Jairus's daughter, and when he prayed in Gethsemane. Seeing ELIJAH on the mount caused the three apostles to ask Jesus about the prophecy that Elijah would come back to earth (9:9-13). Jesus indicated that the prediction had been fulfilled in the coming of John the Baptist (cf. Matt. 17:13).

At the foot of the mountain Jesus healed an epileptic boy (Mk. 9:14-29). Once again, Mark gives by far the most graphic of the three accounts, describing the helplessness of the lad and the agony of

the father (vv. 20-26). He also notes the amazement of the crowd when Christ approached (v. 15), perhaps due to the afterglow on his face. Jesus then gave a second prediction of his passion (9:30-32). As usual, the disciples did not understand. Their Master was trying to tell them that he was not going to Jerusalem to display his power and glory by setting up an earthly kingdom; he was going there to die! A most pathetic incident follows. The disciples were disputing about which of them was the greatest (9:33-37). Jesus pointed out to them that true greatness is shown by humility and service —"If anyone wants to be first, he must be the very last, and the servant of all" (v. 35).

Both Mark and Luke tell how John reported that he had forbidden a certain man to cast out demons in Jesus' name because he was not following them (Mk. 9:38-41; Lk. 9:49-50).The Master reproved the sectarian spirit of his disciple. Christ emphasized the seriousness of tempting others to sin (Mk. 9:42-48) by saying it would be better for the tempter to be drowned in the ocean with a heavy millstone around his neck than to lead any one astray. He also said that it would be better for a man to lose a hand, foot, or eye than to be cast into hell. The short saying about SALT (9:49-50) is paralleled in the SERMON ON THE MOUNT (Matt. 5:13). Salt is a type of the saving grace of God.

***C. The Perean ministry*** (Mk. 10:1-52). The beginning of ch. 10 narrates Jesus' leaving Galilee for the last time and going SE to Perea (across the Jordan). Here the Pharisees questioned him on the matter of DIVORCE (10:1-12). This was a perennial problem in Judaism. Christ emphatically asserted that God's will was MARRIAGE for life. He said: "Anyone who divorces his wife and marries another woman commits adultery against her" (v. 11). Then Mark adds a Roman touch: "And if she divorces her husband and marries another man, she commits adultery" (v. 12). Matthew omits this last comment, because Jewish women could not divorce their husbands but Roman women could.

Jesus' reproof of the disciples for rebuking mothers who brought their children to him (Mk. 10:13-16) is included in all synoptics, though Mark adds a characteristic detail: "he took the children in his arms…and blessed them." The story of the rich young ruler (10:17-31) evidently made a profound impression, for it is recorded at length in all three Synoptic Gospels. Typically, Mark says: "a man ran up to him and fell to his knees before him" (10:17; Matthew simply says that he "came up to him"). Mark's pictures are so graphic that an artist could draw them. The three accounts portray the sadness of the ardent young seeker as he refused to pay the price of discipleship—leaving all to follow Jesus. Perhaps significantly, by way of contrast, this incident is followed by Christ's third prediction of his passion (10:32-34), somewhat more detailed than the previous two. Graphically Mark describes how, as they were on the road to Jerusalem, Jesus was "leading the way, and the disciples were astonished, while those who followed were afraid" (v. 32). Possibly the set look of determination on his face frightened them.

The tragic story that follows (Mk. 10:35-45) is almost unbelievable in the light of these three passion predictions. James and John, who had seen Jesus' glory on the mount, had become obsessed with the idea that the King was about to take his throne at Jerusalem. They wanted the highest places of honor on either side of him. The Master had to rebuke this self-seeking spirit of his two disciples. He warned them that suffering, not glory, lay just ahead. He also had to rebuke the self-righteous indignation of the other ten disciples. Again he declared, "whoever wants to become great among you must be your servant, and whoever wants to be first must be slave of all" (vv. 43-44). Perhaps no other virtue was emphasized by Jesus more frequently than HUMILITY. This and service are the two signs of real greatness.

As he left Jericho for Jerusalem, Christ healed blind BARTIMAEUS (10:46-52). Typically, Mark gives and explains this Aramaic name (*bar* means "son"). And as usual, he adds a vivid touch:

"Throwing his cloak aside, he jumped to his feet and came to Jesus" (v. 50). The reader can easily visualize the scene.

***D. The Judean ministry*** (Mk. 11:1—13:37). The so-called TRIUMPHAL ENTRY of Jesus into Jerusalem (11:1–10) is recorded in all three Synoptic Gospels. It was a messianic act, the King offering himself to his nation in fulfillment of the prophecy in Zech. 9:9.

Mark spells out more carefully than the others the sequence of events at the beginning of passion week. The triumphal entry on Sunday ended with Jesus surveying the temple and then going out to BETHANY for the night. On Monday morning, on the way back into the city, he cursed the barren fig tree (Mk. 11:12-14). Entering Jerusalem, he cleansed the temple (11:15-19), driving the dirty, noisy, smelly market out of the Court of the Gentiles. Tuesday morning the disciples noticed that the fig tree had withered, and Jesus taught them an important lesson of faith and forgiving prayer (11:20-25). When he reached the temple, the members of the SANHEDRIN demanded that he tell them where he got his authority to cleanse the temple (11:27-33). After disposing of them, Jesus told the parable of the wicked husbandmen (12:1-12), which the religious leaders realized was aimed at them (v. 12).

Probably on Wednesday, Christ was asked three questions, noted in each of the synoptics. First came the Pharisees and Herodians, asking whether they should pay taxes to the emperor (Mk. 12:13-17). Whichever way Jesus answered, he would be trapped. His well-known handling of this problem is a classic. Next came the Sadducees, with a catch-question about the resurrection (12:18-27), in which they did not believe. After Jesus had pointed out the absurdity of their reasoning, a scribe asked him which was the chief commandment (12:28-34). For good measure the Master defined both the "first" and "second" commandments. Mark alone portrays this scribe as being friendly to Jesus (vv. 32-34). When he had been questioned three times, Christ proceeded to ask his opponents a question: How could the Messiah be David's son and lord at the same time? (12:35-37). The answer is clear to us now, but it was not to the religious experts of that day. Jesus warned the people against the hypocrisy of the Pharisees (12:38-40). Then he sat down opposite the treasury in the Women's Court of the temple and watched a poor widow put in two tiny copper coins (12:41-44), all that she had. The lesson is clear. One's giving is measured not by the amount given but by how much is left over.

Mark 13 often is called the "Little Apocalypse." Jesus predicted the destruction of the temple, which took place in A.D. 70, and discussed the signs of his SECOND COMING. This so-called Olivet Discourse is the only long discourse of Jesus found in all three Synoptic Gospels.

***E. The Passion narrative*** (Mk. 14:1—15:47). The anointing at Bethany (14:3-9) is described at this point by Mark and Matthew, but this event probably took place on the previous Friday or Saturday, as indicated in Jn. 12:1-8. Then comes Judas's plot to betray Jesus (Mk. 14:10-11) and the preparation for the PASSOVER (vv. 12-16). The Last Supper (vv. 17-21) was followed by the institution of the LORD'S SUPPER (vv. 22-25). On the way out to the garden, Christ predicted Peter's denials (vv. 26-31). The prayer in Gethsemane (vv. 32-42) is given rather fully in all three synoptics, as is also Jesus' arrest (vv. 43-52) and his trial before the Sanhedrin (vv. 53-72). This is followed by the trial before PILATE (15:1-15), the mocking by the soldiers (vv. 16-20), the crucifixion (vv. 21-41), and the burial (vv. 42-47).

***F. The resurrection*** (Mk. 16:1-20). As already noted (see above, section X), the last twelve verses of Mark are probably not a part of the original work. That would leave only the first eight verses of

this chapter. These tell of MARY Magdalene and three other women coming to the tomb on Sunday morning. A "young man" (an angel) was sitting in the tomb and told them that Jesus had risen. The women were to tell his disciples "and Peter" that he would meet them in Galilee. The Markan addition of Peter's name fits this gospel well. Peter would never forget how Jesus had sent this comforting word specifically to him. Because no postresurrection appearances of Jesus are mentioned in these first eight verses, the various endings of the gospel (16:9-20 and others) were evidently added to fill up the gap.

**XIII. Theology.** It used to be said that Mark was the historical gospel and John the theological one. Since the middle of the 20th cent., however, much attention has been given to the fact that there is a strong theological thrust in Mark's gospel. This is found especially in two fields.

***A. Christology.*** The first verse, which is probably the title of the gospel, reads: "The beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God." This implies that one of Mark's main purposes was to demonstrate the DEITY OF CHRIST. This he does by showing that Jesus exercised authority over demons, disease, and death, as well as the physical elements.

Of the expression SON OF GOD Vincent Taylor writes: "Beyond question this title represents the most fundamental element in Mark's Christology" (*St. Mark,* 120). It occurs five times (Mk. 1:1; 3:11; 5:7; 14:61; 15:39). Taylor also makes the startling statement: "Mark's christology is a high christology, as high as any in the New Testament, not excluding that of John" (ibid., 121). Along with the other two synoptics, Mark records the Father's voice at the baptism and the transfiguration identifying Jesus as "my beloved Son." There is no doubt here about a clear affirmation of the full deity of the One who was both SON OF MAN and Son of God. See CHRISTOLOGY.

***B. Soteriology.*** The main passage on this subject is Mk. 10:45, the greatest theological statement in this book. It reads: "For even the Son of Man did not come to be served, but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many." Jesus did not come to sit on an earthly throne, surrounded by a host of servants to wait on him. He came to be the Servant of humanity, but more than that, its Savior.

The word for ransom here, *lytron G3389,* was used in the 1st cent. for the ransom price paid to free a slave. Similarly, Jesus paid the ransom price to free men and women from the slavery of sin. Moreover, in the phrase "for many," the word translated "for" is *anti G505,* which frequently carries the meaning "instead of, in place of." Jesus' ATONEMENT "for" us was vicarious or substitutionary. He died in our place, taking our guilt upon himself. This truth is briefly but beautifully expressed by Mark in this great soteriological passage.

(Since the first edition of this encyclopedia, the Gospel of Mark has been the object of intensive scholarly study. For a helpful survey of the history of recent research, see the introductory chapter in W. R. Telford, ed., *The Interpretation of Mark,* 2nd ed. [1995], which also reprints some of the more influential essays. Significant commentaries include H. B. Swete, *The Gospel according to St. Mark,* 2nd ed. [1902]; C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Gospel according to St. Mark,* CGTC [1959]; V. Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark,* 2nd ed. [1966]; R. A. Cole, *The Gospel according to Mark,* TNTC, 2nd ed. [1989]; R. A. Guelich, *Mark 1—8:26,* WBC 34A [1989]; M. D. Hooker, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark,* BNTC [1991]; R. H. Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross* [1993]; P. Lamarche, *Evangile de Marc: Commentaire* [1996]; E. Trocmé, *L'Evangile selon saint Marc* [2000]; J. Marcus, *Mark,* AB 27-27A, 2 vols. [2000-]; C. A. Evans, *Mark 8:27—16:20,* WBC 34B [2001]; B. Witherington III, *The Gospel of Mark: A Socio-Rhetorical*

*Commentary* [2001]; J. R. Edwards, *The Gospel according to Mark* [2002]; J. R. Donahue and D. J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark,* SP 2 [2002]; R. T. France, *The Gospel of Mark: A Commentary on the Greek Text,* NIGTC [2002]; M. E. Boring, *Mark: A Commentary* [2006]; A. Yarbro Collins, *Mark: A Commentary,* Hermeneia [2007].

(Among numerous monographs, note the following: W. Marxsen, *Mark the Evangelist* [1969]; T. J. Weeden, *Traditions in Conflict* [1971]; J. D. Kingsbury, *The Christology of Mark* [1984]; C. C. Black, *The Disciples according to Mark: Markan Redaction in Current Debate* [1989]; H. Räisänen, *The "Messianic Secret" in Mark* [1990]; C. Bryan, *A Preface to Mark: Notes on the Gospel in Its Literary and Cultural Settings* [1993]; W. R. Telford, *The Theology of the Gospel of Mark* [1999]; D. N. Peterson, *The Origins of Mark: The Markan Community in Current Debate* [2000]; R. Watts, *Isaiah's New Exodus in Mark,* rev. ed. [2000]; T. R. Hatina, *In Search of a Context: The Function of Scripture in Mark's Narrative* [2002]; B. J. Incigneri, *The Gospel to the Romans: The Setting and Rhetoric of Mark's Gospel* [2003]; P. Bolt, *The Cross from a Distance: Atonement in Mark's Gospel* [2004]; J. G. Crossley, *The Date of Mark's Gospel: Insights from the Law in Earliest Christianity* [2004]; F. J. Moloney, *Mark: Storyteller, Interpreter, Evangelist* [2004]; H. N. Roskam, *The Purpose of the Gospel of Mark in Its Historical and Social Context* [2004]; S. W. Henderson, *Christology and Discipleship in the Gospel of Mark* [2006]; and the bibliography compiled by W. E. Mills, *The Gospel of Mark* [2002].)

R. EARLE

**Mark, John** mahrk, jon (Μᾶρκος *G3453,* Ἰωάννης *G2722* [see JOHN]). Son of a Christian woman named Mary (see MARY #2), cousin of BARNABAS, assistant to PAUL and Barnabas, and traditionally the author of the second gospel. See MARK, GOSPEL OF.

The name *Iōannēs* is derived from the Hebrew *yôḥānān H3419,* meaning "Yahweh is gracious," and points to his Jewish heritage. *Markos,* on the other hand, is the common Greek form of the Latin *Marcus* ("large hammer") and served as John's surname (Acts 12:12). Other examples of Jews bearing Latin or Greek names in addition to their Hebrew names are common in the NT (e.g., Acts 1:23; 10:18) and in some cases may indicate Roman CITIZENSHIP, in others perhaps a previous life of slavery to a Roman family. The nickname *kolobodaktylos,* or "stump-fingered," was applied to John by some early Christian writers. While various explanations have been advanced for this nickname, it is most natural to take it as referring to an actual physical impairment, due to either congenital or accidental reasons.

Concerning the family of John Mark, his mother was named Mary (Acts 12:12) and he was the cousin of Barnabas (Col. 4:10). Barnabas was a Levite, a native of CYPRUS, and a land owner (Acts 4:36-37). The household of Mary is pictured also as being of considerable means, boasting at least one servant girl and having sufficient space to accommodate a sizable prayer meeting (Acts 12:12-13). Of the father of Mark, nothing is known with certainty, but since the house is called Mary's, one may assume that he had died prior to this time. The fact that PETER, upon his miraculous release from prison, knew where to find the praying church, implies that the household held a position of some prominence among the early Jewish Christians in Jerusalem.

Concerning the early life of Mark, there is no direct information. However, judging from the fact that Peter was welcomed at the house of Mary and from information in the first epistle that bears that apostle's name (1 Pet. 5:13), one may say that Mark had a particularly close relationship with Peter, probably dating from the early days of the church in Jerusalem. Later traditions likewise bear out a close association between Peter and Mark. The young man who fled naked from the betrayal scene in

GETHSEMANE (Mk. 14:51-52) often is thought to have been John Mark. None of the known facts are against this suggestion, and it was certainly not rare for an author to omit mention of his own name in his writings (cf. Jn. 21:24).

As far as the more explicit record of the NT is concerned, the first significant event in the life of John was the fact that, when Paul and Barnabas returned to ANTIOCH OF SYRIA from their famine relief mission to Jerusalem in c. A.D. 46, they brought him with them. Shortly after, Paul and Barnabas set out on the first missionary journey with Mark as their *hypēretēs G5677* or "helper" (Acts 13:5). The young man's ministry with the two great missionaries often has been taken as being roughly equivalent to that of a modern-day business manager serving a traveling team. The term generally indicates an official assistant quite distinct from what is implied by *doulos G1528* ("slave"), for example. Interestingly, Luke uses the phrase *hypēretai tou logou,* "servants of the word" (Lk. 1:2), seemingly to indicate those who were committed to writing the events of the gospel or otherwise paid careful attention to them. It is precisely this type of function, the note-taking from the preaching of Peter, which PAPIAS assigns to Mark (see Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* 3.39). Indeed, A. Wright argued that Mark's ministry was that of an official catechist (see *Exp Tim* 21 [1910-11]: 211-16 and 22 [1910-11]: 358-62).

Whatever the specific nature of Mark's assistance may have been, the record does indicate that Mark left the two senior men at PERGA, the capital of the religion of ARTEMIS in PAMPHYLIA, and returned to Jerusalem (Acts 13:13). No one can know the reason for Mark's return. In any case, Paul was later to regard Mark's action as desertion, for when the time came for the second journey, Barnabas desired that his younger cousin should accompany them again, but Paul steadfastly refused (Acts 15:37-38). So sharp was the contention between the two elder missionaries that, in the end, Paul departed with Silas while Barnabas took Mark and set sail for his native Cyprus. (Paul's firmness on this matter has led some scholars to believe that Mark, because of Jewish scruples, may have earlier objected to the apostle's distinctive mission to the Gentiles, that is, his gospel of freedom without the intermediary role of Judaism. See PAUL III.A.)

Mark now drops out of the account of Acts, which is wholly concerned with the further activities of Paul. The Pauline correspondence indicates that within a decade or so of the rift, the relationship between Paul and Mark had improved greatly. In Col. 4:10 Paul includes Mark among the few of the circumcision who labored with him and provided him with some comfort. Indeed, Mark appears to have been chosen by the great apostle to make some representation to Colosse. Paul makes further mention of Mark as his fellow worker in Phlm. 24. By the time of the writing of 2 Timothy, Mark and TIMOTHY are together, probably in Asia Minor, and Paul expresses his final, gratifying tribute for the young man: "he is helpful to me in my ministry" (2 Tim. 4:11).

Beginning with PAPIAS in the first half of the 2nd cent., the early church consistently ascribed to Mark the task of having interpreted for Peter in Rome and of having written the second gospel (see the various traditions in Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* 2.15-16; 3.39; 5.8; 6.14). Mark also is said to have established churches in ALEXANDRIA in Egypt (ibid. 2.16). A later and somewhat legendary tradition states that early in the 9th cent., Mark's remains were taken from Alexandria and placed under the church of St. Mark in Venice. (See E. M. Blaiklock, *The Young Man Mark* [1965], 9-21, and bibliography under MARK, GOSPEL OF.)

H. G. ANDERSEN

**Mark, Qumran fragments of.** See MARK, GOSPEL OF, X.

**Mark, Secret Gospel of.** In 1958, the well-known scholar Morton Smith (1915-1991), while cataloguing manuscripts at the Greek Orthodox monastery in Mar (SE of Jerusalem), discovered a letter that purports to have been written by CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA. This document refers to a "secret" and "more spiritual" gospel written by Mark (in addition to the canonical gospel), which was intended only for "those who are being initiated into the great mysteries." The document includes excerpts from this otherwise unknown gospel. (See M. Smith, *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark* [1973].) Although some have dismissed this letter as a forgery (no scholar other than Smith has seen it), many believe it is genuine. However, controversy has raged about the authenticity and significance of the gospel to which it refers. A few writers have accepted and developed Smith's view that the Secret Gospel predates the canonical Gospel of Mark, but after a detailed discussion, R. H. Gundry concludes that the material should be regarded "as apocryphal non-Marcan additions to canonical Mark" (*Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross* [1993], 603–23, esp. 621). Similarly, J. Marcus believes that if this work really existed, it must have been "a late edition of Mark that reveals the concern for esotericism typical of second-century Alexandrian Christianity" (*Mark 1-8,* AB 27 [1999], 51). (See now the monographs by J. Dart, *Decoding Mark* [2003], and S. G. Brown, *Mark's Other Gospel: Rethinking Morton Smith's Controversial Discovery* [2005], as well as the summary of research and reviews by P. Foster in *Exp Tim* 117 [2005]: 46-52, 64-68.)

**market, marketplace.** There is little mention of marketplaces in the OT (cf. 1 Ki. 20:34 NIV; Ps. 55:11 NRSV). In the NT, however, the Greek

In the 1st cent., goods were sold and bartered in the marketplace much as they are in parts of Jerusalem today.

term *agora G59* occurs eleven times, mainly in the Gospels, where the reference is to typically Eastern (rather than Greek) marketplaces, much like the bazaars of present-day oriental towns. Not only were they used for buying and selling of goods, but a variety of other activities centered there: it was an open place where children engaged in their sports (Matt. 11:16; Lk. 7:32), laborers were hired (Matt. 20:3), greetings were exchanged (Matt. 23:7; Lk. 11:43), and the sick were brought for healing (Mk. 6:56). On the other hand, the two market places mentioned in Acts were in Greek cities and were typically Hellenic: surrounded by colonnades, temples, and public buildings, and adorned with statues, they were centers of public life, lending themselves to such uses as the holding of trials (Acts 16:19) and as centers for public disputation (17:17). (See B.-Z. Rosenfeld and J. Menirav, *Markets and Marketing in Roman Palestine* [2005].)

R. C. STONE

**Marmoth** mahr'moth. KJV Apoc. form of MEREMOTH (1 Esd. 8:62).

**Maroth** mair'oth (מָרוֹת *H5300,* prob. "bitter [things]"). An otherwise unknown town mentioned in a difficult passage that contains a number of wordplays (Mic. 1:12). MICAH'S prophecy reads literally, "For she who inhabits Maroth is in labor pains [*ḥîl H2655]* for good." Some emend the verb to a form of *yāḥal H3498,* "to wait" (cf. NRSV, "For the inhabitants of Maroth wait anxiously for good"). The NIV apparently retains the MT reading but supplies "waiting" to complete the sense ("Those who live in Maroth writhe in pain, / waiting for relief"). D. R. Hillers (*Micah,* Hermeneia [1984], 26) suggests that the word for "good" (*ṭôb H3202*), which can be used to describe wine and perfume (Cant. 1:2-3), here has the sense "sweet," thus contrasting with the name Maroth, "bitter." The imprecations in this passage (Mic. 1:10-16) are against the enemies of Judah and refer to places mostly in the SHEPHELAH, but the location of Maroth cannot be determined. Some have suggested it is the same as MAARATH, an unlikely identification.

**marriage.** The legal union of a man and woman as husband and wife.

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**I. Marriage in historical perspective.** Modern sociologists recognize the distinction between marriage as an act, event, or even a process, and the FAMILY as a social institution. Marriage is the legal union of a man and a woman and the ceremony initiating and celebrating them as husband and wife. The family is the social institution developed around the child-mother relationship and creating the social climate in which human nature may be conditioned and realized. Marriage and family, therefore, constitute two distinct systems even though they are found within a single nexus. This is particularly true in contemporary Western society, where marriages often do not produce children for several years. The family is a more complicated and binding system than the marriage. It binds parents to children. It places the children under the obligation of the parent. It makes it incumbent upon the couple to care for relatives and sometimes even for the servants.

There are many categories of social facts that are difficult to classify properly and clearly as belonging to the study of marriage or to that of the family. Such social facts are therefore treated by various authorities in either one or in both of these areas designated as marriage and family. Looking to the evolution of marriage in historic perspective, of primary concern in this presentation are the characteristics and the features identified with marriage in the Bible lands through the various stages and periods of history.

***A. Early Palestinian family life.*** Various elements were incorporated by the Hebrew people into their culture as they were influenced by Arameans (see ARAM), AMORITES, and a large mixture of the blood of that central Asiatic race from which the HITTITES and HURRIANS descended. The evidence for a prehistoric stage of polyandrous marriage among the ancestors of the Hebrew people is of no great weight. However, the evidence for the presence of so-called matriarchate or "mother-right" is of far greater significance. The value of this evidence must be appraised with moderation, for some of the arguments are far-fetched and rather weak.

ARABIA was the cradle land of the Semitic society. Authoritative sources offer evidence that a number of deviations from normal monogamous marriage were well known in early Arabia, and therefore among the primitive Semites. Worthy of mentioning particularly are three types of deviations: (1) *Polyandry,* a family system that includes a plurality of husbands; (2) *Beena-marriage,* in which the husband goes to live in the wife's village and the children are regarded as members of her tribe (cf. JACOB'S marriage to LEAH and RACHEL, Gen. 29:28); (3) *Mot-a marriage,* which differs from Beena-marriage only because of its temporary nature.

The question whether the clan has preceded the family as the first social unit in the early stages of development was proposed by W. Robertson Smith, who, at the beginning of his discussion on relations of gods and men in the oldest Semitic communities, considered the clan as the earliest social unit (*Religion of the Semites* [1894], 35). This theory is not supported by the present sociological research. By his investigations Robert H. Lowie makes it probable that the earliest social unit is the family, and that larger social groups such as clans and "sibs" came later as natural developments *(Primitive Society* [1920], 4-8).

In harmony with the views sustained by later sociological inquiry, what was the nature of the marriage ties in the earlier stages? Some scholars claim that in the primitive society monogamous marriage was practically unknown. They claim that promiscuity characterized the relation of the sexes. E. Westermarck argued for permanent mating (*History of Human Marriage* [1922], passim). The progress of knowledge appears to have vindicated the correctness of his position. He argued that polyandry did not represent the earliest stages of the evolution of human marriage, but rather degenerations from the primitive types.

***B. Marriage in biblical times.*** The Bible contains evidence of a certain evolution of marital relations without presenting exclusive clear patterns.

**1. Marriage in the OT.** The most fruitful sources for the understanding of the nature of the family ties are to be found in the OT. The story of the CREATION of the first two human beings reveals monogamous marriage as the expression of the will of God. Polygamy first appeared in the reprobate line of CAIN when LAMECH took two wives. In the period of the PATRIARCHS evidence is offered that ABRAHAM married his own half-sister. Later the laws of MOSES prohibited such marriages. In patriarchal times cases were recorded, like that of JACOB, when the same man married two sisters. Again, later, the law of Moses prohibited such marriages. Many of the institutions developed in the patriarchal period later disappeared.

The creation of new marital relations in the early OT period must be understood against the background of the relationships and roles ascribed to various members of the family. The relationships between brothers were of fundamental significance. A brother in that era meant all the members of a family, or even a tribe. Each brother was obligated to offer protection and help to all the other brothers, when conditions made his services necessary. The GOEL (meaning "protector" or "redeemer") was a close relative bound to redeem his brother from slavery (see REDEMPTION), to buy the family patrimony sold under necessity, to bury his deceased brother or sister, to observe the LEVIRATE LAW, and to take upon himself the obligation of blood vengeance for a murdered brother (see AVENGER OF BLOOD). Clear distinctions of relationship degrees were not easily made because of the wider, larger, and more inclusive consanguinal family structure of their society.

Under the judges and the monarchy, Israel shifted toward a wider practice of polygamy. Bigamy was recognized as a legal fact (Deut. 21:15-17), but it is clear that the most common form of marriage in Israel was monogamy. No cases of bigamy among the commoners are found in the books of Samuel and Kings. The OT WISDOM Literature, which provides a picture of the society for this period, never mentions polygamy. The image of a monogamous marriage was in the minds of those prophets who represented Israel as the one wife chosen by the one and only God, Yahweh. Ezekiel developed the same metaphor into an allegory (Ezek. 16).

**2. Marriage in postexilic times.** In the postexilic period the family underwent changes but remained essentially oriental and patriarchal in character. Monogamy was the general practice. The father had the responsibility of educating his sons and training them in some practical and useful trade. The Hebrew traditions helped to preserve some high standards of OT and postexilic sexual morality by comparison with other ANE peoples.

There is no direct information about the period of the second temple. From the APOCRYPHA it appears that they continued to be monogamous (cf. TOBIT, a family tale that never refers to any other kind but monogamous families), although not without exception. Selection of mates, the nature and the size of the dowry, and other decisions were made normally by the parents.

The papyri of ELEPHANTINE show that the *mohar* or "dowry" was considered the property of the woman, even though usually it was given to her father. In the period of the second temple, the *mohar* was replaced by the sum registered in the *ketubah* ("marriage contract"). For a virgin bride the amount suggested was fifty silver shekels; if the bride was widowed or divorced, the amount was reduced to half.

According to the law, *kiddushin* meant that the bride could have been bought (betrothed),

whether by money, by writ (a brief contract), or by cohabitation. Betrothal by contract was suspended before the Middle Ages. In the case of betrothal by cohabitation the man and the woman entered a private chamber, having first declared to witnesses their intention to become betrothed. At the end, and following the period of the second temple, it was customary for the wedding of a virgin to be held on a Wednesday. This arrangement offered the husband, if he found the absence of the tokens of virginity, the necessary time to bring the case to court on Thursday. The widows and the divorcees were married on Thursdays so that they could enjoy with their husbands uninterrupted two days before the Sabbath.

The prevailing Jewish concept was that marriage was the proper state for a man.

**3. Marriage in the NT and in the early church.** Marriage received the sanction of JESUS CHRIST himself. Jesus preached mercy along with justice. An uncompromising view of adultery and other sexual offenses is evidenced throughout the NT (e.g., Matt. 5:27-30). PAUL recognized the value of both marriage and celibacy (1 Cor. 7:1-9; Eph. 5:22-33). The special insistence on purity for Christians is in all probability a good indication of the laxity of the age (Acts 15:29; 1 Cor. 5:11; Gal. 5:16-21).

Early in the history of the church the idea of virginity as a state of purity, especially pleasing to Christ, took roots among Christians and later received the sanction and the encouragement of the church fathers. Marriage has never been explicitly condemned or forbidden by Christian teachers, but it was placed third and lowest in the scale of Christian purity. The highest is absolute virginity. The next lowest is celibacy adopted after marriage or after the death of the husband. Marriage was regarded only as the third best choice, a substitute for a worse state, that of illicit sexual intercourse.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, who died c. A.D. 215, declared that marriage as a sacred image must be kept pure from those things which defile it. In like manner IGNATIUS (*Epistle to Polycarp*) and Athenagoras pled for Christians to maintain the purity of the marriage state. JEROME, who at the close of the 4th cent. preached the beauties of the monastic life, showed his growing antipathy to the married state. He based his strong opinion on the oft-quoted statement of Paul, “It is better to marry than to burn.” He used to say: “It is good to marry simply because it is bad to burn.” In like manner Ambrose and AUGUSTINE manifested high appreciation for celibacy. Under such influences the praise of celibacy became more insistent, and the deeply felt depreciation of marriage more simply and seriously accepted.

**C. Marriage in postbiblical Judaism.** The regenerative forces of the Jewish people were greatly enhanced by the institution of Jewish marriage. The Jew’s whole life, including his sexual instincts, was scrupulously subjected to the supervision of religion. Social factors, such as the increasing concentration of the masses within the lower middle class, contributed to a greater exercise of sexual self-control. In this realm of human behavior the rabbis chose the path of moderation. They fought with relative effectiveness all forms of licentiousness. They did not consider the sexual appetite as evil in itself (as some church fathers interpreted Paul).

The legislators of the TALMUD neither elevated marriage to the position of a sacrament nor did they regard it as a mere contract in civil law. The act establishing the communion between husband and wife was termed *kiddushin,* or "sanctification," without implying the indelible character of a sacrament. In general, married life was regarded as sacred and under the direct ordering and control of Providence. The ascetic trends that ran through Talmudic Judaism had no bearing whatsoever upon marriage.

The Talmudic writers were determined to promote marriage. It was especially vital for Judaism to build the strength of the family structure as a good foundation of their ethnic life. They were willing to relax some ancient customs, such as to reduce the acquisition of a wife to "mere mutual consent," in order to facilitate marriage. The rabbis in the 3rd cent., however, outlawed this informal type of marriage, penalizing the transgressors by public flogging.

Rabbinic law treated illegitimate children almost on a par with the legitimate offspring. They enjoyed the full rights of inheritance of the estates of their fathers. JOSEPHUS correctly summarized the point of view held by the rabbis saying that the law recognizes no sexual connections except the natural union of husband and wife, and that only for the procreation of children. To avoid temptation, the sages recommended early marriages. The traditional *mohar* constituted serious limitations for many Jews interested in marriage, particularly after the ravages of the BAR KOKHBA revolt and after they became a little more urbanized.

Charitable provision for needy brides eventually became the major responsibility of the community. Others had to choose between married life and scholarly pursuits. The rabbis felt the need of a compromise in such cases and to relax somehow the legal requirements. "If one's soul is longing for learning he could postpone the assumption of marital relations beyond the stated age of eighteen." This was in a period of heavy taxes when students could scarcely marry and study at the same time. Some remained single to the age of thirty and even forty. To encourage both learning and marriage, some men of wealth selected promising young students for their daughters and helped them through their early difficult years. The rabbis were quick to recognize and advocate such preferential treatment as a matter of good general policy.

The Jewish institutional traits of marriage were the subject of continuous development through the centuries. The priestly benediction of the union is mentioned neither in the Bible nor in the Talmud. The Talmud recommended that a "congregation"

Medieval (11th cent.) *ketubah* or marriage contract from Palestine.

should be instituted for the purpose of celebrating a wedding. The presence of ten adult males was regarded as desirable. In the Middle Ages many Jewish communities formalized this desire into a binding statute. In the 10th cent. marriages were performed before a congregation in the bridegroom's abode or in the synagogue.

By the 14th cent. the *huppah* (actual cohabitation) had become a mere religious emblem. Instead of a real room, it became a symbolical room, a canopy, or even a veil or garment (*tallit*) thrown over the heads of the bridal pair. In the 10th cent., the introduction of liturgical marriage hymns had become noticeable. On the whole at this time the Jews had become more tolerant in regard to mixed marriages. The Jews were reluctant, however, to consider marriage with the families of the newcomers in the community. This was due partly to fear, caused by the newcomers, partly to the long history of persecution suffered by Jews from the hands of the foreigners among whom they lived, and partly to the spirit of exclusiveness and pride of the Jewish people.

Time has refined some of the grosser elements connected with weddings. The bridal procession leading the party from the home of the bride to the home of the bridegroom was changed in the Middle Ages, with the party going to the synagogue and not to the bridal chamber. Wedding odes were characteristic of medieval Jewish weddings; so were songs and jests in which wit and merriment scintillated to the end. The seven-day wedding feast was marked by incessant performances, which were not interrupted by the Sabbath. Wit of another kind was displayed at the wedding table. The wedding discourse by the rabbi was a conspicuous function.

## II. Various cultural traits

***A. Bars to marriage.*** In early Israel it was a general practice for a man to marry within his own clan (Gen. 24:4; 28:2; 29:19; Jdg. 14:3). Long after the tribal framework of Israel's life had been broken up, marriage within the same family was still considered ideal. An early prohibition was related to seniority, as when LABAN said, "It is not our custom here to give the younger daughter in marriage before the older one" (Gen. 29:26); such custom was found in China, and among Semitic and Aryan

peoples.

Cousin marriages were common in Israel during biblical times and continue to be preferred even today among the Middle East Arabs. Cases of consanguineous marriages are reported in the Bible. ABRAHAM married his half-sister, SARAH (Gen. 20:12). AMNON apparently could have married TAMAR, his half-sister (2 Sam. 13:13), but in the priestly code such marriages were forbidden (Lev. 18:6-18; 20:17-21; cf. Deut. 27:22). The law of Moses also prohibited marriages between a man and his aunt (Exod. 6:20; Lev. 18:12-13; 20:19; Num. 26:59) and between a father and his daughter, or mother and son (Lev. 18:7).

People related by marriage could not marry each other (Lev. 18:8, 14-17; 20:12, 14, 20-21; Deut. 27:23). Marriage simultaneously to two sisters was also forbidden (Lev. 18:18). The rabbis added some other twenty to the forbidden degrees. They were mostly extensions of the existing Torah prohibitions; for instance, a man was forbidden to marry the wife of his father's half-brother.

Marriage with Canaanites was prohibited (Deut. 7:3). Priests were forbidden to marry a harlot or a divorcee (Lev. 21:7). A high priest was prohibited to marry a widow and was restricted to one wife (Lev. 21:13-14). According to the later Jewish law, the consent of parents was no legal requirement when the parties to the marriage were of age. M. Mielziner (*The Jewish Law of Marriage and Divorce in Ancient and Modern Times,* 2nd ed. [1901]) states that because of the high respect and veneration in which father and mother have ever been held among Israelites, "the cases of contracting marriage without the parents' consent belonged to the rarest exceptions." One very important reason for the connection between filial submissiveness and religious beliefs was no doubt the extreme importance attached to the curses and blessings of parents. The Israelites believed that parents, and especially a father, could by their blessings or curses determine the destiny of their children.

Marriages with foreign women did take place, as in the case of ESAU, JOSEPH, MOSES, DAVID, SOLOMON, AHAB, and others. Many of these were marriages of kings that were partly inspired by political considerations. The kings, however, encouraged a fashion that spread to their subjects. After the settlement in Canaan, an embargo on racially and ethnically mixed marriages was considered necessary (Exod. 34:15-16; Deut. 7:3-4). Mixed marriages nevertheless continued, as in the case of BATHSHEBA (2 Sam. 11:27) and HIRAM (Huram, 1 Ki. 7:13-14). Deuteronomic law takes for granted that non-Israelite women captured in war will be married by their captors. This custom was not considered an infringement of Israel's law. The actual prohibitions probably date from the days of monarchy when national and religious solidarity were considered to be of the greatest importance. The attitude of the ESSENES and the sectaries of QUMRAM toward marriage, as revealed in the DEAD SEA SCROLLS, suggests that a definite laxity had developed in regard to the prohibited degrees.

***B. Choosing the bride.*** It appears that both boys and girls were married very young. Later the rabbis fixed the minimum age for marriage at twelve for the girls and thirteen for the boys. The parents usually made the decisions for the young people. However, there were love marriages in Israel. The young man could make his preferences known or he could make his own decision without consulting his parents. He could make his own decisions even against the wishes of his parents.

***C. Mohar—the price of the wife.*** The word *mōhar H4558* ("bridal price, dowry") occurs only three times in the Bible (Gen. 34:12; Exod. 22:16; 1 Sam. 18:25). The *mohar* is usually a present to the bride's father, either in the form of a sum of money or its equivalent in kind, such as an unusual deed. The *mohar* is not a fixed sum; it depends upon the social standing and the wealth of the parties

concerned. For a compulsory marriage after a virgin had been raped, the law prescribed the payment of fifty shekels of silver (Deut. 22:29). The ordinary *mohar* must have been less. A fiancé could compound for the payment of the *mohar* by providing a service, such as Jacob did for Leah and Rachel, David did for Michal, and Othniel for Caleb's daughter.

In the thinking of the Israelites, the *mohar* seems to have been not so much a price paid for the woman as a compensation given to the family. It is also probable that the father enjoyed only the usufruct of the *mohar,* which actually reverted to the daughter at the time of succession, or if her husband's death reduced her to penury. Thus the *mohar* is a compensation to the father for the loss of his daughter as well as the means of providing her with certain necessities. Its fundamental purpose seems to be to insure the woman against being left unsupported if widowed.

Gifts presented by the bridegroom on the occasion of the wedding were quite different from the *mohar* (Gen. 34:12). The presents were rewards for the acceptance of the proposal of marriage. In general the custom of providing a dowry never took root in Jewish territory. Fathers gave with their daughters no gifts other than maidservants. There were special cases when fathers gave portions of land with their daughters. (The Babylonian law required the bride's parents to make their daughter a wedding gift or settlement which remained her property, the husband receiving the interest as income on it.)

In order to protect the wife in the event of her becoming widowed or divorced, it was established by the Jewish law that before the nuptials the husband was to make out an obligation in writing, which entitled her to receive a certain sum from his estate in case of her divorcement. This obligation was termed *ketubah,* the marriage deed. For the security of the wife's claim to the amount fixed in the *ketubah* all the property of the husband, both real and personal, was mortgaged. The *ketubah* is still retained in most Jewish marriages, though it has little legal significance in many countries.

In the Talmudic law the mutual consent of the parties to marry each other has to be legally manifested by a special formality, which gives validity to the marriage contract. The usual formality is called *kaseph,* "money." The man gave to his chosen bride a piece of money, even a *peruta* (the smallest copper coin in use in Palestine), or any object of equal value, in the presence of two witnesses, with the words, "Be consecrated to me." In the Middle Ages the piece of money was replaced with a plain ring.

At the time of the Talmud, the gifts the bride brought with her from her parents began to be known as a *neduniah,* "dowry." The sum involved was registered in the *ketubah.* If it was money that the husband would invest in his business, he promised to repay his wife, under specific conditions, the full amount plus one-third interest. If it consisted of clothing and household goods, their value was registered but the husband was committed only to repayment of the value less one-fifth, to allow for depreciation.

***D. Marriage formalities and ceremonies.*** In the ANE marriage was a civil matter. The marriage deed was a legal contract defining the rights of the parties concerned. For the Israelites it was a COVENANT (*bĕrît H1382*).

Since early times, there have been two stages to a Jewish marriage: betrothal and marriage proper. The betrothal is a legally binding promise of marriage (Deut. 20:7). A man betrothed was exempt from military service. The betrothed woman was regarded as though she were already married. Any other man who violated her was stoned to death as an adulterer. The rabbis continued the distinction between the two stages of marriage, calling them *kiddushin* (betrothal) and *huppah*

(the word means "canopy," representing the actual ceremony of bringing home the bride).

**1. Kiddushin.** According to the law the bride might be bought (betrothed) by money, by writ (a brief contract), or by cohabitation. (Betrothal by contract was suspended before the Middle Ages and is now almost unknown.) In the case of betrothal by cohabitation, the man and woman entered a private chamber, having first declared to witnesses that their actions would count as a betrothal. At the time of the RESTORATION and thereafter, the betrothed girl was expected to remain virgin. During and after the persecutions of ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes, however, the requirement of chastity was relaxed, and the betrothed girl was permitted sexual relations with her future husband. During the NT times this manner of betrothal was disapproved because of its licentious nature. This left the betrothal by money as the last alternative. In the early Middle Ages betrothal by ring was introduced into Palestine, and this practice has remained the custom ever since.

**2. Huppah.** The actual wedding ceremony of bringing home the bride was a time for rejoicing. The chief element was the entry of the bride into the bridegroom's house. The bridegroom was the king for a week. During the whole week he wore his festal clothes, did not work, and merely looked on at the games—except that now and then the queen joined in a dance. Accompanied by his friends with tambourines and a band, they went to the bride's house where the wedding ceremonies were to start. The bride, richly dressed and adorned with jewels (Ps. 45:14-15), usually wore a veil, which she took off only in the bridal chamber. Escorted by her companions, she was led to the home of the bridegroom.

Love songs were sung in praise of the bridal pair. Speeches were made in their honor, exalting the graces of the newly wedded. Big feasts were prepared in the house of the bride and sometimes in the bridegroom's parents' house. At the close of the feast the bride was conducted by her parents to the nuptial chamber (Jdg. 15:1). The bride remained veiled throughout all these ceremonies (Gen. 29:23). After the wedding night, it was customary for the bride's parents to preserve the blood-stained sheet as proof of the girl's virginity (Deut. 22:13-21). The duty of preserving evidence of the bride's antenuptial chastity was intended as a safeguard against the slanders of a malicious or inconstant husband. There were no marriage festivities for concubines.

## III. Dissolution of marriage

***A. Historic developments.*** The fundamental principle of the government of the patriarchal family was the absolute authority of the oldest male ascendant, who was the lawgiver and the judge, and whose rule over his wives, children, and slaves was supreme. This power remained his right throughout the subsequent history of the Jewish people, although in the course of time it was greatly modified and curtailed.

As far back as the history of domestic relations can be traced, the husband's right to divorce was absolutely untrammeled. It was only with the gradual breakup of the patriarchal system, and the substitution of an individualistic system for a socialistic state, that the woman acquired, at first merely negative rights, such as protection against her husband's rights, and finally, positive rights.

This ancient right of the husband, to divorce his wife at his pleasure, is the central thought in the entire system of Jewish divorce law. It was not until the 11th cent. of the common era that, by the decree of Rabbi Gershom of Mayence, the absolute right of the husband to divorce his wife at will was formally abolished, although it had already been for all practical purposes nonexistent in

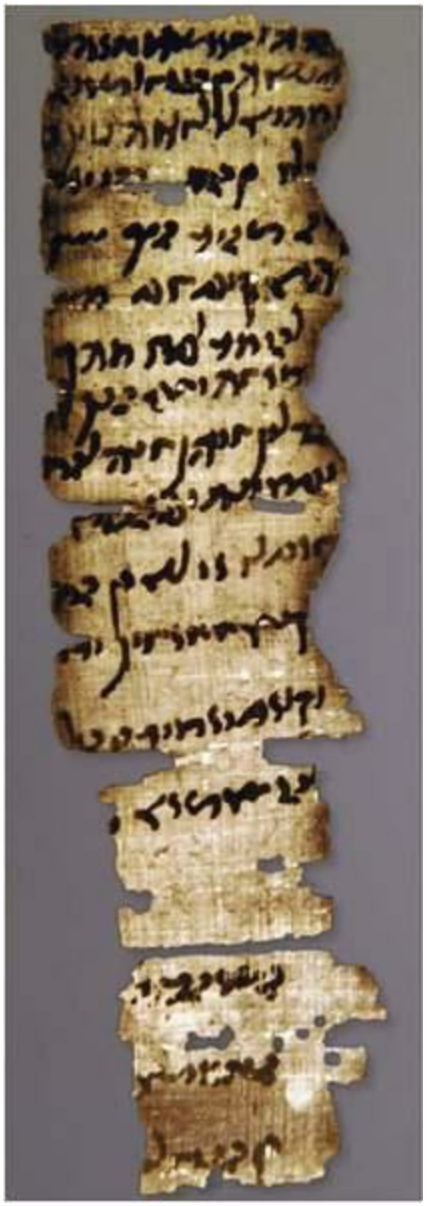
Talmudic times.

The OT, written at a time when the domestic law of the patriarchal family was in full vigor, accepted divorce as a matter of fact. Divorce is the legal dissolution of the marriage relation while both parties are still alive. The ethical principle of marriage is certainly against such a dissolution, but many believe that the ethical principle is not always sufficient for life's actual circumstances. For further discussion, see DIVORCE.

***B. Deterrents to divorce.*** In the following cases the wife could not be divorced: (1) if the husband accused his newly married wife of antenuptial unchastity, and the charge proved to be slanderous; (2) if the husband ravished his wife before marriage; (3) if the wife had become insane or an alcoholic; (4) if the wife was in captivity, in which case it was the duty of the husband to ransom her; (5) if she was the minor wife; (6) if the wife became a deaf-mute after the marriage.

Another deterrent to divorce was the legal necessity for the husband to seek help of one learned in the law, who usually tried to bring reconciliation. The husband also was compelled to pay the wife her dowry and a certain amount of money from what was brought to him by the bride or her parents at the time of the marriage. Gradually men became accustomed to going to the rabbi when they wished to divorce; and, forgetting their ancient rights, they accepted new guiding principles regulating marital relations.

***C. Kinds of divorce.*** Four kinds of divorce were possible on the basis of the rabbinical law: (1) Divorce by mutual agreement of the parties; in this case the wife was entitled to receive the dowry fixed in the *ketubah.* (2) Divorce enforced upon the wife on the petition of the husband; in this case the wife as the guilty party forfeited her dowry. (3) Divorce enforced upon the husband on the petition of the wife; the husband was compelled to give her the bill of divorcement and to pay her dowry. (4) Divorce enforced by court, without petition of either of the parties.



This papyrus, written in Aramaic, contains a marriage contract (from Wadi Murabba(at, A.D. 117).

***D. Divorce and the support of the children.*** The influences that modified the legal status of the wife (according to the decree issued around A.D. 1025 by Rabbi Gershom ben Yehudah of Mayence), entitling her to demand and receive a divorce from her husband, affected her rights with respect to her children. In Talmudic times she seems to have had stronger rights than her husband to their custody.

The first regulations concerning the custody of the children of a divorced woman appear to have been made during the early Mishnaic period and were related exclusively to the charge and care of sucklings. Rabbinical decisions concerning children beyond nursing age provide evidence that both the male and the female children were given to the mother. However, the custody of the boys could be claimed by the father after their sixth year. The Roman law gave the court the power to award the custody of the children of the divorced couple according to its discretion. The Jewish law, under the decision of Rabban Ulla, held the father responsible for the support of his son while in the custody of the divorced wife until he had reached the age of six. The father was required by the law in all cases to support his daughter.

***E. Divorce procedures.*** Divorce procedures, at first simple, became complex. By using technical forms, lawyers and judges sought precision and the avoidance of dispute and litigation. The

complicated system of procedure among the Jews acted as a check on the theoretically unrestricted right of the husband to divorce his wife at his pleasure.

The husband had not only the right to divorce his wife but also to link the divorce with conditions upon the fulfillment of which its validity depended. The husband could make his own death the condition upon which the divorce became valid. The purpose of this, in all likelihood, was the desire of the husband to give his wife the chance of avoiding a levirate marriage. With a bill of divorce that had this condition, at the moment of his death she was not his widow, but a divorced woman: not any longer restricted to marry any of the husband's brothers but free to marry any man of her own choice.

***1. Causes favoring the husband.*** The husband was entitled to divorce in the following cases: (1) the wife's adultery, and even on strong suspicion of adultery; (2) the wife's public violation of moral decency; (3) the wife's change of religion or evidence of disregard for the ritual law in the management of the household; (4) the wife's obstinate refusal of connubial rights for a full year; (5) the wife's refusal to follow him to another domicile; (6) when the wife insulted her father-in-law, in the presence of her husband, or when she insulted her own husband; (7) when the wife suffered certain incurable diseases, rendering cohabitation impractical or dangerous.

**2. Causes favoring the wife.** Jewish women could obtain divorce on their own rights, in the following cases: (1) *False accusation of antenuptial incontinence.* PHILO JUDAEUS has recorded the fact that the woman was entitled, if she wanted, to be released from the marriage with the man who by his false accusation had become odious to her.

(2) *Refusal of conjugal rights.* The Torah says, "her food, her raiment, her duty of marriage shall he not diminish" (Exod. 21:10 KJV). This was obligatory on the husband, so its refusal constituted good ground for divorce.

(3) *Impotence.* If the marriage was childless after ten years of cohabitation and the wife charged the husband with physical impotence, she was entitled to divorce.

(4) *Vow of abstinence.* Under the Mosaic law, the husband had the right to annul the vows of his wife. If after the annulment of her vow, she persisted in her resolution, she was released from the payment of the *ketubah,* if he chose to divorce her, since the wife provided the cause for divorce. For the same reason the wife could choose to divorce her husband.

(5) *Physical blemishes.* If the husband was afflicted with any serious disease such as leprosy, or if he was engaged in some malodorous business such as gathering dog's dung, the wife was entitled to a divorce.

(6) *Nonsupport.* When the husband could no longer give her the absolute necessities of life, he was obligated, on her application, to give her a divorce; and her *ketubah* remained a lien on all his subsequently acquired goods, until he had paid it in full.

(7) *Restricting the wife's lawful freedom.* Where the wife by a vow deprived herself of any right or privilege, and the husband did not absolve her, as he might have done, she was entitled to a divorce. When the husband treated his wife tyrannically and sought to deprive her of her lawful freedom, she was entitled to a divorce.

(8) *Wife beating and desertion* will cause the court to compel the husband before desertion to give his wife a bill of divorce.

(9) *Licentiousness.* As long as polygamy and concubinage were legally sanctioned, there was a marked distinction made between the sexual immorality of the husband and that of the wife.

Technically, adultery at that time could be committed only by the wife. After a change in the sex mores, with a more rigid acceptance of monogamy, the licentious conduct of the husband was deemed more serious, and his wife was entitled to divorce him on grounds of adultery.

(10) *Crime.* The husband's committing of a crime that compelled him to flee from the country gave the wife the right to petition for divorce.

Betrothal among the Jews in the old days took place twelve months before marriage. The bride being in all respects bound as a wife, she could be freed only by death or divorce, under the same divorce laws as the married woman.

***F. The levirate marriage.*** The Mosaic law (Deut. 25:5-10) provided for the possibility and necessity, at the death of one brother, to have his childless wife marry one of the surviving brothers. The first son of this union was to be regarded as the son of the dead brother.

The purpose of the levirate marriage or LEVIRATE LAW was: (1) to prevent the name of the dead brother from being put out of Israel (Deut. 25:6; Ruth 4:15); (2) to restore the name of the dead to his inheritance (Ruth 4:5); (3) to keep the family property intact. The child born of levirate marriage would be the heir of the dead husband; he would also be the heir of his real father. This fits the purpose of preserving and consolidating a family property.

The custom went through a process of development before being written in Deuteronomy. At first the levirate law was binding on the entire family of the dead husband (Gen. 38). In the code of Deuteronomy the obligation was limited to the brothers only, and moreover, to brothers living together. The woman's brother-in-law could refuse levirate, but his reputation would suffer as he was subjected to the ceremony of *halitzah* (Deut. 25:7-10). The obligation was not superseded if the deceased left daughters.

Elsewhere (Lev. 18:16) the law forbids, without any qualification, marriage with a deceased brother's wife. Some believe that this represents a clear collision of codes. Others suppose that an exception was made in the case of a childless widow. The famous disputation with the SADDUCEES clearly implies that the levirate law was regarded as binding in the time of Jesus (Matt. 22:25-32).

**IV. Succession and inheritance.** The rule of primogeniture or BIRTHRIGHT was generally accepted in Israel. The rule held good throughout Israel's history, was confirmed by the MISHNAH and TALMUD, and is valid to this day in Jewish religious law. Every FIRSTBORN was considered sacred to God in Israel. The firstborn humans were redeemed and were not sacrificed as were the animals (Exod. 13:15); the consecration of all Levites to the service of God was regarded as a suitable substitute for the rest of the people (Num. 3:12-13; 8:16-18).

The firstborn received the prime choice of the inheritance. He was expected, however, to share it equally and by lot with the others. Upon the death of his father, he inherited twice the share of his brothers in the family property (Deut. 21:17). At the same time he became the head of the family. While his father was living, the eldest son was second in rank and authority and had special religious, social, and economic responsibilities. The Jewish father, according to Israelite custom, was expected to make a will before his death (2 Sam. 17:23; 2 Ki. 20:1; Isa. 38:1). In so doing, however, the father was legally restrained from trying to deprive his oldest son of his right to a double share in the inheritance.

Only legitimate sons were entitled to inherit. Children of CONCUBINES were not included in the inheritance. A Hebrew father could declare the sons of his concubines legitimate during his lifetime. In the case of Abraham, he could have made Ishmael his legal heir. According to the Bible record,

however, he received a command from God to comply with the wishes of his wife, Sarah (Gen. 21:10-12). The sons of Bilhah and Zilpah born "upon the knees" of their mistresses (30:3 Heb.), ranked with the sons of Rachel and Leah (49:1-28).

As a general rule the daughters were not included in the inheritance of their fathers. There were exceptions, as when a man had no sons. In such a case, in order to keep the estate within the tribe, the girls were expected to marry men of their father's tribe and were entitled to their father's inheritance. Cases in point were the daughters of ZELOPHEHAD (Num. 27:1-11; 36:1-12), and the daughters of ELEAZAR who were married to their own cousins (1 Chr. 23:22). JOB'S three daughters apparently inherited equally with their brothers (Job 42:15)—but Job was not necessarily a Hebrew.

When a man died leaving neither sons nor daughters, his relatives were the heirs and not his wife. A childless widow would be remarried under the levirate law, or else return to her father's house (Gen. 38:11; Lev. 22:13; Ruth 1:8). A widow with adult sons would expect them to support her, but if she had small children it was her job to administer her husband's estate until they grew up and entered into their inheritance.

**V. The status of women.** A Hebrew WOMAN'S status was inferior to that of women in Egypt, who were found to serve as heads of their families, or in Babylon, where a woman could acquire property, be a party to a contract, and share in her husband's inheritance. In Israel a woman could own only her marriage portion of the dowry, and even this was

A young boy learning to read. Giving birth elevated the status of women within biblical culture.

administered by her husband. She was excluded from her husband's inheritance but had the right to administer her husband's estate until her sons became of age after their father's death. Nevertheless, the status of Israelite women was far higher than that of the Assyrian women, who were treated as beasts of burden.

The birth of children, especially of boys, usually heightened the status of women. The law commanded that children honor their mother on an equal basis with their father. A wife, if divorced, regained her freedom and enjoyed the right to remarry. A wife could never be sold by her husband. Israelite women did play a part in various religious gatherings and rituals, bringing sacrifices in their own name (Lev. 12:6, 8; 1 Sam. 1:23-24), partaking of the sacred meal (Deut. 12:12, 18; 14:22, 29), and offering prayers at the shrines (1 Sam. 1:9-12). They even played their part in public affairs. Only a general atmosphere of social respect for them could have produced women of the caliber of MIRIAM, DEBORAH, JAEL, HULDAH, and ATHALIAH.

***A. Virgins.*** A girl was expected to be chaste until marriage. The bride's parents had the responsibility to preserve the evidence of their daughter's virginity, the blood-stained garment or sheet from the nuptial bed. Such proofs were preserved in case the husband accused his wife of unchastity. In the case that he was found to be a liar he was first whipped, then fined twice the amount of a normal dowry (Deut. 22:13-19). However, if the accusations were true the wife was stoned (22:20-21). See VIRGIN.

***B. Married women.*** The Israelite law has developed detailed and strict regulations governing a woman's sexual role and life. Her rights were few, her obligations many. With a few exceptions she was deprived of the right to divorce her husband. Legally she was regarded as a piece of his property. The generally accepted sexual double standards placed upon her the burden of the code of sexual morality.

***C. Widows.*** The only certain provision for WIDOWS in the law and tradition was the dowry and the marriage settlement she had received under the *ketubah.* She could choose to remarry one of her brothers-in-law under the levirate law. She was also free to remain with her husband's family or to return to the house of her father (Gen. 38:11; Ruth 1:8-9). If she was the daughter of a priest she was free to partake of priestly portions as before her marriage (Lev. 22:13). The widows with children were in the most pitiable condition, and the Bible makes reiterated appeals for charity toward them (Exod. 22:21-23; Deut. 10:18; Isa. 1:17). The Code of HAMMURABI and the Ugaritic Aghat Epic (see UGARIT) show that widows did not have legal status and were in great need of protection all over the ANE, in Israel as much as in Assyria and Babylon.

***D. Adultery.*** According to the Jewish law, ADULTERY was the most serious violation of a marriage or betrothal contract by the woman. A husband's infidelity did not constitute adultery among the Jews, just as among the Greeks and the Romans. The misconduct by the wife was considered to be the "great sin" in the OT and various Egyptian and Ugaritic texts. Adultery by either a married woman or a betrothed girl was considered to be not only a crime against the husband, but also a deep moral offense. Both the lover and the unfaithful wife were liable to suffer the death penalty (Lev. 20:10; Deut. 22:22-27). The wife accused of infidelity had to undergo the ordeal of the BITTER WATER (Num. 5:12-31) in order to prove her innocence or guilt.

## VI. The status of children

***A. Childbirth.*** The role of professional midwives helping at the time of childbirth is clearly indicated (Gen. 35:17; Exod. 1:16). Two customary ways are mentioned as means by which CHILDBEARING was helped among the people of the ANE, and particularly among the Jews. One text dealing with childbirth (Exod. 1:16) uses the term *)obnayim H78* (lit., "two stones"), which may refer to a delivery stool, suggesting a woman in labor sat on two stones placed at a small distance from each other (some argue, however, that the word refers to the baby's genitalia). Children are described also as being born on the knees of another person (Gen. 30:3), probably of a MIDWIFE or a relative helping the mother.

In the case of multiple births, the rights of the firstborn were well guarded and the birth sequence carefully noted (Gen. 25:25; 38:27). The newborn was washed with care, rubbed with salt, and

wrapped in swaddling clothes (Job 38:8-9; Ezek. 16:4). The mother or wet nurse, if the family was wealthy, was responsible for nursing the baby. Usually the baby was weaned at the age of three (2 Macc. 7:27). On the day the baby was weaned, a feast apparently was arranged (Gen. 21:8).

***B. Naming the child.*** The child was named as soon as it was born. Sometimes the mother was expected to name the child (Gen. 29:32; 30:24; 35:18; 1 Sam. 1:20), sometimes the father (Gen. 16:15; 17:19; Exod. 2:22). In many cases the names chosen included (at the beginning or end) the divine element *El,* as in AZAREL and ELEAZAR (both meaning "God has helped"), or *Yah(u),* as in HANANIAH and JEHOHANAN ("Yahweh is/has been gracious"). Sometimes such names appeared shorter, for instance NATHAN for ELNATHAN ("God has given"). Other more popular names were those of living things, such as DEBORAH ("honey-bee"), expressing the wish that the child would have the positive qualities of its namesake. Occasionally the children were given names from the plant world, or an outstanding trait or feature, or an event coinciding with his birth. An example of a biblical name of the latter type is ICHABOD ("inglorious," 1 Sam. 4:21).

After the restoration and especially during the NT period, ARAMAIC names became quite common. At about the same time these were found beside or instead of Hebrew names. The practice of modern times of naming a boy at his CIRCUMCISION is mentioned only in the NT (Lk. 1:59; 2:21) and not in the OT.

***C. Child rearing.*** The relation of Hebrew parents and children is consonant with a family of the patriarchal type. The father was responsible for the training of his children, including the religious education. It was expected from him to "direct his children and his household after him to keep the way of the LORD by doing what is right and just" (Gen. 18:19). Every Hebrew male child was circumcised on the eighth day of his life and thus set apart to Yahweh (17:10). In the earlier years the child was under the close care of his mother. After his fifth birthday the boy came more directly under the care of his father, who instructed him in the Torah. Moreover, every father was expected to teach his son a trade as a means of livelihood.

At about the time of Christ, Rabbi Joshua ben Gamala instituted schools apart from the homes in every town and village of Palestine. The chief subject matters in the new schools continued to be the Mosaic law and the two portions of the Talmud, the MISHNAH and the GEMARA. Because of the intercourse with Greece, it is likely that the GREEK LANGUAGE was also studied.

The education of girls was not neglected. Above all things their education was designed to fit them for their special sphere of responsibility, the management of the household. They were helped to become better wives and better mothers also through their participation in the family worship and the study of the sacred writings. The Hebrew family was, therefore, an institution of significant moral, religious, social, and economic value.

**VII. Mixed marriages and the future of the Jewish family.** Although not encouraged but rather forbidden, marriages with foreign women did take place among the Israelites both before they had any real appreciation for a sense of national unity and later throughout their history. Esau married two Hittite women (Gen. 26:34); Joseph, an Egyptian (41:45); Moses, a Midianite (Exod. 2:21); David, an Aramean (2 Sam. 3:3); Solomon, a harem with many foreign women (1 Ki. 11:1); Ahab, a Phoenician (16:31).

These were all marriages of kings or prominent men. They began, however, a fashion that spread among their subjects and the commoners. Earlier, in connection with the settlement in Canaan, the

need to protect the religion and high national interests had brought about an embargo on mixed marriages (Exod. 34:15-16; Deut. 7:3-4). The mixed marriages nevertheless continued; Bathsheba married a Hittite (2 Sam. 11:3), and Huram's mother married a Phoenician (1 Ki. 7:13-14).

The more rigid prohibitions date from the days of the monarchy, when the national and the religious solidarity were so important for the security of the nation. The matter came to a crisis after the EXILE (Ezra 10). During the Hellenistic period the need to preserve the purity of the Jewish community prompted the reinforcement of restrictions relating to mixed marriages.

Mixed marriages are much more readily accepted in modern Judaism. Many however are really disturbed about the trends and developments. David Kirshenbaum (*Mixed Marriage and the Jewish Future* [1958]) feels that "slowly and unperceptibly, like cancer cells, the disease of mixed marriages penetrates, consumes and destroys the Jewish family and the Jewish hope of survival." He appears to be convinced that the Jewish home has become spiritually empty. Mixed marriages have a dangerously disruptive effect. There will be no longer any historic Jewish continuity if the rate of mixed marriages increases among the Jews. There will be no point of contact among the past, present, and future. Coupled with a general acceptance of mixed marriages is the religious and spiritual laxity of the Jewish parents. In many cases they completely neglect the spiritual upbringing of their children.

At the same time, considering all the threatening forces, one cannot be but deeply impressed by the strength and solidarity of the Jewish family. Through the centuries, the Jewish family, probably more than any other influence, has been responsible for the continuing vitality and for the survival of this nation of wonder, the most peculiar among all the nations of the world.

(See further D. W. Amram, *The Jewish Law of Divorce* [1896]; E. Westermarck, *The Future of Marriage in Western Civilization* [1936]; W. Good-sell, *A History of Marriage and the Family* [1939], 1–53; S. R. Brav, *Marriage and the Jewish Tradition* [1951]; O. L. Yarbrough, *Not Like the Gentiles: Marriage Rules in the Letters of Paul* [1985]; G. P. Hugenberger, *Marriage as a Covenant: A Study of Biblical Law and Ethics Governing Marriage, Developed from the Perspective of Malachi* [1994]; M. L. Satlow, *Jewish Marriage in Antiquity* [2001]; J. Evans Grubbs, *Women and Law in the Roman Empire: A Sourcebook on Marriage, Divorce and Widowhood* [2002]; C. Hayes, *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Intermarriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud* [2002]; D. Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage in the Bible: The Social and Literary Context* [2002]; K. M. Campbell, ed., *Marriage and Family in the Biblical World* [2003]; W. Deming, *Paul on Marriage and Celibacy: The Hellenistic Background of 1 Corinthians 7,* 2nd ed. [2004]; G. Beattie, *Women and Marriage in Paul and His Early Interpreters* [2005].)

P. TRUTZA

**marrow.** A connective tissue found in the cavities of the bones. It produces blood platelets to aid in blood clotting, red blood cells for carrying oxygen, and white blood cells for combating infection. There are two kinds of bone marrow, red and yellow. Red marrow preponderates in childhood and represents a more active phase of blood cell formation. Yellow marrow, characterized by more fat tissue, is increased in the healthy adult (cf. Job 21:24; Heb. *mōaḥ H4672*). The marrow in adults reverts to red marrow following serious blood loss or body stress. The marrow cavity of long bones ends at the joints so that it is completely surrounded by bone cortex. This clear demarcation is referred to in a well-known NT passage that emphasizes the discerning power of the word of God (Heb. 4:12; Gk. *myelos G3678*). The English term also has a figurative meaning, "choice food," and is used in that sense once in the KJV (Ps. 63:5) and once in the NRSV (Isa. 25:6).

**Marsanes.** A non-Christian Gnostic text included in the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY (NHC X, 1). Composed in Greek, probably in the 3rd cent. A.D., this tractate is preserved in a Coptic translation, but the MS is very fragmentary. Regarded as an apocalypse, and influenced by Platonism, it apparently describes the experience of a prophet who had a visionary experience as he ascended into the heavens. The document also discusses the symbolical meaning of the letters of the alphabet. (English trans. in *NHL,* 460-71.)

**Marsena** mahr-see'nuh (מַרְסְנָא *H5333*). 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.

**marsh.** Because of the dryness of the climate, there are very few marshes (Heb. *biṣṣâ H1289*) in PALESTINE, except along the DEAD SEA. In Ezek. 47:11 the prophet foretells future blessings for Israel, and writes that the marshes around the sea (prob. the Dead Sea) shall not be sweetened, but left as beds for digging salt. The references in Job 8:11 and 40:21 are probably to marshes in Egypt, since there are many in the NILE delta. The term ʾăgam *H106,* usually rendered "pool, pond," is translated "marsh" once in the NIV and other versions (Jer. 51:43).

S. BARABAS

**marshal.** See CAPTAIN.

Marshes near Lake Timsah in Egypt.

**Mars' Hill.** See AREOPAGUS.

**Martha** mahr'thuh (Μάρθα *G3450,* from Aram. מָרְתָא "lady, mistress, hostess" [fem. of מַר, "lord, master"]). The sister of MARY and LAZARUS, all three being among the special friends of Jesus (Jn. 11:5). Their home is clearly stated by John to be in BETHANY in JUDEA (Jn. 11:1), but Luke does not name the village (Lk. 10:38). The topographical context of Lk. 10 suggests that the village might be in

GALILEE, but there is no certainty about this. Some explain this apparent discrepancy with John's account by suggesting that Luke has placed the event too early in the ministry of Jesus, but it is more likely that Jesus visited the home in Bethany on a journey to Jerusalem unrecorded by the synoptists (cf. Jn. 10:22-23).

Martha appears three times in the gospel narratives (Lk. 10:38-42; Jn. 11:1-44; 12:2). The historical accuracy of the accounts in Luke and John is supported by the consistent characterization in these two independent records. In both, Martha is busy serving at table and tends to be outspoken, in contrast to Mary's quieter devotion to Jesus. Luke's statement that Martha received Jesus into her house (Lk. 10:38) implies that she was mistress of the house, probably being the elder sister; but there is no evidence that she was married to SIMON the leper or was his widow. If one assumes that the event of Jn. 12:1-8 is the same as that of Matt. 26:6-13 and Mk. 14:3-9, Martha is serving in Simon's house, and Lazarus and Mary are also present, but so were other guests. Martha's aptitude for serving was sufficient reason for her assistance on this special occasion.

Jesus' affectionate rebuke (Lk. 10:41-42) was evoked by Martha's failure to recognize the primary importance of his teaching. Her activity was not out of place but out of proportion. Jesus did not condemn Martha's work, but her excessive attention to material provision, which disturbed her peace of mind, prompted criticism of both Mary and Jesus, and robbed her of the benefit of receiving the Lord's instruction. Both Martha and Mary expressed the same faith in Jesus' power to save Lazarus from dying (Jn. 11:21, 32). The Lord would not have spoken to her the profound truth of Jn. 11:25-26 did he not know that she was sufficiently receptive to hear it. Her declaration of belief rose to the highest level (11:27), but her hesitancy of faith (v. 39) shows that she did not yet realize its full implications. (See B. Witherington III, *Women in the Ministry of Jesus* [1984], 100-116; P. F. Esler and R. A. Piper, *Lazarus, Mary and Martha: A Social-Scientific and Theological Reading of John* [2006].)

J. C. CONNELL

**martyr.** A person who suffers death for refusing to renounce a religion. The English term derives (through Latin) from the Greek *martys G3459* (genitive *martyros*), meaning "a witness," that is, someone who can assert what he himself has seen and heard. Because in the early church those who witnessed to Christ often gave their lives for their faith (cf. "the blood of your witness [NIV, martyr] Stephen," Acts 22:20 NRSV; "Antipas, my faithful witness, who was put to death in your city," Rev. 2:13), the sense of the term became specialized. See also TESTIMONY.

In the OT, the people of Israel were the primary witnesses (Heb. *ʿēd H6332,* Isa. 43:10-12; 44:8), but the prophets in the special sense held that position with a special commission (Isa. 6:9-10; Jer. 1:5). In the NT the CHURCH was the witness that was to take the gospel to the whole world (Lk. 24:48; Acts 1:8), but like the prophets, the apostles had a special position, since they witnessed not only to Christ's teaching and works, but also from personal experience to his resurrection (Acts 1:1, 2-22). They received special authority from Christ, who himself was the ultimate witness (Rev. 1:5; 3:14).

PERSECUTION, however, soon arose from both Jew and Gentile, with the result that many of those who bore faithful witness experienced physical attack and even death. STEPHEN the deacon (Acts 7:57-60) and JAMES the brother of John (12:2) were two of the earliest witnesses who suffered the extreme penalty for witnessing to Christ. Others followed in their train, including the apostles PETER, PAUL, and a number of lesser fame (Rev. 20:4). Those who so suffered became in a special sense witnesses to Christ (cf. Heb. 11), which led the church to accord them a special place in its tradition,

as those who had given the utmost in witness by being faithful unto death.

In post-NT times the tendency became common to regard those who died for their witness as having a special place in heaven, with special rights of intercession. Under the influence of Neo-Platonism, this led to the development of the idea of "saints" who had the privilege of intercession for Christians upon earth. The NT, however, provides no ground for such beliefs, since it gives no place of special privilege even to those who have as "martyrs" died for the faith.

(See further H. B. Workman, *Persecution in the Early Church: A Chapter in the History of Renunciation* [c. 1906]; W. H. C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church: A Study of Conflict from the Maccabees to Donatus* [1965]; D. Seeley, *The Noble Death: Graeco-Roman Martyrology and Paul's Concept of Salvation* [1990]; A. Droge and J. Tabor, *A Noble Death: Suicide and Martyrdom Among Greeks and Romans, Jews and Christians in the Ancient World* [1992]; M. Cormack, ed., *Sacrificing the Self: Perspectives on Martyrdom and Religion* [2002]; E. A. Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making* [2004].)

W. S. REID

**Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah.** See ASCENSION OF ISAIAH.

**marvel, marvelous.** These English terms are used frequently in the KJV (where the adjective is spelled "marvellous"), almost always with reference to divinity. OT writers extolled God's "marvelous works," including his CREATION and his SALVATION (1 Chr. 16:24; Job 5:9 [NIV, "miracles"]; Pss. 96:3; 98:1; cf. 1 Pet. 2:9 [NIV, "wonderful"]). Prophets predicted his marvelous work of REDEMPTION through the MESSIAH (Ps. 118:23; Isa. 29:14 [NIV, "wonder"]; Zech. 8:6). Significantly, Jesus himself, his message, and his works were marvelous. "The child's father and mother marveled at what was said about him" by SIMEON (Lk. 2:33). NICODEMUS, the Jews, and all the people marveled at his teaching (Jn. 3:7; 5:20, 28; 7:15, 21). Jesus' works repeatedly made the crowds marvel (Matt. 8:27; Mk. 5:20; Lk. 8:25; 11:14). Jesus, in turn, marveled at the great faith of the centurion (Matt. 8:10), and at the unbelief of the Nazarene citizens (Mk. 6:6). In most of these NT passages the NIV uses various synonyms; see ASTONISHMENT.

G. B. FUNDERBURK

**Mary** mair'ee (Μαρία *G3451,* occurring frequently in the indeclinable form Μαριάμ, from Heb. מִרְיָם *H5319;* see MIRIAM). The name was made famous by the sister of MOSES. Possibly its prevalence in NT times was due to the popularity of MARIAMME, the last of the HASMONEANS and wife of HEROD the Great. Six (or seven) women of this name are mentioned in the NT.

(1) MARY, MOTHER OF JESUS. See separate article.

(2) Mother of John Mark (see MARK, JOHN). Though mentioned only once by name in the NT (Acts 12:12), this Mary must have been prominent in the Jerusalem church. She was related to BARNABAS (Col. 4:10), and her large home was used

Many different Marys are mentioned in the Gospels.

by the apostolic church for assembly (Acts 12:12; mention is made of servants, v. 13). Peter's knowledge of where to go to find the believers indicates an established practice. It was likely the most adequate home in Jerusalem available for such meetings. Apparently she had not sold her property for communal distribution (Acts 4:34-37). She used it for the common good. It is pure conjecture that the Last Supper was in her "upper room" (Lk. 22:12), but early Christianity found in her home a frequent meeting place. A by-product of her hospitality and faithfulness was the missionary service of her son, John Mark.

(3) Sister of LAZARUS and MARTHA, from BETHANY (Jn. 11:1). Jesus appreciated Mary of Bethany as a special friend and devoted follower. Jesus probably was entertained frequently in this home just outside Jerusalem, especially during the feast seasons. Three events reveal what is known of Mary. The first one was in the Bethany home, though Luke does not make this clear (Lk. 10:38-42). Mary is the contemplative type, sitting at Jesus' feet and feeding on his words. Martha, in her frustration, objected to doing all the work, but Jesus complimented Mary's sense of values. She realized that there were higher values than physical comforts. Having found them, she was allowed to keep them.

The second cluster of reactions relates to the death and restoration to life of Lazarus (Jn. 11:1-46). Mary and Martha first sent word to Jesus in PEREA of the illness of Lazarus (v. 3). When Jesus delayed his coming and Lazarus died, Mary was deeply affected. She sat still in the house

The Church of Lazarus in Bethany. It was in this town that Mary, her brother Lazarus, and her sister Martha frequently opened their home to Jesus.

among the comforters when Martha went to meet Jesus (v. 20). When Jesus sent for her, she came quickly (vv. 28-29). Faith and sorrow mingled in her words, "Lord, if you had been here, my brother would not have died" (v. 32). Throughout, Martha was still the manager and Mary was the sensitive, contemplative soul.

The third event is a dinner, perhaps in gratitude for Jesus' raising Lazarus (Jn. 12:1-8; cf. Matt. 26:6-10 and Mk. 14:3-9, where Mary is not named, and where the event is said to take place in the home of SIMON the leper). Both Jesus and Lazarus are at the table. The atmosphere is charged with impending crisis. No one can think of an appropriate word or action. Suddenly the quiet, contemplative Mary bursts forth with an impulse that has been growing in her heart. The ALABASTER cruse of precious imported perfume from INDIA, which represented a year's wages and which had been reserved much as a dowry for a great day—would not that express her feelings to her wonderful Lord? Forgetting her reserve in the intensity of her act, she pushed past the reclining forms, broke the expensive jar and poured the oil on the head of Jesus. Recoiling from the gaze of the guests, no doubt, she pulled back from the center of attention, stopping at Jesus' feet with the remainder of the PERFUME, dripping it on his feet and lovingly wiping the feet with her hair. To "practical" men, it was a stupid waste, but Jesus considered it a most beautiful tribute paid to him. Such love is precious. (This anointing is not to be confused with the one in Galilee, Lk. 7:36-50; see D. A. Carson, *The Gospel according to John* [1991], 425-27, which also discusses the differences between John and Matthew/Mark.)

(4) Mother of James the younger and of Joseph/ Joses (Matt. 27:56; 28:1 ["the other Mary"]; Mk. 15:40, 47). See JAMES III and JOSEPH #12. A problem arises in relation to the husband of this Mary. Most English versions mention "Mary the wife of Clopas" as present at the cross (Jn. 19:25; the Gk. reads simply, "Mary of Clopas"). But James the younger is regularly designated "son of Alphaeus" (Matt. 10:3; Mk. 3:18; Lk. 6:15). Is the same Mary wife of CLOPAS (to be distinguished from CLEOPAS) and of ALPHAEUS? That would be possible if Clopas and Alphaeus are names of the same person or if there was a second marriage. An alternate possibility is suggested by the Arabic version, which renders John's reference as "Mary the daughter of Clopas" (see E. Bishop in *Exp Tim* 73 [1961-62]: 339). In any case, it is quite unlikely that this Mary should be identified with the sister

of Mary in Jn. 19:25, since two sisters would not normally bear the same name. The church father Hegesippus refers to a Clopas who is said to have been a brother of Jesus' father, Joseph (Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* 3.11; 4.22). If this is true, and if Clopas and Alphaeus are the same person, then Mary of Clopas and Mary the mother of Jesus were sisters-in-law. According to some scholars, "Mary of Clopas" (a description found only in Jn. 19:5) is not the same as the mother of James and Joseph/Joses, but altogether a different person, about whom nothing else is known.

In any case, Mary the mother of James the younger and of Joseph/Joses was one of the Galilean women who, having been healed of evil spirits and infirmities, followed Jesus and supported him financially (Mk. 15:40; Lk. 8:2-3). It is interesting to note that two mothers with their sons thus joined the group and at least three of the four sons became apostles. According to the records, this Mary accompanied Jesus to Jerusalem (Matt. 27:56; Mk. 15:41), witnessed the crucifixion (Matt. 27:55, 56; Mk. 15:40; Lk. 23:49), observed the entombment (Matt. 27:61; Mk. 15:47; Lk. 23:55), joined in the securing of spices for anointing Jesus' body (Mk. 16:1; Lk. 23:56), saw the empty tomb and heard the angelic announcement of Jesus' resurrection (Matt. 28:1-7; Mk. 16:2-7; Lk. 24:1-7), reported to the apostles what she had seen and heard (Matt. 28:8; Lk. 24:9-11), and even saw the resurrected Jesus (Matt. 28:9-10).

(5) Mary Magdalene, so called after the name of her native city, MAGDALA, on the W bank of the Sea of Galilee, 3 mi. NW of TIBERIAS. On the site are now the squalid hovels of Majdal (Mejdel). A. Edersheim says the ancient city was famous for dye works and fine woolen textures (*The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah,* 8th ed. [1900], 1:571). Trade, shipbuilding, fishing, fish curing, and agriculture also brought great wealth to the city; its moral corruption was also notorious (ibid., citing *y. Ta(an.* 69a).

Jesus had driven seven demons out of Mary Magdalene (Lk. 8:2; cf. Mk. 16:9). This obviously meant that she was a healed invalid, not a rescued social derelict. There is no evidence that she was promiscuous, much less a harlot for hire. That she was a person of means is evident from her ability to support Jesus from her means. Her obvious leadership among the women hardly reflects a scarlet past. (There is certainly no ground for identifying her with the anonymous sinful woman of Lk. 7:37; otherwise, NT usage would normally have kept her anonymous.) She is mentioned more often than most of the other believing women, and usually first. A dozen references show her as healed of evil spirits or infirmities (Lk. 8:2), following Jesus from Galilee and ministering to him (Matt. 27:56), beholding the crucifixion from afar (Mk. 15:40), standing by the cross (Jn. 19:25), locating the tomb (Matt. 28:1; Mk. 15:47), watching the tomb (Matt. 27:61), coming early to the tomb with spices (Mk. 16:1; Jn. 20:1), being first to see the risen Lord (Mk. 16:9), and reporting the resurrection to the disciples (Lk. 24:10; Jn. 20:18).

(6) An early Christian who "worked very hard" for the church in Rome (Rom. 16:6; KJV, "who bestowed much labour on us [*hymas*]", following the TR). It is not possible to determine whether this Mary was a Jewish Christian or a Gentile (the Latin *Maria,* not as the Hebrew name but as the feminine form of *Marius,* was common in Rome).

(See further S. Andrews, *The Life of our Lord Upon the Earth* [1862], 281-86, 596-612; J. Lange, *The Life of the Lord Jesus Christ* [1872], 1:441; 2:258-59, 489; 3:21-23, 365-67; 4:253-54, 470-71; B. Witherington III, *Women in the Ministry of Jesus* [1984]; C. M. and J. A. Grassi, *Mary Magdalene and the Women in Jesus' Life* [1986]; J. Schaberg, *The Resurrection of Mary Magdalene: Legends, Apocrypha, and the Christian Testament* [2002]; F. Stanley Jones, ed., *Which Mary? The Marys of Early Christian Tradition* [2002]; A. G. Brock, *Mary Magdalene, the First Apostle: The Struggle for Authority* [2003]; H. E. Hearon, *The Mary Magdalene Tradition: Witness*

*and Counter-Witness in Early Christian Communities* [2004].)

W. T. DAYTON

**Mary, Birth of.** Also *Descent of Mary* or *Genealogy of Mary* (Gk. *Genna Marias*). A Gnostic document known only from its mention by EPIPHANIUS (*Pan.* 26.12.1-4; K. Holl's ed., 1:290-91). It identifies the Zechariah of Matt. 23:35 with the father of JOHN THE BAPTIST, and says he was killed because he told of his vision in the temple (Lk. 1:9-12) of a man having the form of a donkey. This detail conforms with pagan polemic against the God of the Jews, and the work appears to show violent hostility to Judaism. (English trans. in *NTAp* [1991], 1:395-96). See also MARY, GOSPEL OF; MARY, GOSPEL OF THE BIRTH OF.

R. McL. WILSON

**Mary, Descent (Genealogy) of.** See MARY, BIRTH OF.

**Mary, Gospel of.** An apocryphal Gnostic document preserved fragmentarily in the Berlin Codex (BG 8502, 1). It reports that the disciples were grieved after the resurrected Jesus departed from them, and that MARY (Magdalene) encouraged them by recounting to them her vision of "the soul" ascending and being questioned by "the powers." Both Andrew and Peter were skeptical that the Savior had said such "strange" things, but Levi persuaded them to listen to her. This tractate is a Coptic translation of a Greek original, and a 3rd-cent. Greek papyrus discovered at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt preserves two small sections (with substantial differences). (English trans. in *NHL,* 523-38; discussion in *ABD,* 4:583 – 84. For the view that the work is not Gnostic and that it is based on tradition earlier than the NT Gospels, see E. A. de Boer, *The Gospel of Mary: Beyond a Gnostic and a Biblical Mary Magdalene* [2004]).

**Mary, Gospel of the Birth of.** A Latin account of the birth and childhood of MARY, MOTHER OF JESUS, included among the works attributed to JEROME (*PL* 30:307ff.), but actually a much later (possibly 8th cent.), shorter, and improved edition of the first part of the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew,* which in turn is based on the *Protevangelium of James.* See JAMES, PROTEVANGELIUM OF; PSEUDO-MATTHEW, GOSPEL OF. There is a certain irony in the attribution, in view of Jerome's pronounced opposition to such apocryphal literature.

The text begins with Mary's parents, Joachim and Anna, and tells of their blameless life. Because of Joachim's childlessness, his offering is rejected by the high priest Issachar (in the *Protevangelium* and *Pseudo-Matthew* the name is Reuben); Joachim retires to his flocks, but an angel appears to him, and also to Anna. The document then relates the birth of Mary, her presentation in the temple, and her upbringing there. At the age of fourteen, virgins resident in the temple are required to marry, but Mary is reluctant. A council summoned by the high priest resolves to seek divine guidance, which is soon forthcoming. Joseph (here not a widower, as in the *Protevangelium,* though advanced in years) is chosen by a miraculous sign, and they are betrothed. Joseph goes to Bethlehem, while Mary returns to her parents' home in Galilee, where the ANNUNCIATION takes place. Joseph on his return finds her with child, but in his perplexity is reassured by an angel. The document closes with a brief statement about the birth of Jesus.

This outline is enough to reveal the document's affinity with the earlier chapters of the *Protevangelium.* Reference to Joseph's previous marriage has been removed as heretical (according to Jerome, the "brothers" of Jesus were cousins), as have elements felt to be offensive (e.g., the

episode of the midwife). The book is later than the 6th-cent. *Decretum Gelasianum,* which does not mention it, but is quoted at the end of the 10th cent. by Fulbert of Chartres. It has been argued that the author was Paschasius Radbertus, abbot of Corbie in the 9th cent. (see *Revue Bénédictine* 46 [1934]: 265ff.). Through its incorporation in the *Golden Legend* of James de Voragine (1298), the work enjoyed a wide circulation. (English trans. in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library* 16 [1870]; see also É. Amann, *Le Protévangile de Jacques et ses remaniements latins* [1910].)

R. McL. WILSON

**Mary, mother of Jesus** mair'ee (Μαρία *G3451,* occurring frequently in the indeclinable form Μαριάμ, from Heb. מִרְיָם *H5319;* see MIRIAM).

1. Biblical information
    1. Lineage
    2. The betrothal
    3. The annunciation
    4. The visit to Elizabeth
    5. The birth and infancy narratives
    6. Life in Nazareth
    7. Incidents during Christ's ministry
    8. At the cross and after the resurrection
2. Worship of Mary
    1. Mother of God
    2. Perpetual virginity
    3. Immaculate conception
    4. Bodily assumption

## I. Biblical information

***A. Lineage.*** In Lk. 1:36 Mary is called a relative of ELIZABETH, who was a descendant of AARON (1:5). This connection may be thought to suggest that Mary too belonged to the tribe of LEVI (cf. *T. Sim.* 7), but other indications argue strongly that she, like JOSEPH, was of royal lineage (some think that the phrase "of the house of David" in Lk. 1:27 [NRSV] may apply either to "virgin" or to "Joseph"). The references to the Davidic lineage by Elizabeth and ZECHARIAH (Lk. 1:32, 69) and the frequent, and unchallenged, public address of Jesus by the title "Son of David" (Matt. 9:27; 15:22; 20:30-31; Mk. 10:47-48) possibly imply that on his mother's side as well as Joseph's, Jesus was of David's line. The Sinaitic Syriac text of Lk. 2:4 reads, "because they were both of the house of David." It is unlikely, however, that Lk. 3:23-38 gives the genealogy of Mary, as some have thought. See GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST.

The *Protevangelium of James* calls Mary's parents Joachim of Nazareth and Anna of Bethlehem (see JAMES, PROTEVANGELIUM OF). The only member of her family mentioned in Scripture is her sister (Jn. 19:25). Comparison with Mk. 15:40 and Matt. 27:56 makes it almost certain that this sister was SALOME, wife of ZEBEDEE, in which case JAMES and JOHN THE APOSTLE were cousins of Jesus. (The alternative suggestion, which identifies "his mother's sister" with "Mary the wife of Clopas," involves the most unlikely requirement that two sisters bore the same name.)

***B. The betrothal.*** Mary was brought up in NAZARETH and probably was still in her teens when she was betrothed. In the 4th-cent. *History of Joseph the Carpenter,* she was said to be twelve when she was betrothed to Joseph, a widower of ninety with a grown-up family (see JOSEPH THE CARPENTER, HISTORY OF). The biblical picture, however, suggests a young man entering marriage for the first time. Betrothal was in Jewish custom almost tantamount to MARRIAGE. A declaration was made to the prospective bride, and a small gift given her as a pledge, in the presence of witnesses; or else the declaration might be in writing. From this time the woman was called "wife"; if her betrothed should die before the marriage was consummated, she became a widow and the custom of LEVIRATE LAW might apply to her. She could not be dismissed from the betrothal relationship except through a writing of divorce, and any sexual relationship during the betrothal period was treated as adultery. In the case of a virgin, the betrothal lasted about a year. See MARRIAGE.

***C. The annunciation*** (Lk. 1:26-38). During this period of betrothal, the angel GABRIEL appeared to Mary and greeted her with the words, "Greetings, you who are highly favored! The Lord is with you" (1:28). The address *kecharitōmenē* (from *charitoō G5923)* means that Mary has received grace, not that she has grace to bestow. The following clause may be interpreted as a wish, "the Lord *be* with you," or as a statement defining the grace Mary had received. The additional words in the KJV, "Blessed art thou among women," have some MS support, but are most likely a gloss from Elizabeth's words (v. 42). Mary was puzzled by the greeting and evidently frightened, for the angel continued,

Illustration of a cave home. While at her home in Nazareth, Mary received word of the special child she would bear.

telling her not to be afraid, and that she would conceive and bear a son whom she would call Jesus. He would be called the Son of the Most High and would, as David's descendant, reign over Israel for ever. Mary made the natural inquiry, "How will this be…since I am a virgin?" Her reply does not indicate doubt or disbelief of the message, as Zechariah's had done (1:18), but rather perplexity as to the method of fulfillment.

Gabriel replied, "The Holy Spirit will come upon you, and the power of the Most High will

overshadow you. So the holy one to be born will be called the Son of God" (Lk. 1:35), thus confirming the virginal conception. Belief in the VIRGIN BIRTH of Christ is dependent almost entirely on the records of Matthew and Luke. There is no reference to it in the remainder of the NT. In Gal. 4:4, PAUL writes that Jesus was born of a "woman" (*gynē G1222*) instead of using the word "virgin" (*parthenos G4221*). But his point is the real humanity of Christ, not the marital state of Christ's mother. The variant reading of Matt. 1:16 given in a few MSS, "Joseph, to whom the virgin Mary was betrothed, begat Jesus who is called Christ," is certainly a scribal error, repeating the formula of earlier verses. It would, in any case, be quite impossible to take the word "begat" in the normal biological sense in the same verse that describes Mary as "virgin." The references to Joseph as Jesus' father (Matt. 13:55; Lk. 2:33, 48) imply the family and social position Joseph occupied, not physical paternity.

The angel then told Mary that Elizabeth, in her old age, had conceived a son six months earlier, "For nothing is impossible with God" (Lk. 1:37). A great deal was implied by Mary's words of meek acceptance, "I am the Lord's servant.…May it be to me as you have said" (v. 38). It was the devout maiden's humble acceptance of the embarrassment, suspicion, and misunderstanding that would undoubtedly follow. See ANNUNCIATION.

***D. The visit to Elizabeth*** (Lk. 1:39-56). Shortly after the angel's departure, Mary went to visit the home of Zechariah and Elizabeth. Luke states merely that this was in a city of Judah in the hill country (1:39). Tradition identifies the town as ʿAin Karim, a village 5 mi. W of Jerusalem; if so, Mary traveled some 80 mi. from Nazareth (many think that the couple lived even further S, in the area around HEBRON). On entering the house, she was surprised by Elizabeth's greeting, "Blessed are you among women, and blessed is the child you will bear!" (v. 42), and by her reference to Mary, not as a relative, but as "the mother of my Lord" (v. 43). Doubtless the promises she had received through Zechariah would have filled Elizabeth with hopes for the early appearance of the Messiah; now there was the physical sign of the movement of the babe in her womb, as well as the inspiration of the Holy Spirit (v. 41) to grant recognition of the one who was to be born, and to pronounce blessing on the mother who believed God's message.

The song that follows, known as the MAGNIFICAT, is attributed to Elizabeth by three Old Latin MSS and by Niceta of Remesiana; but all Greek and most Latin MSS, and almost all patristic references, speak of it as Mary's. The Magnificat is more calm and majestic than the ecstatic outburst of Elizabeth, and is modeled on the OT Psalms, especially the song of HANNAH (1 Sam. 2:1-10). It is a meditation in four strophes. The first two give Mary's personal praise and the reason for it; the third speaks of God's larger purposes in the shaping of human history; the last returns to the immediate fulfillment of God's mercy promised to Israel. The theme in general is of God's gracious dealing with the humble and poor, while he shows his strong power against the rich and the mighty. Mary stayed with Elizabeth for three months (Lk. 1:56, in all probability up to the birth and circumcision of John, vv. 57-79).

***E. The birth and infancy narratives.*** It was probably some time after Mary returned to Nazareth that "she was found to be with child through the Holy Spirit" (Matt. 1:18). Joseph, being a just but also kindly man, planned to divorce her quietly rather than expose her to public disgrace, but he was reassured by the message of an angel, given in a dream, that Mary's child was conceived by the Holy Spirit. He was instructed, as Mary had already been (Lk. 1:31), to call the baby's name JESUS ("Yahweh is salvation"), "because he will save his people from their sins" (Matt. 1:21). Immediately

Joseph took Mary to his home as his wife, but had no sexual intercourse with her until after the birth of Jesus (v. 25).

If we had only Matthew's account, we would have thought Joseph and Mary belonged to BETHLEHEM, but Luke makes it clear that the birth of Jesus occurred in Bethlehem only because of the CENSUS, which brought his parents to their ancestral home town. Luke's accuracy has been challenged on the grounds that there is no record of a census at the time of Jesus' birth; that no one would be required to journey eighty miles or more to fill out a census paper; and that the census taken when QUIRINIUS was governor of SYRIA was in A.D. 6-7, long after Jesus' birth. The conclusion drawn is that Matthew and Luke brought Bethlehem into the picture only to make the record fulfill the prophecy of Mic. 5:2.

William M. Ramsay discusses the question carefully in his book, *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* (1898). He produces evidence from Egyptian papyri that a census was taken in the Roman world every fourteen years, so one would have occurred about 8-7 B.C., and it may have been somewhat delayed in Palestine. In a census in A.D. 104, people in Egypt were required to return to their own town for enrollment. When Quirinius was appointed governor of Syria in A.D. 6, it was his second such appointment; he may well have been an additional legate to Sentius Saturninus at the time of the earlier census. There seems no valid reason, therefore, to reject the historicity of Luke's clear statement about the circumstances of Jesus' birth.

The census would account for the shortage of accommodation in Bethlehem. The INN (*katalyma G2906,* Lk. 2:7), probably a simple lodging place, was full. Somewhere nearby, perhaps in a cave, as some apocryphal gospels say, Jesus was born and laid in a MANGER (*phatnē G5764,* v. 12)—not a stall, but probably a feeding trough for animals.

Out in the fields a group of shepherds stood guard over their flock that night. Such flocks were always needed for the sacrifices of the temple at Jerusalem, a mere six miles away. Informed of the birth by an angel, the shepherds went to Bethlehem, found the babe wrapped in swaddling cloths lying in a manger, and excitedly repeated the message they had received. For many, the shepherds' words were a passing wonder (Lk. 2:18). "But Mary treasured up all these things and pondered them in her heart" (v. 19).

There is no indication in Matthew's account how long after the birth it was when the "wise men" or MAGI (Gk. *magoi,* from *magos G3407*) came, following the lead of the star they had seen in the E, in search of the one born king of the Jews (Matt. 2:1-12). Their inquiry in Jerusalem perturbed HEROD, who verified from the chief priests and scribes the anticipated birthplace of the Messiah, then sent the wise men to Bethlehem. By this stage the holy family was in a house, where the wise men offered their gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh. This may have occurred before or after the CIRCUMCISION, which took place on the eighth day, when the baby was given his angel-conferred name of Jesus. They stayed in the environs of Jerusalem until two further requirements of the Jewish law were fulfilled. For every firstborn child, a redemption price of five silver shekels (approximately ten days' wages for a laborer) had to be paid to the temple a month after the birth (Num. 18:16). Then, forty-one days after the birth for a boy, the ceremony of the mother's purification took place (Lev. 12:2-4). For convenience, these two ceremonies were commonly combined in one visit to the temple, as was the case here. The offering for a mother's purification was a lamb and a turtle-dove or a young pigeon. Joseph and Mary offered the alternative permitted to a mother too poor to afford a lamb, namely, two turtle-doves or pigeons (Lk. 2:24).

During the course of the presentation in the temple, two aged Hebrew saints came in and praised God at the recognition of the infant Redeemer. SIMEON held the babe in his arms and blessed God for

the gift of salvation (Lk. 2:29-32, a passage referred to as the NUNC DIMITTIS, after the first two words in the VULGATE). He then blessed the parents and prophesied to Mary that the child would cause the downfall of many, and the rising of many others, in Israel. He would be spoken against as he revealed the thoughts of human hearts. And for Mary herself, a sword would pierce through her own soul, as she saw her son so treated. The long-widowed prophetess ANNA, aged eighty-four, likewise gave thanks to God and spoke to others about the child.

Luke's account suggests that the family returned immediately to Nazareth (Lk. 2:39), but Matthew tells how, after the departure of the wise men, Joseph, being warned by an angel in a dream, fled in haste by night, with Mary and Jesus, to Egypt, staying there in safety until after Herod's death, about the end of March, 4 B.C. No indication is given of the length of stay in Egypt or the exact location. Ancient legends say they spent two years at Matareeh, a few miles NE of modern Cairo, but others have argued for a sojourn as short as a month or two. After this, they returned to Israel, and avoiding JUDEA, where Archelaus now reigned (see HEROD IV), made their home in Nazareth.

***F. Life in Nazareth.*** Jesus' development is described as that of an entirely normal boy in Luke's restrained and dignified account (Lk. 2:40-52). It was a godly Jewish home in which Jesus was taught the Scriptures, reverent obedience to parents, and the love of God. Every year the family journeyed to Jerusalem to celebrate the PASSOVER Feast. It was during one such annual visit, when Jesus at the age of thirteen entered the responsibilities of a "son of the commandment" (*bar mitzvah*), that he stayed behind and was found in the temple after three days, listening to the teachers and asking intelligent and perceptive questions. Mary was astonished and indignant as she rebuked him, "Son, why have you treated us like this? Your father and I have been anxiously searching for you" (v. 48). His reply, "Didn't you know I had to be in my Father's house?" (v. 49), was in turn a gentle rebuke. Mary should have sensed the early call of his divine mission.

The home in Nazareth was one full of boys and girls, for Joseph and Mary had at least six other children (Mk. 6:3; the view that Joseph had children from a previous marriage lacks evidence). Jesus, as the eldest, followed his father's trade as a carpenter. From the total silence of the later gospel story, we conclude that Joseph died before Jesus entered upon his public ministry (legend says in his eighteenth year). If so, for many years Jesus stood by his widowed mother in the responsibility of bringing up the younger members of the family, which may well account for his not entering his public ministry until he was about thirty (Lk. 3:23).

***G. Incidents during Christ's ministry.*** Mary was present at the marriage in CANA to which Jesus and his disciples were invited. She evidently bore some responsibility in the arrangements, perhaps as a close relative. When the supply of wine was exhausted, she informed Jesus of the fact (Jn. 2:1-3). Perhaps she thought to hasten his public manifestation; this consideration would explain the gentle rebuff in Jesus' words (v. 4), which probably mean, "Woman, you have no right to determine my mission. This is not yet my hour for open manifestation." Our Lord thus asserted his independence and sole authority in fulfilling his God-given task. Mary accepted this, retiring from the scene after she instructed the servants to obey his every command (v. 5).

It would seem that after this time Mary and Jesus' brothers made their home in CAPERNAUM with Jesus (Jn. 2:12), while his sisters, probably married, stayed on in Nazareth (Mk. 6:3). They did not normally accompany him on his preaching tours, but on one occasion, perhaps fearful for his safety, they came to the outskirts of the crowd, seeking him (Matt. 12:46-50; Mk. 3:31-35; Lk. 8:19-21). Almost certainly the phrase *hoi par' autou* in Mk. 3:21 means "his family"; their reaction to Jesus at

this stage was to say, "He is out of his mind," and they came seeking to restrain him. Jesus' reply when told that his family was calling him (vv. 34-35) indicates that he viewed them as not doing the will of God; those who do are truly mother and brothers to him. The only other allusion to Mary during his ministry is the cry of the unknown woman in the crowd, "Blessed is the mother who gave you birth and nursed you!" (Lk. 11:27). Again on this occasion, Jesus emphasized that physical relationship to him did not confer blessing; only obedience to God's message could do so.

***H. At the cross and after the resurrection.*** Only John states that Mary was present at the CRUCIFIXION with the BELOVED DISCIPLE, and that Jesus said to her, "Dear woman, here is your son," and to the disciple, "Here is your mother" (Jn. 19:26-27). Why did Jesus give Mary into the care of her nephew John rather than one of her own sons? It may have been because they, as yet, did not believe in him (Jn. 7:5), or because they were married men (1 Cor. 9:5) while John single. Or it may be that Jesus merely intended John to take her away from the harrowing scenes of the crucifixion, and he did so from that hour. However, traditions say that she lived the rest of her life with John, either in JERUSALEM or accompanying him to EPHESUS.

The only further mention of Mary is after the ASCENSION OF CHRIST, when Mary and Jesus' brothers, now in Jerusalem, joined the eleven apostles in prayer while they waited for the promised gift of the HOLY SPIRIT (Acts 1:14). It was perhaps the appearance of the resurrected Christ to James (1 Cor. 15:7) that brought to his brothers the faith they notably lacked during his ministry, and brought full assurance to Mary. They were all doubtless in the full company of 120 persons (Acts 1:15) present at the choosing of MATTHIAS to replace JUDAS ISCARIOT and who were filled with the Holy Spirit on the day of PENTECOST (2:1-4). (See R. E. Brown et al., ed., *Mary in the New Testament* [1978]; D. Flusser et al., *Mary: Images of the Mother of Jesus in Jewish and Christian Perspective* [1986].)

**II. Worship of Mary.** There is no hint anywhere in the NT of veneration offered to Mary. Jesus expressly warned against such (Lk. 11:27-28). Rather, the picture of Mary given in the NT is of a humble village maiden who typifies all that is finest and noblest in Jewish womanhood. Her purity, simplicity, deep spiritual sensitivity, and complete obedience to God stand out; her careful training of her son in his early years, her complete confidence in him as shown in the incident at Cana, her utter loyalty as shown by her presence at the cross, even though it seems there were times when she did not fully understand him—all prepared her for the position she took among the earliest disciples in acknowledging him as Lord and Christ (Acts 2:36).

Nor is there any evidence of prayer made, or worship offered, to Mary during the first four centuries. The later cult of the worship of Mary has developed on the flimsy foundation of three passages in Luke—the greeting of Gabriel (Lk. 1:28); the greeting of Elizabeth (v. 42), and the grateful words of Mary in the *Magnificat,* "From now on all generations will call me blessed" (v. 48). These passages emphasize the unique high privilege bestowed on this specially chosen maiden, but in no way suggest that worship should be offered her, which belongs only to God. Upon the brief biblical details of her life has been woven an intricate web of legend, largely fictitious and quite unreliable, and upon this has been built a complex structure of dogma that has developed and increased through the centuries. There are four main tenets of this dogma.

***A. Mother of God.*** In the 4th and 5th centuries, controversy raged around the propriety of applying the term *theotokos,* "Godbearer" or "mother of God," to Mary. The title was intended to confirm the

full DEITY OF CHRIST. Nestorius proposed the less explicit *christotokos,* but this, along with his other teaching, was condemned at the Council of Ephesus in 431, where it was affirmed that in Christ there were not two persons but one ("the perfect existing God made at the same time perfect man, made flesh of the Virgin"). The expression, then, does not mean "mother of the divine nature." On the understanding that the reference is only to Jesus' human nature, both Lutheran and Reformed confessions at the time of the Reformation allowed the term, but it has never been popular among Protestants. It is as mother of God that Mary is termed *mediatrix,* not, in the thought of the Roman communion, to take the place of Christ as sole MEDIATOR between God and man (1 Tim. 2:5), but to mediate between Christ and mankind as she did at Cana (Jn. 2:3).

***B. Perpetual virginity.*** The phrase "born of the Virgin Mary," used in the APOSTLES' CREED, is held to imply not only that Mary was a virgin when she conceived, but also "in birth and after birth." The apocryphal *Protevangelium of James* states that Jesus was born miraculously, leaving Mary's virginity intact. It is held that Mary's words to Gabriel, "I know not a man" (Lk. 1:34 KJV) indicate that she was under a vow of perpetual virginity, in which case it is difficult to explain why she had earlier become betrothed to Joseph. As to the BROTHERS OF JESUS, these are regarded either as children of Joseph by an earlier marriage (the view of the apocryphal gospels, commonly called the *Epiphanian* view, after Epiphanius who argued it c. 382), or as cousins, children of Clopas and the Virgin's sister, also called Mary (the *Hieronymian* view, after Jerome, about the same time).

This doctrine has no explicit support in the NT, and the application of OT texts such as Cant. 4:12 and Ezek. 44:2 to Mary is quite unjustified. While the use of the words "before" (Matt. 1:18), "until" (Matt. 1:25), and "firstborn" (Lk. 2:7) may not constitute absolute proof, they agree with the frequent references in the NT to Jesus' brothers, indicating that after a perfectly normal birth (Lk. 2:5), Mary lived with Joseph as man and wife, and enjoyed the blessing of a large family (the *Helvidian* view, after Helvidius). Had it not been for the pressures of ASCETICISM, which in these early centuries regarded celibacy as an ethically higher state than marriage and all sexual relations as inherently part of sinful flesh, it is certain no other interpretation would ever have been thought of.

***C. Immaculate conception.*** AUGUSTINE is the first notable theologian to declare that Mary was free from actual SIN (*Nature and Grace* 36). Later theologians discussed whether she was free, not only from actual sin, but also from original sin, like Eve in her innocence. Thomas Aquinas (*Summa theologiae* 3.27-30) taught that though Mary contracted original sin, between conception and birth,

King Herod fortified the southern portion of his kingdom with various outposts including Masada.

by God's miraculous power, the "inflammation of sin was rendered harmless," and then completely removed at her conception of Christ. Duns Scotus opposed this view, and taught that she was preserved immaculate from all stain of original sin at the first instant of her conception. This latter view was promulgated as Roman Catholic dogma by Pope Pius IX in 1854.

***D. Bodily assumption.*** The earliest versions of this legend come from the later 4th cent. and show widely varying details, the one common feature being that Mary was miraculously transported, body and soul, to heaven by Jesus. The legend has no historical evidence, is foreign to Scripture, and contrary to all extant writings of the first three centuries. But the "feast of the Assumption" has long been observed as August 15 in the Christian calendar, and the ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN was proclaimed a part of official Roman Catholic dogma by Pope Pius XII in 1950. (See J. B. Carol, ed., *Mariology* [1955]; A. J. Tambasco, *What Are They Saying about Mary?* [1984]; S. J. Boss, ed., *Mary: The Complete Resource* [2007].)

D. G. STEWART

**Masada** muh-sah'duh (Μάσαδα [Strabo, *Geogr.* 16.2.44, Μοασάδα], from Aram. מְצָדָא [cf. Heb. מְצָד *H5171*], "stronghold"). First identified by E. Smith and E. Robinson with a rock called by the local inhabitants Qaṣr es-Sebbe, Masada is a natural fortress in the eastern Judean Desert on the western shore of the DEAD SEA, located some 50 mi. S of Khirbet QUMRAN. The upper plateau of the boat-shaped rock covers 20 acres and rises abruptly, almost perpendicularly 440 yards above its surroundings.

According to JOSEPHUS (*War* 7.8.3), the natural advantages of this remote mountain were first recognized by Jonathan MACCABEE, the high priest who fortified it. However, Josephus meant probably Alexander Jannaeus, HASMONEAN ruler of JUDEA (103-76 B.C.), as indicated now by the

excavations. During this general period several structures and buildings were constructed, including four small palaces at the center. The prominent role of Masada in the history of Judea, however, coincides with the decline of the Hasmonean dynasty, especially from 42 B.C. in the struggle between the house of Antipater, the father of HEROD, and the legitimate ruling dynasty. The same year Masada fell to Herod's followers but remained besieged by the Hasmoneans for some years, who were conscious of its importance (Jos. *War* 1.7.7–9; *Ant.* 14.14.6).

Herod kept his family at Masada during the years of his struggle for power in Judea. Only in 39-38 B.C. did he succeed in moving his family to the more secure SAMARIA (Jos. *War* 1.13.7-9; 1.15.1-4; *Ant.* 14.13.8-9). After having established his rule in Judea (37 B.C.), Herod began a large-scale building scheme of fortresses in Judea to secure his rule internally as well as against any external threat (*War* 7.13.7-8). Masada probably was rebuilt around 35 B.C. Herod built there, according to Josephus's detailed account (*War* 1.15.1-4), casemate walls strengthened with towers, the palace, cisterns, and storerooms.

Following Herod's death (4 B.C.) and the exile of his son Archelaus (A.D. 6), a small Roman garrison seems to have been established at Masada. At the beginning of the first war against the Romans, sixty years later, Masada was taken by a group of ZEALOTS (Jos. *War* 2.17.2). Herod's armories there were broken into and large quantities of weapons were taken to Jerusalem and distributed to the insurgents (*War* 2.17.8). For the six following years the community on Masada seems to have practiced a normal way of life without being seriously involved in the war with the Romans. See WARS, JEWISH.

This almost impregnable fortress, however, did not escape the fate that fell upon other parts of the country. Two or three years after the fall of Jerusalem (A.D. 70) this last stronghold to survive the war with the Romans had to defend itself against a vast Roman army. The tenth legion (Fretensis) with numerous auxiliary forces led by the governor Flavius Silva had been moved to Masada. Eight camps and a circumvallation wall were put up around the fortress. Access to the fortifications of Masada for heavy siege machines was provided by an extensive rampart erected on the western side of the rock (*War* 7.8.5).

Masada was besieged and attacked for seven months during the autumn of A.D. 72 or 73 and the winter and spring of the following year. It was then that the Romans succeeded in creating a breach in the wall. Several attempts by the defenders to check the breach failed, and hopes to survive the Roman attack consequently faded (*War* 7.8.5). Their leader, Elazar Ben Yai )r, persuaded his 960 followers—men, women, and children—to take their own lives, and to die as free people rather than to be enslaved by the Romans. When the Romans entered the fortress the next day they encountered only seven survivors—two women and five children. All the others had taken their own lives after having burned their belongings (*War* 7.9.1-2).

Masada remained deserted until modern times except for a short interval during the 5th and 6th cent., when a small community of monks settled there and erected a small church and some cells. Many explorers and scholars have been attracted to this site ever since it was identified in the 19th cent. Their careful descriptions and observations are of great importance to any further study.

The large-scale excavations that began in 1963 were preceded by two rather small but very important projects. A study of the Roman camps and siege works was carried out in 1932 by Schulten and Lammerer (see A. Schulten, "Masada, die Burg des Herodes und die römischen Lager," *ZDPV 56* [1933]: 1-185). A survey and a small-scale excavation were carried out by an expedition headed by M. Avi-Yonah, M. Avigad, and Y. Aharoni of the Hebrew University during three weeks in 1955 and 1956 (see their report, "The Archaeological Survey

Northern portion of the Masada plateau, with a view of Herod's palaces.

of Masada, 1955-1956," *IEJ 7* [1957]: 1-60). Extensive excavations were undertaken for twelve months in 1963-1965. The work was led by Yigael Yadin under the auspices of the Hebrew University, the Israel Exploration Society, and the Department of Antiquities of the State of Israel.

Herod's storehouses at Masada.

Herod's palaces, storerooms, fortifications, and elaborate water supply arrangements known already from Josephus' writings, besides a well-appointed bath house, were brought to light. The architectural and ornamented elements from this period uncovered at Masada are of the greatest importance for the understanding of the transitional period in architecture and art lying between the Hellenistic and the Roman period.

The Zealots and their families settled mainly in the casemate walls. The community's daily life is well attested. Household installations and utensils as well as pieces of furniture and attire were unearthed. A synagogue and some ritual baths also were found. The extremely dry climate helped to preserve organic materials, above all PARCHMENT and PAPYRUS. In addition to this, several hundred OSTRACA inscribed in Hebrew and Aramaic, as well as some in Greek and Latin, were found.

The scrolls identified include fragments of Genesis, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Ezekiel, and Psalms, as well as apocryphal texts in Hebrew, namely Ecclesiasticus, a fragment of the *Book of Jubilees,* and a sectarian text comprising verses from "The Heavenly Sabbath Sacrifices" of a QUMRAN type. The uniformity of these fragments found among the burned debris (A.D. 73) with the scrolls found at Qumran point to the connections that must have existed between the Masada community and the Judean desert sect. See DEAD SEA SCROLLS.

Conspicuous remains of the Roman siege works are scattered around Masada and serve as a reminder of an outstanding chapter in the history of the Jewish people. Some scholars question, to varying degrees, the view that the Jewish resistance and mass suicide at Masada was an act of great heroism, but the story has had an extraordinary impact on the psyche of modern Israel. (See further Y. Yadin, *Masada: Herod's Fortress and the Zealots' Last Stand* [1966]; *Masada: The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965, Final Reports,* 6 vols. [1989-99]; N. Ben-Yehuda, *The Masada Myth: Collective Memory and Mythmaking in Israel* [1995]; J. F. Hall and J. W. Welch, *Masada and the World of the New Testament* [1997]; *NEAEHL,* 3:973-85.)

G. FOERSTER

**Masaloth** mas'uh-loth. KJV Apoc. form of MESALOTH (1 Macc. 9:2).

**Maschil** mas'kil. See MUSIC VI.A.

**Mash** mash (מֵשׁ *H5390* [not in NIV]). Son of ARAM and grandson of SHEM, listed in the Table of the NATIONS (Gen. 10:23 KJV and most versions). On the basis of the parallel passage (1 Chr. 1:17), as well as the SEPTUAGINT reading (*Mosoch*) in both passages, the NIV reads MESHECH. However, Meshech is the name of one of the sons of JAPHETH (Gen. 10:2), so many scholars believe that Mash is original in Gen. 10:23. The identification of Mash with a people group or a geographical location has eluded scholars. Various proposals have been made, however, including MESHA (v. 30, perhaps in ARABIA) and Mount Masius (Tur ʿAbdin, in N MESOPOTAMIA).

**Mashal** may'shuhl (מְשָׁל *H5443;* a common word with the same form, מָשָׁל *H5442,* means "saying, proverb"). Variant form of MISHAL (1 Chr. 6:74).

**Masiah** muh-s*i*'uh (Μασιας). Ancestor of a family of SOLOMON'S servants who returned from the EXILE with ZERUBBABEL (1 Esd. 5:34; KJV, "Masias"). The name is not found in the parallel passages (Ezra 2:57; Neh. 7:59).

**Masias** muh-si'uhs. KJV Apoc form of MASIAH.

**Maskil** mas'kil. See MUSIC VI.A.

**Masman.** KJV Apoc. form of MAASMAS (1 Esd. 8:43).

**mason.** This English term is used to render the participle of the Hebrew verb *gādar H1553* ("to build a wall") in two passages that refer to the skilled workers who repaired the TEMPLE (2 Ki. 12:12; 22:6). The noun *ḥārāš H3093* ("craftsman, artificer") can also be used with the same meaning in similar contexts (with *)eben H74,* "stone," 2 Sam. 5:11; 1 Chr. 22:15; with *qîr H7815,* "wall," 1 Chr. 14:1; by itself, 2 Chr. 24:12). Another term, *ḥōṣēb H2935* ("quarryman, stonecutter"), can also be rendered "mason" (Ezra 3:7).

In ancient times the best masons were from PHOENICIA (2 Sam. 5:11; 1 Chr. 14:1). DAVID and SOLOMON used foreign artisans from that country (2 Sam. 5:11; 1 Chr. 22:2). Palestine abounds in limestone of a quality suitable for building material. The greatest examples of the mason's skill were found in JERUSALEM, MEGIDDO, and SAMARIA; but it is possible that they were built by Phoenician workmen. In NT times the most magnificent building made of stone was HEROD'S temple. Herod erected many impressive public buildings in various parts of his kingdom, and even in cities outside his dominion.

The OT refers to cutting the STONES in the quarry (1 Ki. 5:17; 6:7), the hewing of wine vats (Isa. 5:2) and of tombs in the solid rock (Isa. 22:16), and the cutting and shaping of stones for various constructions (Exod. 20:25; 1 Ki. 5:17; Amos 5:11). Two kinds of hammers were used, a large one for quarrying (Jer. 23:29) and a smaller one for dressing the stones (1 Ki. 6:7). In the famous SILOAM inscription the workmen say that they used a small pickaxe for cutting out the water tunnel. A bronze relief from the time of SHALMANESER III shows Assyrian stonemasons carving the royal image with their implements. See also ARCHITECTURE.

J. L. KELSO

**Masorah** muh-sor'uh (postbiblical מָסוֹרָה or מַסּוֹרֶת, from מָסַר *H5034,* "to select," later "hand over, transmit"; cf. מָסֹרֶת *H5037,* "binding," later מַסּוֹרֶת, "tradition"). Also Masora and Massora(h). A systematic collection of textual notes made by medieval Hebrew scholars, called the *Masoretes.* In their production of biblical MSS, they would place a small circle (later called a *circellus*) above or between the words that required comment. Placed usually to the side on the margin, the comment might give statistical information on the word (e.g., that it appears nowhere else in the Hebrew Bible), or indicate that a different word should be read (often the equivalent of a textual variant; see KETIB). Other types of information were also included. These notes, given in highly abbreviated form, constitute the *Masorah parva* ("small"); in addition, lists providing fuller information make up the *Masorah magna* ("large").

In order to preserve accurately the traditional pronunciation, the Masoretes also developed a very sophisticated system for indicating vowels (the Hebrew ALPHABET originally had only consonants) and cantillation ("accents"). At least two major Masoretic schools, the Eastern or Babylonian and the Western or Palestinian (Tiberian), can be traced back to about A.D. 500. Prior to the discovery of the DEAD SEA SCROLLS, all available copies of the Hebrew Bible were those produced by the Masoretes. (See B. J. Roberts, *The Old Testament Text and Versions* [1951], ch. 3; I. Yeivin, *Introduction to the Tiberian Masorah* [1980]; P. H. Keley et al., *The Masorah of Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia: Introduction and Annotated Glossary* [1998].) See also TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (OT) VI.

**Masoretes, Masoretic Text.** See MASORAH; TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (OT) VI-VII.

**Masrekah** mas'ruh-kuh (מַשְׂרֵקָה *H5388,* possibly "red" or "vineyard"). The royal city of SAMLAH king of EDOM (Gen. 36:36; 1 Chr. 1:47). The site is unknown, though some have proposed Jebel el-Musraq, about 20 mi. SW of Ma(an in TRANSJORDAN.

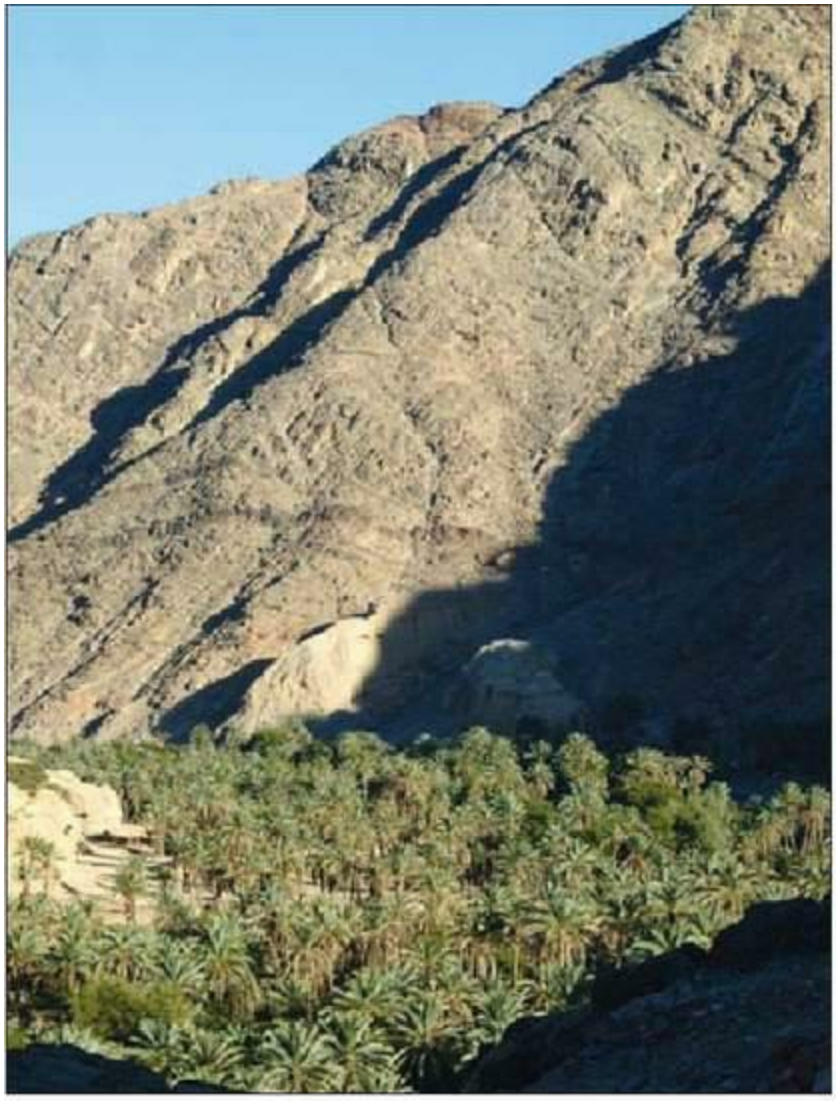
**Massa** mas'uh (מַשָּׂא *H5364,* "burden"). Son of ISHMAEL and grandson of ABRAHAM (Gen. 25:14; 1 Chr. 1:30). Descendants of Massa lived in NW ARABIA, as evidenced by several pieces of information. For example, TIGLATH-PILESER III makes reference to the inhabitants of Mas)a and of TEMA, among others, as paying tribute and as living towards the West (*ANET,* 283b). Tema, the name of Massa's brother, is identified with present Teima, NE of el- (Ula in NW Arabia. Another brother was DUMAH, and Isaiah wrote of a locality by that name in the vicinity of SEIR, S of the Dead Sea (Isa. 21:11-12).

ASHURBANIPAL contacted both "Nebaiati" and "Qedareans" after moving S of DAMASCUS (*ANET,* 298-300), these people doubtless being descendants of NEBAIOTH and KEDAR respectively, two other brothers (in Ps. 120:5, some scholars emend "Meshech" to "Massa" because it is in parallel with Kedar). In other words, Ishmael's descendants, including those of Massa, settled in NW Arabia, not far from the homeland of their ancestor. Some scholars further identify or otherwise associate Massa with MESHA, a place "in the east country" (prob. Arabia) that, along with SEPHAR, served to delimit the territory occupied by the sons of JOKTAN, a descendant of SHEM through EBER (Gen. 10:30).

According to the RSV (cf. also NJPS), both AGUR and LEMUEL were from Massa (Prov. 30:1; 31:1; the NIV and other versions understand *maśśā) H5363* here as a common noun, "burden, oracle"). If this rendering is correct, the two men may well have descended from the son of Ishmael; or perhaps they lived in an area associated with the Ishmaelite tribe. (See further P. K. Hitti, *The History of the Arabs* [1953], 43; J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* [1959], 45–46; 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. 193-96; I. Eph(al, *The Ancient Arabs: Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent, 9th-5th Centuries B.C.* [1982], 218-19 et passim.)

L. J. WOOD

**Massah** mas'uh (מַסָּה *H5001,* "testing, trial"; LXX, πειρασμός *G4280,* "trial, temptation"). An unidentified place near REPHIDIM in the Desert of SINAI where the Israelites quarreled and tested God because of their thirst. The place was also called



The location of Massah and Meribah may have been in the area of Wadi Feiran pictured here.

MERIBAH ("contention"). The two names occur in combination once (Exod. 17:7) and in parallelism twice (Deut. 33:8; Ps. 95:8). The name Massah is mentioned by itself in two other passages (Deut. 6:16; 9:22), and "the waters of Meribah" more frequently (Num. 20:13, 24; Pss. 81:7; 106:32; Meribah Kadesh in Num. 27:14; Deut. 32:51; Ezek. 47:19; 48:28).

Soon after leaving Egypt, the Israelites moved on from the Desert of Sin and camped at Rephidim (Exod. 17:1). Not finding drinking water there, they murmured against MOSES and were almost ready to stone him. At the command of the Lord, Moses went on before the people to the rock at HOREB, which he struck with his staff so that it brought forth water (vv. 2-6). Moses named the location "Testing and Contention" because of the Israelites' faultfinding and their putting the Lord to the test (v. 7).

The account in Num. 20:1-13 refers to an event in Israel's history some forty years later and in a different geographical location (KADESH BARNEA, in S Palestine). Many scholars regard this text as a different strand of tradition (of the same event) resulting from conflation of sources and conflicting literary purposes. It is better, however, to distinguish this Meribah from "Massah and Meribah." While the two incidents are indeed very similar, the differences are more significant. In the second episode, for example, the Lord commanded Moses to speak to the rock, but instead he struck the rock twice and as a consequence forfeited the right to enter the Promised Land (Deut. 32:51). (See G. W. Coats, *Rebellion in the Wilderness* [1968]; G. J. Wenham, *Numbers: An Introduction and*

*Commentary* [1980], 149-51; W. H. Propp, *Water in the Wilderness* [1987]; B. Levine, *Numbers 1-20,* AB 4 [1993], 490-91.)

S. WOUDSTRA

**massebah** mas'uh-buh. Sometimes *mazzebah*. A transliteration of Hebrew *maṣṣēbâ H5167,* "[cultic] stone" (Gen. 35:20 et al.), used especially by archaeologists with reference to a sacred PILLAR, that is, a stone monument set up as a memorial or as an object of worship.

**Massias** muh-s*i*'uhs. KJV Apoc. form of MAASEIAH (1 Esd. 9:22).

**Massorah, Massorete, Massoretic.** See MASORAH.

**master.** This English term, meaning "lord, owner," is used very frequently to translate a number of biblical words, especially Hebrew *)ādôn H123* (Gen. 18:12 et al.) and Greek *kyrios G3261* (Matt. 6:24 et al.). See LORD. Other relevant terms include Greek *despotēs G1305* (1 Tim. 6:1-2 et al.) and *epistatēs G2181* (only in Luke, e.g., Lk. 5:5). The KJV uses *master* also in the sense of TEACHER to render Greek *didaskalos* (Matt. 8:19 et al.).

**mastic tree.** A small evergreen (*Pistacia lentiscus*) of the cashew family, mentioned only in the APOCRYPHA (Sus. 54, Gk. *schinos*). It is the gum or resin that exudes from the trunk when cut that is called *mastic* or *mastich* by the trade. This gum is usually in the form of tear-like, whitish-yellow drops. A third-grade gum is used as varnish. This evergreen shrub can grow up to 20 ft. The flowers have no petals, and its small fruits are first red, then black.

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

**Mathanias** math'uh-n*i*'uhs. KJV Apoc. form of MATTANIAH (1 Esd. 9:31; NRSV, "Bescaspasmys").

**Mathusala** muh-th*oo*'suh-luh. KJV NT form of METHUSELAH.

**Matred** may'trid (מַטְרֵד *H4765,* possibly from a root meaning "to pursue, drive away"). Daughter of a certain Edomite named ME-ZAHAB (Gen. 36:39; 1 Chr. 1:50). Matrel's daughter, Mehetabel, married Hadad (Hadar), king of EDOM; see HADAD (PERSON) #3. The SEPTUAGINT in Genesis and the Syriac in both passages read "son" instead of "daughter"; because Matred is thought to be a male name, some scholars accept this reading.

**Matri** may'tr*i* (מַטְרִי *H4767,* lit., "Matrite," the gentilic form of an unattested name related to the noun *māṭār H4764* ["rain"] and possibly meaning "[born during] the rainy season"). Presumably, the head of a Benjamite family. When SAMUEL proceeded to choose a king for Israel, the lot fell on the tribe of BENJAMIN, then on "the Matrite family" (lit. rendering), and from within that clan, on SAUL (1 Sam. 10:21; KJV, "the family of Matri"; NRSV, "the family of the Matrites"; NIV, "Matri's clan"). Nothing more is known about Matri or his family.

**Matrite** may'trit. See MATRI.

**Mattan** mat'uhn (מַתָּן *H5509,* possibly short form of מַתַּנְיָהוּ *H5515,* "gift of Yahweh"; see MATTANIAH). (1) A priest (perhaps the chief priest) of BAAL during the rule of ATHALIAH. At the time of the overthrow of her reign, the Israelites under the leadership of JEHOIADA the priest destroyed the temple of Baal with its altars and idols, and they also killed Mattan "in front of the altars" (2 Ki. 11:18; 2 Chr. 23:17).

(2) Father of Shephatiah (Jer. 38:1); the latter was one of the officials who heard JEREMIAH preach and recommended that he be put to death (v. 4).

**Mattanah** mat'uh-nuh (מַתָּנָה *H5511;* a common word with the same form means "gift"). A camping place of the Israelites in TRANSJORDAN, near the end of their wilderness wanderings (Num. 21:18-19). As they traveled from the river ARNON into the territory of SIHON, king of the AMORITES, they came to BEER and then to Mattanah, which was near NAHALIEL (possibly a tributary of the Arnon). The location of Mattanah is unknown, although some think it may be the same as modern Khirbet el-Medeiyineh, 11 mi. NE of DIBON.

S. WOUDSTRA

**Mattaniah** mat'uh-n*i*'uh (מַתַּנְיָה *H5514* and מַתַּנְיָהוּ *H5515* [1 Chr. 25:4, 16; 2 Chr. 29:13], "gift of Yahweh"; cf. MATTENAI, MATTHAN, MATTITHIAH). A very common name, also attested (in full or abbreviated form) in various nonbiblical sources. (1) Son of HEMAN, DAVID'S seer (1 Chr. 25:4). He and his thirteen brothers were set apart "for the ministry of prophesying, accompanied by harps, lyres and cymbal" (v. 1). When lots were cast to determine the duties of the Levitical singers, he, along with his sons and relatives, received the ninth lot (v. 16).

(2) A Levite, descendant of ASAPH and ancestor of JAHAZIEL son of Zechariah; Jahaziel was apparently a prophet in the court of King JEHOSHAPHAT (2 Chr. 20:14).

(3) A Levite, descendant of Asaph, who served during the reign of HEZEKIAH in the work of consecrating the temple (2 Chr. 29:13).

(4) Son of JOSIAH and last king of Judah (2 Ki. 24:17). See ZEDEKIAH.

(5 – 8) The name of four postexilic Israelites who agreed to put away their foreign wives. They were respectively descendants of Elam (Ezra 10:26; 1 Esd. 9:27 [KJV, "Matthanias"]), Zattu (Ezra 10:27; called "Othoniah" in 1 Esd. 9:28 [KJV, "Othonias"]), Pahath-Moab (Ezra 10:30; called "Bescaspasmys" in 1 Esd. 9:31 [KJV, "Mathanias"]), and Bani (Ezra 10:37; possibly called "Mamitanemus" in 1 Esd. 9:34 [KJV, "Mamnitanaimus"; see also MACNADEBAI]). The correspondences between Ezra and 1 Esdras are uncertain (J. M. Myers provides the lists in parallel columns in *I and II Esdras,* AB 42 [1974], 101-4).

(9) Son of Mica and descendant of Asaph; he was one of the Levites who resettled in Jerusalem (1 Chr. 9:15). When the temple was restored, Mattaniah became "the director who led in thanksgiving and prayer" (Neh. 11:17; 12:8). He may be the same person listed among the "gatekeepers who guarded the storerooms at the gates" (12:25). One of Mattaniah's descendants, Uzzi son of Bani, became chief officer of the Levites (11:22).

(10) Son of Micaiah, descendant of Asaph, and ancestor of Zechariah; the latter was a Levite who played the trumpet in the procession when the walls of Jerusalem were rededicated (Neh. 12:35).

(11) Grandfather of a certain Hanan who assisted in the distribution of supplies for priests and Levites (Neh. 13:13).

**Mattatha** mat'uh-thuh (Ματτάθά *G3477,* from מַתַּתָּה, prob. short form of מַתַּתְיָהוּ *H5525,* "gift of Yahweh"; see MATTITHIAH). Son of NATHAN and grandson or descendant of DAVID (not mentioned in the OT); included in the GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Lk. 3:31).

**Mattathah** mat'uh-thuh. KJV form of MATTATTAH.

**Mattathiah** mat'-uh-th*i*'uh. See MATTATHIAS.

**Mattathias** mat'uh-th*i*'uhs (Ματταθίας *G3478,* from מַתַּתְיָהוּ *H5525,* "gift of Yahweh"; see MATTATTAH, MATTHIAS, MATTITHIAH). (1) One of the prominent men who stood near EZRA when the law was read at the great assembly (1 Esd. 9:43 KJV [NRSV, "Mattathiah"]; called MATTITHIAH in Neh. 8:4).

(2) The priestly father of the famous Maccabean line (see MACCABEE), whose five sons carried on the fight for law and liberty after the father's death (1 Macc. 2:1 et al.). He descended from the clan of JOARIB (prob. the same as JEHOIARIB, 1 Chr. 24:7). It was at MODEIN, W of Jerusalem, that the revolt against ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes began. Determined to eradicate Judaism, Antiochus abolished sacrifices, erected pagan altars, even one to ZEUS in the temple, and executed any who possessed the law. Mattathias defied the king, the climax coming when Greek officers under Apelles set up an altar at Modein, demanding sacrifice to heathen gods. Mattathias, refusing, killed the Jew who volunteered, and also the Greek officer, destroyed the altar, and fled to the hills with his followers. He conducted a guerrilla campaign, reversing his early refusal to fight on the Sabbath. At the end of one year (166 B.C.), he died (1 Macc. 2:14-70). In special Hanukkah prayers this patriot is remembered as the spearhead of the warfare for religious freedom.

(3) Son of Absalom; a commander of Maccabean forces warring against DEMETRIUS (1 Macc. 11:70). In the plain of HAZOR, his loyal support enabled Jonathan Maccabeus to convert threatened defeat into victory.

(4) The third (or youngest) son of Simon Maccabeus; with his father and brothers, he was murdered by his brother-in-law Ptolemy at JERICHO c. 134 B.C. (1 Macc. 16:14-16; cf. v. 2).

(5) One of three envoys from NICANOR, a general of Antiochus, regarding a treaty with Judas Maccabeus in 161 B.C. (2 Macc. 14:19).

(6-7) Two men included in Luke's GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST; one is identified as the son of Amos (Lk. 3:25), and the other one as the son of Semein (v. 26).

R. F. GRIBBLE

**Mattattah** mat'uh-tuh (מַתַּתָּה *H5523,* prob. short form of מַתַּתְיָהוּ *H5525,* "gift of Yahweh"; see MATTITHIAH). One of the descendants of Hashum who agreed to put away their foreign wives (Ezra 10:33 [KJV, "Mattathah"]; 1 Esd. 9:33 [KJV, "Matthias"]).

**Mattenai** mat'uh-ni (מַתְּנַי *H5513,* short form of מַתַּנְיָהוּ *H5515,* "gift of Yahweh"; see MATTANIAH). (1-2) The name of two Israelites who agreed to put away their foreign wives. One was a descendant of Hashum (Ezra 10:33; 1 Esd. 9:33 [KJV "Altaneus"]); the other one a descendant of Bani (Ezra 10:37; this name does not occur in 1 Esd. 9:34, unless it corresponds to *Mamnitanamos,* but see

MATTANIAH #8).

(3) Head of the priestly family of JOIARIB in the days of the high priest JOIAKIM (Neh. 12:19).

S. BARABAS

**Matthan** math'an (Ματθάν *G3474,* from מַתָּן *H5509,* possibly short form of מַתַּנְיָהוּ *H5515,* "gift of Yahweh"; see MATTAN, MATTANIAH). Son of Eleazar, father of Jacob, and grandfather of JOSEPH, included in Matthew's GENEALOGY OF JESUS (Matt. 1:15; cf. MATTHAT in Lk. 3:24).

**Matthanias** math'uh-n*i*'uhs. KJV Apoc. form of MATTANIAH (1 Esd. 9:27).

**Matthat** math'at (Μαθθάτ *G3415* [some MSS Ματθατ], from מַתַּת *H5522,* "gift," possibly short form of מַתִּתְיָהוּ *H5525,* "gift of Yahweh"; see MATTITHIAH). **(1)** Son of Levi, father of Heli, and grandfather of JOSEPH, included in Luke's GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Lk. 3:24). In Matthew's genealogy, Joseph's grandfather has the very similar name MATTHAN (Matt. 1:15), and many scholars have thought that both names refer to the same person, with various solutions (e.g., LEVIRATE marriage) offered to the problem that Joseph's father in Matthew is called Jacob, not Heli. Others argue that Matthan and Matthat are two different people. (See *ABD,* 4:617-18; D. L. Bock, *Luke,* BECNT, 2 vols. [1994-96], 1:918-23.)

(2) Son of a certain Levi, also mentioned in Luke's genealogy (Lk. 3:29).

**Matthelas** math'uh-luhs. KJV Apoc. variant form of MAASEIAH (1 Esd. 9:19).

**Matthew** math'yoo (Μαθθαῖος *G3414* [sometimes Ματθαῖος], prob. from מַתַּאי, short form of מַתִּתְיָהוּ *H5525,* "gift of Yahweh"; cf. T. Zahn, *Introduction to the New Testament,* 3 vols. [1909], 2:524, and see MATTITHIAH). A Jewish TAX COLLECTOR (publican) or revenue officer of CAPERNAUM, called to be a disciple of Jesus (Matt. 9:9; 10:3; Mk. 3:18; Lk. 6:15; Acts 1:13), identified with LEVI son of Alphaeus (Mk. 2:14; Lk. 5:27-29), and traditionally thought to be the author of the first gospel. See MATTHEW, GOSPEL OF, III.

Assuming Matthew wrote the first gospel, no doubt he gives his name as Matthew rather than Levi in order to point out that he was one of the Lord's apostles and at the same time to identify himself with his familiar name, since he was known as Matthew and not as Levi among the Christians. There is no indication that he wished to hide his identity as a tax collector (Matt. 10:3). There were many "converted sinners" like Matthew in the early church. The two separate names should cause no difficulty for Bible students, since double names were common among the Jews, even among Jesus' disciples (Simon PETER, THOMAS Didymus, and prob. BARTHOLOMEW Nathanael). There can be little doubt that Levi and Matthew are one and the same person. Possibly Levi changed his name to Matthew, which means "gift of Yahweh," when he became a member of Jesus' disciples. It is still a common practice for converts on the mission fields to assume new names at their baptism. Matthew's former occupation as a tax collector certainly aided him in keeping excellent records and writing a detailed orderly gospel.

Since all three of the Synoptic Gospels record the calling of Matthew-Levi, one can conclude that his calling to be one of Jesus' disciples was not only a great event in his life, but also a remarkable event in and for the early Christian church. Tax collectors or publicans were considered

the lowest state among the Jews together with thieves and harlots. Revenue officers became servants of the hated occupation government of Rome and also of the provincial government under such men as HEROD the Great. Both were known for high taxes, graft, extortion, and stern methods. Sometimes revenue men like Levi purchased the tax franchise for a district and collected revenue of all kinds at a high commission also. Besides, Matthew Levi was a Jew, and this made matters worse because he was considered a renegade and a turncoat by his people. That he should be called to be a member of the twelve disciples was an outstanding symbol of the Christian church in which all people were called to the kingdom by repentance and faith. Matthew makes a special point of quoting Jesus regarding this point (Matt. 21:28-32).

The first three Gospels also record faithfully the fact that immediately after his calling Matthew held a dinner for his tax collector friends and Jesus and his disciples. This was a high point in the new kingdom and the beginning of the missionary thrust of the early church. Levi knew what it meant to be an outcast from his people, and even though he had attempted to turn back, the way would be blocked. He knew the bitterness of separation from his people and the sordid life of the "underworld" in which he lived and operated. Thus, while all three synoptics record Jesus' statement after the dinner, "It is not the healthy who need a doctor, but the sick," only Matthew adds these significant words of Jesus to the Pharisees: "But go and learn what this means: 'I desire mercy, not sacrifice.' For I have not come to call the righteous, but sinners" (Matt. 9:12-13).

In this connection, it is also interesting that Luke alone records that it was Matthew's house and not Jesus' house in which the dinner was held (Lk. 5:29-32). This has led Bible students to conclude that Matthew, deep down, was a conscientious man with deep spiritual troubles and a spiritual concern for his sinful colleagues. He wanted to share the gospel of the kingdom and his wonderful experience with his fellowmen. The fact that he dropped everything readily and followed Jesus seems to indicate that he may have heard Jesus preach and possibly had witnessed some of his miracles.

The daring initiative Jesus took in calling a tax collector into the kingdom, along with many of his friends and followers, must have increased the sharp opposition of the PHARISEES. It is possible that Matthew, bearing the brunt of the Pharisaical criticism, also became one of their bitterest critics in return. His gospel contains some of the sharpest, most scathing rebukes of the Pharisees (Matt. 23:1-37). His gospel highlights Jesus' difficulties with them, their tempting wicked questions, and the manner in which he would "put them down." He records those parables of Jesus that defend the kingdom against the Pharisees and condemns them for their self-righteousness.

There have been attempts to identify Matthew's father ALPHAEUS with the father of James the less, but Matthew and James are never joined together in the list of the apostles, in contrast, for example, to James and John. Matthew's father was an unknown Alphaeus much as Matthew himself was unknown in the church. At least, after his calling he disappears from the scene and is not mentioned by the gospel writers except in the listing of the apostles.

It is still apparent that Matthew is known most of all in the church for writing the first gospel, which the church attributed to him from the 2nd cent. on. If so, this unlikely candidate becomes the author of one of the greatest books ever written. While later scholarship says there are other possible authors of the first gospel, there is no real reason why Matthew-Levi did not write it. His purpose in writing was to bring the Christ of the OT to his fellow countrymen, and show from OT witness that Jesus of Nazareth who called him from his tax collector's post was indeed the Messiah, the Savior of the world and king of the Jews. Reading of the gospel from this point of view becomes indeed a wonderful experience. The divine Word reaches out to all people, both Jew and Gentile. The early Jewish Christians who were driven from Palestine into surrounding countries certainly would want

reliable knowledge of Jesus Christ in a written text. Guided by the Holy Spirit, he furnished the church and the world with one of the most influential Christian documents the world has seen.

L. M. PETERSEN

**Matthew, Gospel of.** The first book of the NT.

1. Introduction
2. Title
3. Author
4. Structure and outline
5. Theme and theological purpose
6. Characteristics and special features
7. Matthew's use of the OT
8. Relation to Mark and Luke
9. Time and place of writing
10. Readers and destination
11. Language and text

**I. Introduction.** The Gospel according to Matthew has always occupied a position of highest esteem in the faith and life of the Christian church. Matthew heads the four GOSPELS and is the first book of the NT, forming a bridge between the Old and New Covenants, and it may be that the early Christians placed it in first position in the NT canon precisely because of the profound influence of its contents on the church and the world.

William Barclay writes, "When we turn to Matthew, we turn to the book which may well be called the most important single document of the Christian faith, for in it we have the fullest and the most systematic account of the life and the teachings of Jesus" (*The First Three Gospels* [1966], 197). The writings of the early church fathers reveal that it was the most frequently quoted and perhaps the most widely read gospel during the first two centuries of the church's history. After the Lord's death and resurrection, there was much interest in knowing who Jesus really was and what he said and did. In fact, many believe the gospel was written to fulfill this need. For this reason the gospel lessons or pericopes from Matthew to be read in the churches have been favored by the liturgies. More


The Lord's Prayer in Hebrew from the Pater Noster Church in Jerusalem. Matthew's version of the Lord's Prayer is the one most widely used in Christian literature.

lessons were chosen from Matthew's gospel than from any other.

It also has had much influence on literature, music, and the fine arts both in and out of the church. Matthew's formulations of favorite texts, such as the BEATITUDES, the LORD'S PRAYER, and the PASSION narrative have been widely used in Christian literature and in the church's preaching and teaching. J. S. Bach used Matthew's version of the Lord's suffering for his great oratorio known throughout the world as the *St. Matthew Passion.* The theology of Matthew, particularly the ethical content, has dominated the church's teaching perhaps even more than the theology of the Gospel of John. Another reason for its wide acceptance has been the apostolic authority associated with Matthew's name, an eyewitness and apostle of our Lord.

In the years both before and after the writing of the gospel, the church had great need for the authoritative Word of our Lord to instruct the faithful and to refute those who would divide the church. It also became popular because of the full and orderly way in which it describes events and records the pronouncements and teachings of the Lord. The unique combination of the Lord's life and teaching, and the theological theme of Jesus as the Messiah, became the final touchstone for its use and authority in the church. The first gospel became a favorite of the church because of its close relationship to the OT. Converts readily saw that it interprets the OT as a Christian book. Whether or not it was the first gospel committed to writing, its position in the NT testifies to its importance and

influence in the eyes of Christians through the years, particularly during the first two centuries. Furthermore, it was an ecumenical gospel, upholding both Jewish and Gentile Christianity. All things considered, the first gospel is perhaps the most powerful document ever written.

Matthew's gospel is still doing for the church what it has always done. Because it bridges the OT and NT, it is still basic to both church and the world for the understanding of the teachings of Jesus Christ and of historical Christianity. The amount of literature produced on this book during recent decades indicates that the gospel still commands the attention of the church and biblical scholars. Everyone welcomes new insights into its treasured message. The message contained in Matthew was certainly proclaimed in great detail by the NT prophets and apostles (Eph. 2:20; 3:5) long before it was written down, and those who would learn what was preached and taught during the apostolic era have generally turned to the first gospel.

To get behind all later formulations and systems of Christianity, Matthew merits the attention of Christians everywhere. In our time, with its social turbulence similar to what the early church experienced, the first gospel could restore broken bodies and spirits as in the days of Jesus and the apostles. When asked by a member of a Bible class which of the four Gospels one should read first for a thorough understanding of Christianity, a well-known preacher and Bible scholar recently said, "Naturally, one should read all four Gospels. Which one first? For many years I always pointed to Luke, but in our time I believe I would suggest that one read Matthew first and then the rest of the Gospels in the order listed in the Canon of the NT."

**II. Title.** The title of this gospel in most modern Bibles reads, "The Gospel according to St. Matthew." This wording is an exact translation of the title in many Greek MSS (*Euangelion kata Maththaion),* but the oldest Greek copies have the shortened form, "According to Matthew" (*Kata Maththaion*). Most scholars believe the original text had no title at all. When the early Christians wished to distinguish one gospel from another, they called the first gospel not the "Gospel of Matthew," as we often say, but "The Gospel *according* to Matthew," to distinguish it from the versions of Mark, Luke, and John. There is only one GOSPEL, but four versions or accounts of it, as even the earliest church fathers recognized (e.g., Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 3.11.8). The gospel is "God's Story" of salvation and life, the best news story the world has ever heard. The church fathers identified the four gospel writers with the four living beings or beasts named in Rev. 4:6-7 (cf. Ezek. 1:10)—the lion was Mark, the ox was Luke, the flying eagle was John, and the creature with the face of a man was Matthew. This symbolic identification is made in both Christian literature and art.

**III. Author.** All four of the canonical Gospels are anonymous. None of them begins with words like these, "Matthew, the apostle, to the Jewish Christians of Palestine," as PAUL introduces his apostolic letters (cf. Rom. 1:1–4), and in modern scholarship there has been a great deal of discussion regarding the author of this gospel.

From the earliest times the ancient church was clear, consistent, and unanimous in attributing the first gospel to the apostle MATTHEW. There is no evidence at all that any other author ever claimed to have written the book, nor was it ever attributed to anyone except Matthew. No doubt the early view of Matthean authorship grew out of the detail provided by this book that Jesus "saw a man named Matthew sitting at the tax collector's booth. 'Follow me,' he told him, and Matthew got up and followed him" (Matt. 9:9). The record of Matthew's call in all three synoptics strengthened the view. Scholars believe that the identification became more positive from the fact that Mark and Luke call him by the name of LEVI son of Alphaeus (Mk. 2:14; Lk. 5:27, 29).

The identification was aided by the fact that Jesus attended a dinner in Levi's home and explained the gospel to the Pharisees with the words, "It is not the healthy who need a doctor, but the sick. I have not come to call the righteous, but sinners" (Mk. 2:17; cf. Lk. 5:31-32). The clincher was found in Matt. 10:3, where "Matthew the tax collector" is named among the twelve apostles (cf. Mk. 3:18; Lk. 6:15; Acts 1:13). It is interesting that after his name appears in the lists of the apostles, Matthew disappears from the history of the church as recorded in the NT. Incidents attributed to him later probably are legendary. He is known mainly for his writing of the first gospel—otherwise he would be almost entirely unknown.

Both of Matthew's names are Hebrew. Could it be that he was the son of a man named Levi (thus Matthew ben Levi) and that he was a Levite? Perhaps, as in PETER'S case, Jesus gave him the name Matthew as a Christian-Jewish name, because it means "gift of Yahweh." He certainly was a Jew: the gospel that bears his name is Jewish in character and was written mainly for Jewish Christians. If so, he was a chosen vessel, "made to order" for his audience. Luke calls him Levi (Lk. 5:27), and Mark adds "the son of Alphaeus" (Mk. 2:14). It has been pointed out that Matthew-Levi's call was not only daring on the part of Jesus (there was an inherent hatred of tax collectors among the Jews), but also an event in the life of the new kingdom, since it was a symbol of the power of God's grace and Jesus' love for sinners. Only God could change a tax collector named Levi into a Christian apostle named Matthew.

TAX COLLECTORS, or *publicani,* were both numerous and dishonest. Moreover, they were in the employ of the hated foreign government that dominated the land and sent taxes collected from both poor and rich alike to far-away ROME. Tax collectors collaborated with the enemy; in fact, they became the *real* enemy because the people did not actually see the government of HEROD and Rome. They saw more often the tax collector. Rome did not collect her own taxes. The system was to farm out the taxes and let the collector collect as much over the rate as he could. Rome was satisfied with her quota—the tax collector could keep the balance as a fat commission. A man without a conscience could easily become rich and exploit beyond measure under such a system. Besides, there were many kinds of taxes, and those collected in the line of custom or duty on foreign goods brought into or through the country were the most lucrative. People were not informed of the customs rates and the


View from the Mount of Beatitudes toward the tree-covered hill of Gennesaret (looking W, with the Plain of Gennesaret, Arbel, and the Horns of Hattin in the background). Jesus called Matthew to ministry from his tax collection station, which may have been located on this hill.

collector could collect as much as he could get from each caravan or individual.

No doubt this is the type of tax collecting in which Matthew-Levi was involved in CAPERNAUM of GALILEE. It is not surprising, therefore, that tax collectors among the Jews—and particularly Jews who collected from their own countrymen—were numbered with harlots, thieves, and murderers, not only in the NT but in secular writers as well (Matt. 21:31, 32; Mk. 2:15, 16; Lk. 5:30; Cicero, *De officiis* 1.42). That such people came into the kingdom demonstrated well the power of the gospel to reconcile people to God and to each other. For such a converted Jewish tax collector to write his book to Jews and Gentiles alike would give the gospel a special appeal and acceptance to "sinners." In fact, it is more truthful to state that *only* such a person could write a gospel like that of Matthew-Levi. And since he was also an apostle of the Lord, it was natural for the early church to attribute it to Matthew the publican; the church would simply "know" that he wrote it.

This is a most plausible explanation of the authorship of the first gospel, since the evidence from the NT itself for Matthean authorship is somewhat less than direct. This is, no doubt, the reason the patristic evidence, especially after the first two centuries of the Christian Era, persists. ORIGEN states that "the first gospel was written by Matthew, who was once a tax collector, but who was afterwards an apostle of Jesus Christ, and it was prepared for the converts from Judaism, and published in the Hebrew tongue" (Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* 6.14.5). IRENAEUS writes: "Matthew also published a book of the gospel among the Hebrews, in their own dialect, while Peter and Paul were preaching the gospel in Rome and founding the church" (*Against Heresies* 3.1.1). EUSEBIUS reports a similar view: "Matthew, who preached earlier to the Hebrews, committed his gospel to writing in his native tongue, and so compensated by his writing for the loss of his presence" (*Eccl. Hist.* 3.24.5). Later JEROME speaks in the same vein in his *Prologue to the Gospels:* "Matthew, the tax collector with the cognomen Levi, is the first of all to have published a gospel in Judea in the Hebrew tongue. It was produced for the sake of those Jews who had believed in Jesus and who were serving the true Gospel at a time when the shadow of the Law had not disappeared." Jerome also writes: "Matthew, who is also called Levi, and who was changed from a tax collector into an apostle, was the first in Judea to compose a gospel of Christ in Hebrew for those of the circumcised who believed. But who later translated it into Greek is not known" (*Illus. Men* 36).

Most scholars believe, however, that the traditional view of Matthean authorship rests squarely upon a sort of double quotation from Eusebius in his famous *Ecclesiastical History* (3.39.16), who quotes PAPIAS as sayings: "Matthew compiled [or arranged] the *logia* [oracles] in the Hebrew language, and each one interpreted them [or translated them] as best he could." The gospel was entitled "According to Matthew," they say, because it contains the translation of his collection of the sayings of Jesus, the LOGIA. By this term Papias did not mean, it is believed, a life of Christ or even a gospel, but a complete record of the sayings of Jesus. Some scholars have identified that record as Q (from German *Quelle,* "source"), a symbol used to refer to an otherwise unknown document thought to be the source of material common to Matthew and Luke (but not found in Mark).

Many believe now, however, that such an identification is highly improbable, since the word *logion G3359* (pl. *logia*) had been a technical term in Greek from early times to designate a divine oracle or an inspired utterance, like the oracles at Delphi (the word is to be distinguished from *logoi,* pl. of *logos G3364,* "word"). Other scholars, like E. J. Goodspeed, believe that the term *oracles* as used in some NT passages (Rom. 3:2; Heb. 5:12; 1 Pet. 4:11) refers not to a set of OT passages or quotations about the Messiah compiled by Matthew, or prophecies that Christ fulfilled, but to an early Hebrew gospel containing both the words and deeds of Jesus which Matthew had written down from

the fixed oral tradition, either in Jerusalem or Antioch. It was assumed that Matthew, being an apostle and one interested in Jesus' words and deeds, must have been the first evangelist to write.

These assertions were expanded into a theory that Matthew wrote the first gospel but that he wrote it in a short form in Hebrew or Aramaic. For these reasons modern scholarship has for the most part abandoned the traditional Matthean authorship and believe the first gospel was ascribed to Matthew only because he was the author of one of its sources and not the author of the entire gospel itself. These suggestions are thought to explain why the first gospel came to bear Matthew's name.

While the view that Matthew originally wrote a gospel to the Hebrews in the Hebrew language, as scholars have deduced from the words of Papias, may still be acceptable to some, this view also has been repudiated by most modern scholars. Even older conservative scholars had their doubts about this theory. They said it would be better to believe that Matthew wrote a gospel in Hebrew and another in Greek. The "translation by inspiration" theory also has little acceptance today. The gospel tradition must have circulated in the early church in ARAMAIC, but the written Gospels we know are Greek books. Advocates of the Aramaic gospel theory were compelled to develop a complicated hypothesis for which there is no real evidence in or outside the gospels themselves.

If Hebrew gospels or written information about the life and words of Jesus were in existence in the first days of the church, and if Paul's Greek mission churches quickly outnumbered the Aramaic churches, any Hebrew originals may have disappeared early. W. G. Kümmel writes: "The oft-repeated thesis that Matthew was the author of a main source of Mt (the 'Logion source' or an Aramaic Mt) and that accordingly the whole was named for the part…is a completely groundless assumption. We must concede that the report that Mt was written by Matthew 'in the Hebrew language' is utterly false, however it may have arisen" (*Introduction to the New Testament,* rev. ed. [1973], 120-21). Most NT scholars today believe that the internal evidence of all four Gospels indicates that they were composed in Greek, although some of the sources, written or oral, were Aramaic.

The interpretive method known as FORM CRITICISM also has been employed to ascertain the author and explain the nature of the first gospel. Following G. A. Kilpatrick's view (*Origins of the Gospel according to St. Matthew* [1950]) that the first gospel is a product of the Christian community and that the author is really an editor, Krister Stendahl (*The School of St. Matthew* [1954]) developed a theory that the writer or editor of the first gospel was a Christian rabbi who was interested in creating a manual for catechetical teaching in the church. The rabbi was not working alone; an entire school of scribes and teachers was at work in the church of Matthew, a school that was the counterpart of the elders of Judaism. Not an individual, nor the community, but a group is the author. Is not the gospel characterized by a teacher addressed as "Rabbi" by a group of disciples around him? The purpose of the Matthew school was to write a polemic to convert the unbeliever to the validity of Jesus as the Messiah. The structure of the gospel into ordered sections of discourses and narratives indicates that the school attempted to create a manual or textbook for teaching and administration in the church. The school is said to have influenced not only the shape, but also the actual materials of the gospel itself. While this theory throws much interesting light on the first gospel, it still results in an unknown author, and offers no more valid explanation of the character and purpose of the gospel than other views.

NT studies and criticism during the past two centuries, particularly in synoptic gospel studies, should be much appreciated and should not be denigrated in any manner, for much light has been thrown upon the NT. But a penetrating evaluation of all the theories, hypotheses, and conclusions, sometimes offered without solid evidence, indicates that the traditional view of Matthean authorship

of the first gospel should not be entirely excluded. The following considerations might be offered.

(a) The quotations from the church fathers relative to the authorship of Matthew may be used on both sides of the question. It is possible that Matthew may have written a gospel in Hebrew of some type for Jewish Christians and converts, and that later he wrote such a gospel in Greek, the gospel that bears his name in the canon. At least, he could have compiled a group of Aramaic sayings or OT prophecies that were applied to our Lord for instructing Jewish Christians. Scholars believe that if he wrote a Greek gospel (the one we have) then he could have used Mark and through Mark included elements of Peter's gospel, particularly in the Antioch area, which would have drawn the Hebrew and Greek elements of the church closer together. This aspect would coincide with one of the purposes of Matthew's gospel.

(b) It must be admitted, however, that no fragment of an Aramaic Matthew has ever been found and that a Greek composition is more plausible than a Greek translation. Matthew's gospel does not give evidence of being a translation, which is one of the weak evidences for the Aramaic theory. The discussion of Papias's statement (preserved by Eusebius writing in the 4th cent.) should not overshadow the 2nd-cent. comment of Irenaeus: "Matthew also issued a written gospel among the Hebrews in their own language, while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome and laying the foundation of the church" (*Against Heresies* 3.1.1). It seems from this statement that Matthew was considered the author, at least, of a gospel for the Jewish-speaking Christians, and that the appearance of a Greek Matthew would be readily accepted, although one must admit this is in the area of conjecture. But there is strong historical tradition that Matthew actually wrote gospel material.

(c) It is not incredible that Matthew in writing a Greek gospel would use a gospel like Mark. Embodying the Petrine material from Rome would lend itself well to one of his purposes of drawing the Hebrew and Gentile churches together. One must face openly, however, the extreme doubts of some modern scholars (doubts that have caused them to forsake the Matthean authorship) that an eyewitness of the Lord's words and life would lean heavily upon a nonapostolic person like Mark. See MARK, GOSPEL OF.

(d) One must account for the unanimous early tradition that speaks for the Matthean authorship of the first gospel. Matthew certainly had something to do directly with the gospel that carries his name. While it may be true that in ancient times books and documents sometimes were connected with famous names to gain for them recognition and authority, we must remember that Matthew was not one of the great figures of the early church. Hardly anything is known of him. He occupies little space in NT history. If he did not write the first gospel, it is most difficult to explain his connection with the gospel to which his name is attached.

One might ask why Matthew is the only one of the synoptics who is denied authorship. The title *Kata Maththaion* is very old, perhaps as early as A.D. 125, and should imply authorship. Scholars may come to the general conclusion some day that the early church ascribed the first gospel to Matthew not because he was the source of one of its sources, but because he actually wrote it. It should be remembered that many theories which explain the origin of the gospels were brought forth not to ascertain authorship but to account for their similarities and dissimilarities.

(e) Although it may not be considered the strongest argument for authorship, the suggestion of E. J. Goodspeed, noted NT scholar, is worthy of note. He believed that Matthew's occupation as a tax collector highly qualified him to be the official recorder of the works and words of Jesus and that this is the practical reason Jesus called him to be a disciple. Here was a man used to keeping books and records day after day. The entire contents of the gospel bear the marks of a tax collector. The tax collector, it is said, is one man who wrote everything down. "There was doubtless one special thing

that Matthew did bring with him. To the rest of the disciples, to the men who worked on the fishing-boats, a pen and a book would be strange and unfamiliar things; but Matthew's work would make him familiar with the act of writing and recording. He left all, but he brought with him a talent that one day in some way he would use for his new Master" (Barclay, *First Three Gospels,* 208). A man like Matthew could hardly keep from writing things down, completely and accurately. Moreover, the character of his gospel reveals the background and thinking of a tax collector. The story of the unforgiving debtor (Matt. 18:23-35) deals in millions of dollars. Throwing a small debtor into prison for a few hundred dollars is part of the vocabulary of a publican.

(f) If the apostle Matthew, one of the Twelve, is not the author of our canonical Matthew, then the author is unknown to us. Two questions in this regard must be faced. How did it happen that the real author was forgotten so soon? And how did Matthew become known as the author? If the tradition that attributes the gospel to Matthew cannot be fully explained or accepted, the alternate author is just as difficult to determine. While Matt. 13:52 ("Therefore every teacher of the law who has been instructed about the kingdom of heaven is like the owner of a house who brings out of his storeroom new treasures as well as old") might be a veiled hint of a single author who was a learned rabbi or scribe, his identity is still unknown. An unknown author of the first gospel may not disturb faithful Christians as long as such a proposal does not obviate the inspiration and authority of the gospel, but there is no reason why an eyewitness and an apostle could not have written the Gospel according to Matthew.

**IV. Structure and outline.** An examination of the outline and structure of the Gospel of Matthew reveals that it has been both orderly and artistically arranged. Although he has certain theological and didactic aims, Matthew employs the same general historical and chronological framework as Mark and Luke, especially Mark. Yet he marshals his material in a topical way rather than as an exact day-by-day record. In the first gospel we do not look for an exact chronology of events; rather, the events of the Lord's life are written in such an order as to teach certain lessons. Matthew was an evangelist rather than a historian. He always had the church in mind. A rather deliberate artistic arrangement of the material in groups or units of three, five, and seven, is discernible, however. Some scholars, like Goodspeed, believe the gospel is arranged according to the pattern of many ancient Jewish works, for example, the five "books" or main divisions of the PENTATEUCH, the PSALMS, and the MEGILLOTH.

In Matthew each of the five "books" contains a narrative section (Jesus ministering), followed by a "lesson" section (Jesus teaching). Some have observed that Matthew was attempting to create a "New Testament Pentateuch" by this schematic arrangement. An outline of the fivefold narrative-discourse arrangement (alternate "deeds" and "words" sections) may be constructed as follows:

Introduction: Infancy stories (Matt. 1-2)

1. Early ministry of Jesus (chs. 3-7)
    1. Narrative: Galilean ministry (chs. 3-4)
    2. Discourse: Sermon on the Mount (chs. 5-7)
2. Ministry of healing: Discipleship (chs. 8-10)
    1. Narrative: Healing ministry (8:1—9:34)
    2. Discourse: Mission of the disciples (9:35—10:42)
3. Second ministry in Galilee (11:1—13:52)
    1. Narrative: Traveling and healing (chs. 11-12)

    2. Discourse: Teaching in parables (13:1-52)
4. Mission and miracles (13:53—18:35)
    1. Narrative: Life of the church (13:53—17:27)
    2. Discourse: Church discipline (18:1-35)
5. Ministry in Judea (chs. 19-25)
    1. Narrative: Teaching and healing (chs. 19-22)
    2. Discourse: Woes on Pharisees and eschatology (chs. 23-25)

Conclusion: Passion and resurrection (chs. 26-28)

The idea is that as the five books of the Pentateuch contain the laws for the OT people, so the five discourses lay down the ethics that are to guide the life of the Christian. Each one of the divisions is concluded by a repeated formula: "When Jesus had finished these sayings" (Matt. 7:28; 11:1; 13:53; 19:1; 26:1). Some believe these sections were meant to be read in the Christian meetings of worship. The formula might be understood: "Here ends the first, second, third, fourth, and fifth book of the teachings of Jesus the Messiah."

In attempting such a simplified division of the first gospel, however, it should be remembered that in certain instances the material is only generally divided according to this scheme; sharp, rigid sections are not to be expected. The arrangement is neither superficial nor forced but remains more or less topical. For example, some of Jesus' shorter discourses are woven into the narrative sections. It seems strange also to designate the infancy narrative as mere prologue and the important passion, death, and resurrection section as conclusion or epilogue. It is necessary to point out that the first gospel itself says nothing directly about this arrangement. The Markan sequence and geographical framework seem to be the basis of the gospel.

For facility in study and even memorization, as a church manual for discipleship, Matthew seems to have a penchant for grouping his materials also into threes and sevens. The miracles of Matt. 8-9 are divided into groups of three, while ch. 13 has seven parables. And the genealogy that heads the gospel has the double division of three fourteens. No doubt such divisions were to aid the memory. Since the early Christians did not possess books as we know them, things had to be committed to memory if one was to have a "copy" of them. Other examples are easily seen: There are three main events in Jesus' childhood (ch. 2); three temptations (4:1-11); seven strophes (two more than Luke) in the Lord's Prayer (6:9-15); three prohibitions (6:19—7:6); three commands (7:7-20); three miracles of healing (8:1-15); three prayers in Gethsemane (26:39-44); three denials of Peter (26:69-75); seven woes (ch. 23); three questions by Pilate (27:11-17); seven demons (12:45); seven loaves and baskets (15:34, 37); forgiving seven times and seventy times seven (18:22); seven brothers (22:25). It has been said that the gospel's appeal lay not in its narrative or literary power, but in its practical ability to shape the life of the church. It is a gospel that is easy to remember and to use for reference. The arithmetical arrangement seems too prominent to be overlooked.

The gospel also has been divided into three major parts around which the topical materials may be gathered. In this outline, as has been pointed out above, the infancy narratives and the death and resurrection form the prologue and the epilogue:

Prologue: Infancy narratives (chs. 1-2)
First major part: Jesus in Galilee (4:12—13:58)
Second major part: Jesus the Messiah (chs. 14-20)
Third major part: Jesus in Jerusalem (chs. 21-25)
Epilogue: Death and resurrection (chs. 26-28)

Others see in the design of Matthew a double outline or line of thought that can be detected in the formula "from that time on Jesus began to…" The first part of the double outline is primarily biographical, similar to that found in Mark and Luke, with two main points of departure. Point one: "From that time Jesus began to preach" (Matt. 4:17), which activity led to his great preaching ministry and brought him into prominence. Point two: "From that time on Jesus began to explain to his

disciples that he must go to Jerusalem" (16:21), which section shows his decline in public favor and his ultimate death on the cross. It seems that the author wishes to emphasize these two poles of Jesus' life and works, and Jesus' entire life is to be conceived as having one divine purpose.

An acceptable and usable outline that takes into consideration a dominant theme of Matthew, that of messianic fulfillment (see below on theological purpose) is the following:

A. Introduction (1:1—4:16). Genealogy. Seven fulfillments of prophecy.

B. First Group of messianic deeds and words. The annunciation of the kingdom and the call to repentance (4:17—7:29).

C. Second group of messianic deeds and words (8:1—11:1). The contradicted Messiah seeks the lost sheep of the house of Israel.

D. Third group of messianic deeds and words (11:2—13:53). The contradicted Messiah conceals the kingdom from those who have rejected it and further reveals it to those who have accepted it (cf. 13:12).

E. Fourth group of messianic deeds and words (13:54—19:1). Toward the new messianic people of God, the church: the Messiah separates his disciples from the mass of old Israel and deepens his communion with his own.

F. Fifth group of messianic deeds and words (19:2—26:1). The Messiah gives his disciples a sure and sober hope.

G. Conclusion (26:2—28:20). The passion, death, and resurrection of the Messiah. The risen Lord in the perfection of his power: the universal commission to the disciples (M. H. Franzmann, *The Word of the Lord Grows* [1956], 175).

A general outline of the subject matter of Matthew's gospel, without specific reference to any schematic structure, is as follows:

1. The infancy stories (1:2—2:23)
    1. The genealogy (1:1-17)
    2. Birth of Jesus (1:18-25)
    3. Visit of Magi (2:1-12)
    4. Flight to Egypt (2:13-23)
2. The ministry of John the Baptist (3:1—4:11)
    1. The preaching of John the Baptist (3:1-12)
    2. The baptism of Jesus (3:13-17)
    3. The temptation of Jesus (4:1-11)
3. The ministry in Galilee (4:12-25)
    1. Early ministry of Jesus (4:12-17)
    2. Jesus calls his first disciples (4:18-22)
    3. Jesus preaches in Galilee (4:23-25)
4. Teaching: The Sermon on the Mount (5:1—7:29)
    1. The Beatitudes (5:3-12)
    2. Christians are salt and light (5:13-16)
    3. Jesus teaches a new law (5:17-48)
    4. Jesus the teacher of ethics (6:1—7:27)
    5. Jesus and his hearers (7:28-29)

5. Miracles in Galilee (8:1—9:8)
    1. Miracles of healing: leper, slave (8:1-17)
    2. Jesus teaches his disciples (8:18-22)
    3. Jesus stills the storm (8:23-27)
    4. Healing miracles: demoniac, paralytic (8:28—9:8)
6. Various incidents (9:9-34)
    1. The calling of Matthew (9:9-13)
    2. Jesus teaches about fasting (9:14-17)
    3. More miracles of healing (9:18-34)
7. Jesus' great mission discourse (9:35—10:42)
    1. Jesus' love for people (9:35-38)
    2. Instructions to the disciples (10:1-15)
    3. Predictions of the future (10:16-25)
    4. Jesus admonishes the disciples to be fearless (10:26-33)
    5. Difficulties and rewards (10:34-42)
8. Traveling and teaching in Galilee (11:1—12:50)
    1. Jesus tours Galilee (11:1)
    2. The preaching of John the Baptist (11:2-15)
    3. Jesus denounces the Galilean cities (11:16-24)
    4. Jesus' blessing on the troubled (11:25-30)
    5. Teaching and healing in the synagogue (12:1-21)
    6. Jesus and the Pharisees (12:22-45)
    7. Jesus' spiritual family (12:46-50)
9. Teaching the kingdom through parables (13:1-52)
    1. The seed and the soils (13:1-9)
    2. The purpose and interpretation of parables (13:10-23)
    3. Parable of the tares (13:24-30)
    4. The mustard seed and the leaven (13:31-35)
    5. Interpretation of the tares (13:36-43)
    6. Parables of the treasure, pearl, and net (13:44-51)
    7. The role of the scribe in the kingdom (13:52)
10. Confession of Christ as the Messiah (13:53—17:27)
    1. Jesus' difficulties in Nazareth (13:53-58)
    2. The murder of John the Baptist (14:1-12)
    3. Various miracles and healings (14:13-36)
    4. Discussions with the Scribes and Pharisees (15:1-20)
    5. Jesus performs more miracles in Galilee (15:21-39)
    6. The Pharisees ask for a sign (16:1-4)
    7. Parable of the leaven (16:5-12)
    8. Peter's confession of the Christ (16:13-20)
    9. Jesus predicts his suffering and death (16:21-28)
    10. The transfiguration (17:1-13)
    11. Healing of the epileptic (17:14-21)
    12. Discussions of the passion (17:22-27)
11. Jesus' teaching on various subjects (18:1-35)

1. Status in the kingdom (18:1-5)
2. The giving of offense (18:6-10)
3. Parable of the lost sheep (18:11-14)
4. Admonition on reconciliation (18:15-22)
5. Parable of the wicked servant (18:23-35)

12. Jesus' Judean ministry (19:1—22:46)
    1. Jesus' ministry in Perea (19:1-2)
    2. Discussions of marriage and divorce (19:3-12)
    3. Jesus blesses little children (19:13-15)
    4. Jesus and the rich young man (19:16-22)
    5. Jesus' discussion of riches and rewards (19:23-30)
    6. Parable of the workers in the vineyard (20:1-16)
    7. Jesus again foretells the passion (20:17-19)
    8. The petition of Zebedee's wife for her two sons (20:20-28)
    9. Healing of the two blind men (20:29-34)
    10. Jesus enters Jerusalem (21:1-11)
    11. Jesus cleans the Temple (21:12-17)
    12. Jesus curses the fig tree (21:18-22)
    13. Discussions in the Temple court (21:23—22:46)
13. Jesus' teaching on the last things (23:1—25:46)
    1. Woes against the Pharisees (23:1-36)
    2. Jesus mourns over Jerusalem (23:37-39)
    3. Jesus' teaching on the end of the world (24:1—25:46)
14. Suffering, death, and resurrection (26:1—28:20)
    1. The beginnings of the passion (26:1-19)
    2. Prediction of the betrayal by Judas (26:20-25)
    3. The Lord's Supper (26:26-29)
    4. Jesus predicts the denial of Peter (26:30-35)
    5. Jesus prays in Gethsemane (26:36-46)
    6. Jesus' arrest, trial, and crucifixion (26:47—27:56)
    7. The burial of Jesus (27:57-66)
    8. Jesus' resurrection and appearance to the disciples (28:1-17)
    9. The Great Commission (28:18-20)

**V. Theme and theological purpose.** The theme of the first gospel is stated in the lead sentence of the book, "A record [*lit.*, book] of the genealogy of Jesus Christ the son of David, the son of Abraham" (Matt. 1:1). One is reminded of the book of Genesis, which is divided into sections by the use of a similar phrase, "[the book of] the generations of" (KJV Gen. 2:4; 5:1; 6:9; et al.). In the OT the phrase marks a new stage in the development of the promises of the MESSIAH, carried on until DAVID, where the line ends. Matthew begins his genealogy at this point and shows in detail how Jesus of Nazareth fulfills the OT prophecies. In this manner Matthew imitates the structure of the OT, and perhaps in more than one way provides a definite bridge between the prophets and the NT fulfillment. (See GENEALOGY and GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST.)

All things considered, this is the dominant theme of the gospel, namely, the fulfillment of OT prophecy, and this forms at the same time Matthew's main theological purpose. The purpose is

indicated by the genealogy itself; Matthew begins the line with ABRAHAM to show that Jesus is a true Jew while Luke traces him back to ADAM as the true SON OF MAN (Lk. 3:38). If Jesus' lineage can be traced back to Abraham through David, then he is the Messiah, the divine SON OF GOD (Matt. 22:42). If not, theologically speaking, Jesus could not be the One who died and rose again and be the "Sent One."

The first gospel testifies that God is the Lord of all history and salvation and that Jesus Christ is his Son. The works and words of Yahweh are so closely related in both the OT and the NT that God's great works are described simply as the action of his Word (the LOGOS), his only Son. Nowhere is this theme more clearly illustrated than in the Gospel according to Matthew, the gospel of fulfillment. God's promise in the COVENANT of the Messiah and Savior in the OT is fulfilled in the words and deeds of Jesus Christ in the NT. An outstanding example is Jesus before the high priest: "But Jesus remained silent. The high priest said to him, 'I charge you under oath by the living God: Tell us if you are the Christ, the Son of God.' 'Yes, it is as you say,' Jesus replied. 'But I say to all of you: In the future you will see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of the Mighty One and coming on the clouds of heaven'" (Matt. 26:63-64).

To illustrate his theme, Matthew literally crowds his gospel with the entire Christological and messianic aspects of the OT until he has quoted almost every book in the OT—over fifty quotations in all not counting many echoes and allusions. His OT polemic is not limited to a few scattered references but is by far the most complete collection of passages bearing on the theme "Christ in the Old Testament" given by any NT writer. He quotes chiefly Isaiah, the messianic and evangelical


This picture of the region near Bethlehem reminds us that Matthew frequently quotes the OT (e.g., Mic. 5:2) to show that Jesus fulfilled the predictions associated with the coming Messiah.

prophet, and the Psalms, but his quotes are representative of the entire OT in the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms. One-fifth of his quotations are from Isaiah. Perhaps no other OT book influenced Matthew as Isaiah did. A study of the use of the OT in Matthew gives some credence to the belief of those who think that the statement of Papias about the Logia of Matthew refers to a collection of OT quotations on Christ the Messiah.

After his famous genealogy, he launches into the lowly birth of the Suffering Servant, quoting Isaiah in fulfillment: "All this took place to fulfill what the Lord had said through the prophet: 'The

virgin will be with child and will give birth to a son, and they will call him Immanuel'" (Matt. 1:22-23). After that, prophet after prophet and book after book is quoted by Matthew to illustrate that Jesus is the Messiah foretold by the OT Word. The glory of the Messiah, the ministry of the Messiah, the crucifixion of the Messiah, the resurrection of the Messiah, and the exaltation of the Messiah all receive due attention in Matthew so that his purpose is unmistakable. The Son of Man has come for both salvation and judgment, and in him the present is the substance of the past and the future. No book in the NT sets forth the person of Jesus, his life, and his teaching so clearly as the fulfillment of the Law and the Prophets in Matthew. Some eleven times in the gospel he introduces prophecy with the impressive formula "to fulfill what was spoken through the prophet," the cumulative effect of which is remarkable.

In all this prophecy and fulfillment, the Word does not once lose its character of history. Christianity is portrayed as a historical religion. Events are recorded as happening in the way they did because God had willed that it should be so. Even isolated events, the seemingly unexplained, happened "according to the Scriptures." Thus the Word has a history, being the culmination of God's previous promises and mighty acts. It is history because a real Man comes into history to deal with real people in time and deals with their predicament of sin; it creates history in that the Word is strong and mighty, still fulfilling God's will on earth.

Matthew's gospel also represents a full expansion of the apostolic KERYGMA (proclamation). In keeping with the view that Matthew used as source material the oral Aramaic tradition, his gospel indicates that he followed the outline of this oral preaching. The first generation of Christians, between Jesus' resurrection and the writing of the Gospels, had no complete written documents about Jesus; the only Scripture they had was the OT. The message that is indicated in the speeches of Peter (Acts 3:11-26; 10:36-43) and in certain sections of Paul's epistles (1 Cor. 15:3-7) followed an outline something like this:

1. God's promises in the OT have been fulfilled.
2. The long-awaited Messiah, born of David's line, is here with the kingdom.
3. He is Jesus of Nazareth.
4. In his ministry on earth, he went about preaching and doing good through mighty works of healing and power.
5. He was crucified according to the promise and will of God the Father.
6. He was raised from the dead and exalted at God's right hand.
7. He will come again in glory to judge the living and the dead.
8. Therefore, all should listen to his message, repent, and be baptized for the forgiveness of their sins.

This *kerygma* or "message" was the earliest gospel. Matthew's gospel gives an expanded version of it in great detail. One notices how much space he gives to the passion narrative. This is why the gospel was so popular in the early church. The earliest gospel was not, therefore, the SERMON ON THE MOUNT. That sermon was one of Matthew's special contributions to the teaching and life of the church—the ethical teaching of Jesus (see ETHICS OF JESUS). We should be reminded that this or the fulfillment of the historical interest was not Matthew's primary objective, but a means to an end.

The gospel is not a biography. It is impossible to write a life of Christ. Too few events are extant and only two to three years of Jesus' life at the most are portrayed by all of the Gospels

together. The primary concern was not historical completeness *but revelation and theology.* In this concern, Matthew seems to exclude almost all material that is not theologically essential to the messiahship of Jesus. The purpose was completeness of the divine revelation and the culmination of all earlier OT writings. It is not amazing, therefore, that the early Christians considered the OT a true source of the life and works of Jesus and thus placed the OT canon beside the Greek Scriptures. The NT has definite continuity through Jesus Christ with the Messiah and Israel of the OT.

The fulfillment formula of Matthew follows two principles: (1) every event recorded of Jesus was foretold in the OT; (2) every prediction of the Messiah must find a corresponding event in the life of Jesus. Matthew carries these principles to great lengths in his gospel. He demonstrates that the Messiah, descended from Abraham, was born as King of the Jews (Matt. 2:2), entered the Holy City in triumph as a King (21:4), was born of a virgin as foretold by the prophet Isaiah (1:22), was conceived by the Holy Spirit (1:20), was called the Son of God (14:33). As the Messiah on earth, he fulfilled all the prophecies of the Old Covenant: his ministry, use of parables, betrayal, miracles, healing, suffering, death, coming in glory with angels (24:30), and sitting on his throne of glory (25:31), all were foretold in the OT. Matthew covers the entire gamut of the Messiah in the OT, so much so that the NT is, as it were, an OT rerun.

Perhaps the central point of this thesis was Peter's confession of Jesus as the Messiah at CAESAREA PHILIPPI (Matt. 16:13-20). It was all part of the divine messianic plan of the ages and is perhaps why Matthew's gospel was used and read more by early Christians than any other. At the end of his gospel Matthew looks both backward and forward to Jesus Christ when he quotes these words of the Lord: "and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you. And surely I am with you always, to the very end of the age" (28:20).

A secondary purpose of Matthew's gospel, as was noted above in the section on structure and outline, was to furnish the young church a manual of instruction in doctrine and church practice. Many believe it was not written for private reading and study so much as for the guidance of teachers as they instructed new converts. It is a teaching gospel, quite easy to remember and memorize. Perhaps it was the first textbook in Christian education to be used by the church. It was designed also to be read aloud in the Christian worship services. Besides the messianic fulfillment emphasis, the instruction from the gospel would present the ethical teachings of Jesus and the teaching of love and forgiveness, but these are included in the works and teachings of Jesus the Messiah.

**VI. Characteristics and special features.** Matthew's gospel is, first of all, a *mission-type gospel* or a *preaching gospel.* The over-all purpose is to inform, convince, and evangelize the hearers, both Jew and Gentile, regarding the Messiah. The messianic theme makes for the unity of the book. Some have said this gospel is a defense against all Jewish unbelief. It appeals to deep-rooted Jewish messianic beliefs in order to convince all that Jesus of Nazareth is the promised Messiah. Matthew argues from the OT much as most preachers of the early church did.

The messianic theme of Matthew may be outlined as follows:

1. The prophecies of the Messiah fulfilled—the coming (Matt. 1:1—4:11)
2. The teachings of the Messiah—great discourses (4:12—7:29)
3. the Deity of the Messiah revealed—the miracle (8:1—11:1)
4. The kingdom of the Messiah revealed—the parables (11:2—13:53)
5. The redemption of the Messiah proclaimed—the cross (13:54—19:2)
6. The opposition of the enemy—debates with opponents (19:3—26:2)

7. The passion of the Messiah—suffering, death, and resurrection (26:3—28:10)
8. Conclusion: The Great Commission (28:11-20)

If Matthew wrote at a time when Jewish and Gentile Christianity were separate and in opposition, his gospel shows that there is both unity and ecumenicity in the Lord Jesus Christ. For Matthew, Christianity was not a divisive sect that was inventing a Christ or misusing the OT; rather, he shows that the divine purpose of salvation for all was fulfilled in Jesus Christ the Messiah. The gospel is both universal and particular. The first gospel is, therefore, a gospel that teaches universal grace. It is an *ecumenical* gospel (Matt. 9:12-13). The first gospel also teaches much about *the power of the gospel*. The Messiah's call to the Christian is earnest, drastic, and by grace.

All of the basic theology taught in the first gospel certainly had its personal reference to Matthew himself. The manner in which he records his call (Matt. 9:9-13) shows how he appreciated the Savior's love for all. He certainly must have thought of himself when he wrote down the parable of the laborers in the vineyard (20:1-16). By his countrymen he was considered a renegade Jew who had turned his back upon Israel to make profit from the shady tax-collecting system of the Romans and the provincial government. No doubt he was a self-seeking materialist. For him the Lord's call meant a sharp break with the past. The experience of being totally hated by his people and then fully and completely accepted by grace left an indelible mark on Matthew the tax collector. On the one hand, he knew how sin could separate a man from God and his fellowman, and on the other, he realized how gracious was the call to repentance and service. Although he was a most unlikely candidate to be the author of a gospel, he was uniquely prepared to appeal to both Jew and Gentile for faith and commitment to the Messiah of the OT Scriptures.

The Gospel of Matthew emphasizes the *call to repentance and ministry.* It is always a demanding absolute call. It involves the total person facing God. Matthew's gospel is in unswerving opposition to any compromise with evil on the road back to God. No doubt this is why the discipline of winning the sinful brother, an evangelical duty that the church has followed through the centuries, is found alone in Matthew's powerful gospel (Matt. 18:15-35).

Another prominent aspect of Matthew's gospel is the emphasis on the *obedience of faith.* God initiates all dealings with his people on the basis of grace in Christ. Only God is good. The Christian gives himself wholly to the Savior and in faith and service. The sin of the Pharisee was as much halfheartedness as self-righteousness. Matthew, who from a human point of view should be the last to castigate righteous people in the eyes of men, pours the most scathing rebuke on the scribes and Pharisees in the NT for their hypocrisy. He who once forsook the OT and its teachings now becomes its most ardent supporter and interpreter.

Those who have received the grace of God and entered into discipleship have learned from Matthew the true meaning of the gospel and of the kingdom. See DISCIPLE, DISCIPLESHIP. Such discipleship is taught in the parable of the merciless servant (Matt. 18:23-35). A person is set free to forgive and to free others. Matthew teaches not only that the Lord calls the sinner to repentance, but also that those who have become his disciples must daily repent (18:1-4). Every limitation of love is set aside when the Lord asks his disciples to love their enemies (5:44). Impetuous stubborn Peter, the impatient man of Galilee, is asked to forgive his brother not just seven times but seventy times seven (18:21-22). Finally our Lord asks the disciples to make his cross their way of life in ministry and sacrifice (10:38).

The Messiah brings into being a *new universal church,* the new Israel. Both Jews and Gentiles find refuge in it. Matthew is the only evangelist who uses the word CHURCH at all (Matt. 16:18;

18:17). He speaks of the permanence of the church and of discipline and forgiveness within it. The gospel opens with the promise that the Messiah is the IMMANUEL who will be with his people and closes with the promise that this same Jesus, now the risen Christ, will be with his disciples of all nations until the end of time. Such features as the visit of the MAGI to the infant Jesus early in the gospel and Jesus' long ministry in "Galilee of the Gentiles" (4:15) speak of a universal church. Yet this Christian church, universal in its membership, is no new church. It is the old Israel transformed and expanded (10:5).

The first gospel is known also for the extent and manner in which it presents the *ethical teachings of Jesus*. To the evangelist Matthew, as well as to Paul, there is a "law of Christ," a principle of Christian LOVE that becomes imperative for ethical living. Jesus is the great teacher who proclaims a revised law for the new Israel from the mountain in the Sermon on the Mount, even as Moses has spoken divine law on Mount Sinai. The Messiah calls his church not only to repentance, but also to good works. The righteousness of the disciples must exceed that of the Pharisees. Christian life is free but it is moral and responsible, motivated by love. Even if the existing institution had corrupted and perverted the law, nevertheless it was divine revelation. The Messiah comes not to destroy it but to fulfill it and to supply what it lacked. Thus a large part of the Sermon on the Mount is replete with explanations of the law in which Jesus lays down the moral standards of love by which the conduct of Christians is to be judged.

From a practical or methodological viewpoint, the Gospel according to Matthew is a *teaching gospel*. It is characterized by lengthy discourses. It expands the *action* Gospel of Mark, which is more interested in what Jesus did than in what he said. The following is a list of prominent lengthy discourses in the gospel:

Matt. 3:1-12 Preaching of John
5:1—7:29 Sermon on the Mount
10:1-42 The apostolic commission
13:1-52 The parables
18:1-35 The meaning of forgiveness
23:1—25:46 Denunciation and prophecy
28:18-20 The Great Commission

The Gospel of Matthew features a large number of parables. The greatest single group of parables is in Matt. 13. The illustrations are taken from everyday life and portray the nature and demands of the kingdom. Many of them are prophetic. Matthew says that the parables were intended both to reveal and conceal truth (13:10-13). Ten parables in Matthew are not found in any of the other Gospels: tares, hidden treasure, net, pearl of great price, unmerciful servant, laborers in the vineyard, two sons, marriage of the king's son, the ten virgins, and the talents. (There are two miracles that are found only in Matthew's gospel: the two blind men and the coin in the mouth of the fish.)

Matthew alone uses the phrase "the kingdom of heaven" (thirty-three times). Five times he speaks of the "kingdom of God." Matthew's gospel is also a royal gospel. The Messiah is pictured repeatedly as the great King. His lineage is traced back to King David; the Magi ask for the King of the Jews; he is called the "Son of David"; he enters Jerusalem in triumph; Pontius Pilate asks Jesus if he is the King of the Jews; over his cross the words are written, "This is Jesus the King of the Jews"; and in the climax of the gospel he claims all power over heaven and earth. One must conclude that the author of the gospel deliberately presents Jesus as the King.

Matthew's portrayal of Jesus Christ as the Messiah may be *patterned after the experiences of the people of Israel*. Our Lord's relationship to Egypt


Aerial view of the NE shore of the Sea of Galilee, looking toward Capernaum, with Bethsaida Julias in the foreground. The hill rising on the right side of the photograph is a probable location for the feeding of the 5,000.

is particularly significant. As the children of Israel went down into Egypt in infancy and came out of it in the exodus, so Matthew portrays Jesus in his infancy going down to Egypt and coming out of it in fulfillment of the prophecy spoken in Hos. 11:1, "Out of Egypt I called my son" (Matt. 2:15). Another parallel is Jesus' temptation and fasting in the desert forty days and forty nights with Israel's wandering in the desert for forty years (4:1-2).

Matthew's gospel may be characterized as an *ecclesiastical gospel*. Its interests are centered in the church more than those of any of the other Gospels. The church is portrayed as an actual living body of worshipers and servants of Christ. The Sermon on the Mount and the parables in Matthew portray the ideals and life of the Christian congregation. This church is interested in winning all of its erring members (Matt. 18), and our Lord says the gates of hell shall not prevail against it (16:18). The gospel speaks of prayer, giving, Christian rules for marriage and divorce, the sacraments, the teaching, and preaching ministry. In fact, Matthew has much to say about the entire life and practices of the Christian church.

While Matthew's gospel is known for its lengthy discourses or teaching episodes, a main feature for which it is known is its complete form of the *Sermon on the Mount*. It contains the spiritual and moral principles of the new Israel. The ethic Jesus expounded was based upon the inner spirit, selfless love, and responsible evangelical living. It is also an interpretation of the old Mosaic law but not an abrogation of it (Matt. 5:17). All Christians know the formula and authority of the Lord's ethical teaching: "You have heard that it was said to the people long ago.…But I tell you…" (5:21-22 et al.).

Matthew's gospel also is definitely *a Jewish gospel*. The outlook and flavor is Jewish, written by a Jewish Christian to guide the thought and worship of Jewish Christians in Palestine and Syria. The other gospel writers tend to explain Jewish words and phrases (Mk. 7:1-13), but Matthew assumes his readers understand such details.

Another specific feature unique to Matthew is the manner of teaching the gospel through what has

been called the *extreme* or *critical case method.* For example, it illustrates the gospel by selecting those instances in which Jesus went to extreme limits to illustrate by word and deed the gracious word of God. According to the Sermon on the Mount, the poor will inherit the earth, and the blessings of the kingdom are promised to the beggar, to the poor in spirit (Matt. 5:3). What superb teaching to point out that the boundless grace of God is as wide and deep as the need of man! The miracles of Jesus are selected in the same manner. Three illustrate the boundless compassion of Jesus. He heals the leper whom no one can help (8:1-4); he assists


With his listeners sitting on the hillsides above the Sea of Galilee, Jesus probably used natural amphitheaters like this along the lakeshore to amplify his voice. (View to the SE.)

the Gentile who is outside the commonwealth of Israel (8:5-13); he restores to health the woman that the culture of the day placed in second place as a creature of God (9:18-22). Troubled Christians throughout the centuries have considered the gospel credible because Jesus called a hated tax collector, a man whom the Jewish authorities always named the sinner and excluded from Yahweh's grace, to be his disciple and apostle (9:9-13).

Matthew shows that our Lord taught by the extreme method in the ethical area. There are no limits of love because Jesus asks his disciples to love even their enemies, which implies that no one can consider another person his enemy (Matt. 5:44). A classic example is Jesus' instruction to Peter that went far beyond the apostle's own estimate of love when he said he should forgive his brother seventy times seven (18:21-22).

Another interesting facet of Matthew's gospel is the use of *extreme opposites* in teaching the gospel. On the one hand, Jesus the Messiah is the son of Abraham the son of David, the high point in Israel's history (Matt. 1:1–17), but immediately Matthew records that the Messiah is not the product of Israel's history itself, but is conceived by God himself from outside history (1:18). Again, the Messiah is the Lord of heaven and earth (28:18), and yet he is sorrowful even to death in his suffering and dies a disgraceful criminal's death on the cross (27:32-54). He sits on the very throne of God and will come to judge the entire world (25:31-33), but on the cross he is forsaken by his Father (27:46). Of course, the most extreme statement of opposites in Matthew's gospel is that the Messiah is Jesus of Nazareth, born of a lowly maiden, a carpenter's son who reduces himself to the form of a servant and

suffers and dies for the world; yet he is the Christ, the Son of God, who will rule all things in all ways (28:18). This contrast is the heart of the gospel. The Messiah is divine and yet human. He is a man of history and yet the Son of God of all eternity. He comes from one nation of people on the earth, yet he died for all peoples and is to be preached to all nations for the salvation of all (28:19-20).

*Only Matthew records certain events of Jesus' life:* Joseph's vision (Matt. 1:20-24), the visit of the Wise Men (2:1-12), the flight of the Christ Child into Egypt (2:13-15), the killing of the infants in Bethlehem (2:16), the dream of Pilate's wife (27:19), the suicide of Judas (27:3-10), the resurrection of the dead at the crucifixion (27:52), the story of the bribed guard (28:12-15), and the Great Commission (28:19-20). These are not found in any of the other Gospels. The same is true of certain parables. Matthew uses the miracles of Jesus to give proof of Jesus' messianic power more than as a part of the narrative of his life, again illustrating his theological interest. A unique feature of Matthew's gospel, which is not usually mentioned, is the ecclesiastical text of 16:18: "And I tell you that you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my church." The passage has influenced the history of the church on earth as much as any other. It is inscribed on the dome of St. Peter's in Rome (*Tu es petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam*). No other gospel has these words, not even in a different format.

A close reading of the first gospel reveals a great emphasis on *Jesus' disciples and discipleship.* Matthew gives much space to the instruction of the disciples and apostles. One of Jesus' first acts after his baptism and temptation was the calling of his disciples into ministry. Immediately the teaching is clear that salvation does not originate in the institutional structure of Judaism, but in the deep communion and faith between the Lord and his disciples, the church. Most of our Lord's discourses, which form the backbone of the gospel, are addressed to his disciples. It is interesting that Matthew records much about their call, their training, their failures, their forgiveness, and their reconciliation. The most remarkable revelations of the Messiah—the transfiguration, the miracles, the resurrection, the passion—are shown to the disciples alone. Even the last words of the Messiah in Matthew's record ask his disciples to make disciples of all men (28:19).

Matthew's gospel also has a strong *eschatological content.* Matthew is interested in the SECOND COMING of Jesus. He generally expands the words of Mark or Luke on the subject (Matt. 16:28; 24:30-31; 26:64). He even uses APOCALYPTIC language of the day such as PAROUSIA (24:3). Matthew includes a group of parables that teach and interpret the second coming of Jesus. The other Gospels do not have the following particular parables: the ten virgins (25:1-13); the sheep and goats in the great judgment (25:31-46); the talents (25:14-30). There is an amazing tendency on the part of the writer of Matthew to include lengthy statements on the second coming and to interpret it in terms of deliverance from the troubles of life, eternal relief from a horrible present.

**VII. Matthew's use of the OT.** Matthew's gospel is saturated with the OT. Over fifty clear quotations, some including several passages, have been lifted from the OT, particularly from the Prophets. In addition to the verbatim quotations, there are many allusions, echoes, single words, and phrases to be found. Much of the language and thought of the gospel is shaped by the form and figure of the Hebrew Scriptures. The OT casts a long shadow over Matthew's gospel. No other evangelist or NT writer, including Paul or the author of Hebrews, drew upon the OT writings as Matthew did. Most of the quotations come through the SEPTUAGINT (LXX, the ancient Greek translation of the OT), although by no means all. As already mentioned, many believe this collection of OT passages represents the Logia of Matthew mentioned by Papias, but this is not at all certain.

The list of quotations below, although not exhaustive, will offer the interested reader a general picture of Matthew's use of the OT in terms of documentation or "proof texts" for his messianic thesis. The list represents the more familiar whole-verse citations, which, when placed in a single group, form an imposing array of messianic witness. Parts of the verses are quoted to indicate the contents of the quotations.

1:23, "The virgin will be with child" (Isa. 7:14)
2:6, "But you, Bethlehem" (Mic. 5:2)
2:15, "Out of Egypt" (Hos. 11:1)
2:18, "A voice is heard in Ramah" (Jer. 31:15)
2:23, "He will be called a Nazarene" (Isa. 11:1)
3:3, "A voice of one calling" (Isa. 40:3)
4:4, "not…on bread alone" (Deut. 8:3)
4:6, "He will command his angels" (Ps. 91:11)
4:7, "Do not put the Lord…to the test" (Deut. 6:6)
4:10, "Worship the Lord" (Deut. 6:13)
4:15-16, "Land of Zebulun" (Isa. 9:1)
5:21, "Do not murder" (Exod. 20:13)

This papyrus from c. A.D. 300 (known as $P^{37}$) contains Matt. 26:19-52; in v. 31 Jesus quotes Zech. 13:7.

5:27, "Do not commit adultery" (Exod. 20:14)
5:48, "Be perfect" (Lev. 19:2)

8:17, “He took up our infirmities” (Isa. 53:4)
9:13; 12:7, “I desire mercy, not sacrifice” (Hos. 6:6)
11:5, “The blind receive sight” (Isa. 29:18)
11:10, “I will send my messenger” (Mal. 3:1)
12:18-21, “Here is my servant” (Isa. 42:1-4)
13:14-15, “You will be ever hearing” (Isa. 6:9-10)
13:35, “I will open my mouth in parables” (Ps. 78:2)
15:4, “Honor your father and mother” (Exod. 20:12)
15:8-9, “people honor me with their lips” (Isa. 29:13)
18:16, “two or three witnesses” (Deut. 19:15)
19:4, “made them male and female” (Gen. 1:26)
19:5, “a man will leave his father” (Gen. 2:24)
19:18-19, “Do not murder…”(Exod. 20:12-16)
21:5, “Say to the Daughter of Zion” (Isa. 62:11)
21:9, “Hosanna to the Son of David!” (Ps. 118:26)
21:13, “a house of prayer” (Isa. 56:7)
21:16, “From the lips of children” (Ps. 8:2)
21:42, “The stone the builders rejected” (Ps. 118:22)
22:24, “man dies without having children” (Deut. 25:5)
22:32, “I am the God of Abraham” (Exod. 3:6)
22:37, “Love the Lord your God” (Deut. 6:5)
22:39, “Love your neighbor” (Lev. 19:18)
22:44, “Sit at my right hand” (Ps. 110:1)
23:39, “Blessed is he who comes” (Ps. 118:26)
24:7, “Nation will rise against nation” (Isa. 19:2)
24:15, “abomination that causes desolation” (Dan. 9:27)
24:21, “great distress” (Dan. 12:1)
26:31, “I will strike the shepherd” (Zech. 13:7)
26:38, “My soul is overwhelmed” (Ps. 42:6)
26:64, “you will see the Son of Man” (Dan. 7:13)
27:34, “wine…mixed with gall” (Ps. 69:21)
27:35, “divided up his clothes” (Ps. 22:18)
27:39, “shaking their heads” (Ps. 22:7)
27:43, “He trusts in God” (Ps. 22:8)
27:46, “My God, my God, why…” (Ps. 22:1)
27:48, “sponge…wine vinegar” (Ps. 69:21)

**VIII. Relation to Mark and Luke.** In view of the nature of NT studies during the last two centuries, any discussion of one of the Synoptic Gospels (Matthew, Mark, and Luke) quickly involves the other two. Many modern scholars are certain that Mark wrote his gospel first and that the writer of Matthew (as well as Luke) used Mark’s gospel as the basic format and source for his gospel. As we have seen (above, section III), some scholars further conclude that Matthew the apostle could not have written the first gospel, because it is incredible that an apostle would lean so heavily on the writing of one who was not one of the Twelve. Why should Matthew borrow from Mark what he himself had evidently seen as an eyewitness? But if Matthew did not use Mark, why is his gospel so

similar to Mark's? Careful Bible students are aware that most of the material in Mark (606 verses out of 661) are found in Matthew. In fact, practically all of Mark's gospel with the exception of some fifty verses are to be found in both Matthew and Luke.

The question of the relationship of Matthew to Mark (and Luke) confronts one immediately with the celebrated question of modern NT scholarship, the synoptic problem—a problem that scholars must live with because no one has come forth with an absolute answer. How does one explain both the similarities and the dissimilarities of the synoptics? If one finally thinks he has the answer to the similarities, the question of the dissimilarities stares him in the face and vice versa. Matthew and Luke hardly ever agree against Mark in parallels. There are also a number of passages common to Matthew and to Luke that Mark does not have at all—generally sayings or parables of Jesus. What was the source of *this* material? Assuming for a moment that all three synoptics were written independently, how does one explain, for example, the minute verbal resemblances between Matthew and Mark? Is it possible that a gospel like Matthew arose and circulated by itself free of other sources and that Mark copied much of Matthew? What single theory will account for all relationships between the first three Gospels?

All three Gospels give a common outline of the story of Jesus. There is a remarkable parallelism between them; the same incidents about Jesus are told in much the same language. One must infer that all the synoptics must have drawn materials from a source or sources that the others also possessed. To discover these sources is the task set by the synoptic problem. An old solution, but one that is not to be discarded (since all theories rely upon it in one way or another) is the *oral gospel theory.* Because of the agreements among the Gospels, a common source of oral tradition about Jesus, it is said, must lie behind them. They all seem to be cut from a single piece of cloth. The oral tradition, embodying the early preaching and teaching of the new church, was available to all gospel writers. On the other hand, each of the writers used the oral source in his own way and according to his own purpose; this would explain the dissimilarities. According to this theory, one studies Matthew as Matthew and is not concerned with the other Gospels. Each one must be studied in its own right. This view seems very acceptable, but in fact the church throughout its history has never ceased to harmonize the Gospels and study them together just *because they are so much alike,* and also *because they are different*—all three synoptics deal with the same Lord and all his people wish to know the whole story. Besides, students of the Gospels also soon discovered that the oral tradition view could not explain the minute parallels in language.

The relation of Matthew with Mark and Luke (or any combination of the three) is best explained if one attributes the similarities and dissimilarities to common use of one or more *written sources.* As the Jewish Christians spread out from Jerusalem and the Gentile Christians were brought into the church through the missionary efforts of the apostles, many questions about Jesus would arise and there would naturally be a demand for the gospel in written form. Perhaps Matthew himself, as Papias suggests, published one of these early documents. Scholars then began to investigate the possible written sources behind the Gospels. The pattern of thought generally ran something like the following: The old view that Matthew was the earliest gospel and that Mark simply made a summary of it is quite impossible. Also unacceptable is the more recent "Aramaic Gospel" view, namely, that Matthew was first written in Hebrew and then translated into Greek (either by Matthew himself or someone else) after Mark was written. Should Mark be an abridgment of Matthew it would also have to be an abridgment of Luke, since the two are closely related. By far the simplest and most natural view of the problem is that which looks upon Matthew and Luke as independent writings, but both of them being based upon Mark who wrote first (since he is the shortest and most fundamental), as one

of two sources. Since Matthew and Luke both contain gospel material that Mark does not have, then Matthew and Luke must have used still another source for the common material they both have. Since the common source of Matthew and Luke centers a great deal on the sayings and preaching of Jesus, scholars have called this common source "Q" (from the German word *Quelle* meaning "spring, source").

In this way came into being the so-called "two-document" or "two-source" hypothesis. This explains, scholars say, the fact that Mark is totally contained in the other two synoptics, that it was written first, and that the other Gospels are an expansion of it. The theory accounts for the common material (Matthew used nearly all of Mark, and Luke about one half of Mark), for the linguistic parallels (it is said Matthew repeats about fifty percent and Luke fifty-five percent of Mark's phraseology), and for the common order of events. The second source, Q, accounts for the material Matthew and Luke have that is not found in Mark. Matthew and Luke have in common nearly 200 verses, often in about the same language, which Mark does not have. Since this common material is mostly in the sayings of Jesus, it could have been (and prob. was) something like the Logia attributed to Matthew.

While the two-source theory is acceptable, and even many conservative Bible scholars have favored it, it must be admitted that it is a theory and not a fact, since no document entitled Q has ever been found. It has to be "constructed" from the common material of Matthew and Luke. Also Matthew inserted some material not found in any of the sources mentioned. The same is true of Luke. When the materials which Matthew and Luke use from Mark and Q are isolated, each of these writers still contains much subject matter peculiar to himself. Matthew has more than 300 verses no one else has. Furthermore, the document Q (if it is identified with Matthew's Logia) can mean different things. Is it a Hebrew gospel? A catalog of OT testimonies or proof texts that Jesus is the Messiah? A collection of "oracular utterances"? Sayings of Jesus? In addition to this uncertainty about Q, the weakness of the two-document theory always has been that it does not answer the questions it sets out to explain; instead it raises still others.

Because of these difficulties, some scholars, notably Burnett H. Streeter, expanded the written source theory into a "four-document" hypothesis including a separate written source "L" that Luke alone used and a special source known as "M" that Matthew used. This expanded theory also posited that the four sources came from different centers of the early church: Mark from ROME, M from JERUSALEM, L from CAESAREA, and Q from ANTIOCH OF SYRIA. It is self-evident that four sources, three of which have never been found, is more speculative than two sources. There is also the question whether or not the relationships between the synoptics are *only* documentary. It is also possible that Matthew did not know Mark as a complete document but relied instead upon the fixed oral tradition of the early church, such as one finds in apostolic preaching (e.g., Peter's address on the day of Pentecost, Acts 2:22-36; Paul's speech in Antioch, 13:23-41).

Dissatisfaction with source theories led to the development of FORM CRITICISM.This is an attempt to get behind all written sources to the oral preaching and teaching of the church, which is thought to have developed according to certain patterns or forms that can be determined by applying to the text of our Gospels certain predetermined criteria of literary criticism. A second purpose of the "form" approach is to push on to the shape of the text in the oral tradition before it became "gospel." From the oral tradition it was only a short step for the form critic to an analysis of the historical or cultural context in which the forms grew. This is commonly called the *Sitz im Leben* ("situation in life"), and from it one could reason back to the community that produced the form. It was concluded from this rather complex and subjective process that the Gospels, or the written sources used in them, were

really a collection of isolated pieces (parables, miracles, addresses, etc.) which had circulated in the early Christian community before being written down.

A special characteristic of form criticism, as practiced by many of its early proponents, was the belief that these pieces or literary forms were the creation of the worshiping and teaching church and that the forms were "put together" by editors or redactors rather than authors who wrote under the influence of the Holy Spirit. Others, like Kilpatrick and Stendahl, came to the conclusion that not the Christian community but certain schools or groups of teachers and scholars were responsible for creating and shaping the forms. The method also led to great doubts about the historicity of some of the forms and stories that make up the Gospels. The redactors were more interested in certain theological purposes than in the historical context of the form. In the hands of radical scholars, the form-critical method often took on such negative and destructive elements that it fell into disrepute in some quarters, "done in" by its friends more than its enemies.

Form criticism quickly lost ground as an adequate method of explaining the origin of Matthew and the other Gospels. It leaves behind some answers to the familiar questions of the synoptic problem (the similarities and differences of the Gospels are due to use of the forms according to theological interests) but raises other still more significant problems, for example, what role did an apostolic eyewitness like Matthew, or Jesus himself, play in creation of the forms? If the answer is "None," or "Very little," then the inevitable question is, "Why was the gospel material created in the first place?" and one is back where he started. Some scholars believe that the question of the relation of Matthew to Mark and Luke is a problem of authors rather than of documents. If one could discover in some way the possible living contact and interchange between the writers of the first three Gospels, perhaps the right answer could be found. How much did they rewrite and rearrange written sources? Is it at all possible that the three authors could have had contact with each other and fashioned their writings to include the new material they heard from each other?

It must be admitted that none of the theories really explains the synoptic problem completely. Helpful for the explanation of the relationship between Matthew and Mark, however, is the theological purpose of these two evangelists. Although they use the same gospel material, they put it to different uses, organize it into different frameworks, and under the direction of the Holy Spirit, write a gospel for a specific theological and historical purpose. Mark's gospel of action and movement certainly had a different aim than the didactic gospel of fulfillment of Matthew. The intended readers or audience of each gospel also determined the nature of the gospel. This is why four versions of the one gospel is a gift of God to a diverse people of God today just as in ancient times. Each gospel should be accepted as it is and studied as the Word of God in its own right, relevant "now" as "then." See further BIBLICAL CRITICISM IV.A, V.E; GOSPELS.

**IX. Time and place of writing.** The date of the composition of Matthew's gospel is unknown, and scholars have set the time anywhere between A.D. 50 and 115. Some scholars believe that any date before A.D. 70 is untenable because the statement in the parable of the marriage banquet (Matt. 22:7) about an angry king destroying a city refers to the fall of Jerusalem: "The king was enraged. He sent his army and destroyed those murderers and burned their city." Such a conclusion seems to be too strong for the weak evidence from an incidental remark in a parable. Since the gospel does not in any way indicate the actual fall of Jerusalem, and since the destruction of Jerusalem is predicted in ch. 24, a date before A.D. 70 is the more probable. To select a later date one must believe that 24:1-28 is not prophecy but *vaticinium ex eventu* (prediction based on event, i.e., a literary artifice whereby a past historical incident is presented as still in the future).

Others believe that the opposite is true: any date before A.D. 70 is excluded because of Matthew's dependence upon Mark. Mark, they say, was written later than is traditionally assumed, and if Matthew used and reworked Mark for his gospel, this would place the date considerably later than 70. Besides, it is thought that Matthew reveals in his reworking of Mark that the ecclesiastical situation was more fully developed when Matthew wrote (cf. Matt. 18:15-20; 28:19-20), making a date between 80 and 100 much more probable. Modern scholars add to this line of evidence the belief that Matthew wrote for Greek-speaking Christians outside of Palestine (although most of the readers were of Jewish origin), and this also speaks for a later date. They also are of the opinion that the Judaism explicit in the first gospel is characteristic of the period after the destruction of Jerusalem, when the Jews were still crushed from defeat and the destruction of the temple.

A few scholars have set the date as late as A.D. 115, when it is believed IGNATIUS of Antioch apparently quotes the gospel or is at least familiar with the Matthean traditions. But such argumentation should rather speak of a date at least before A.D. 96 since Clement of Rome apparently knew of the first gospel (see CLEMENT, EPISTLES OF). The use of the gospel by both Clement and Ignatius does not mean that the gospel was written at that time; Matthew could have written much earlier and they quote him much later.

A more reliable date for the composition of Matthew's gospel should be sought in connection with the place of writing. It is not likely that it was written early before the first dispersion of the Christians from Jerusalem (Acts 8:4), for then the church in Jerusalem would not have needed a written gospel. The apostles were present to answer all questions and to impart all authoritative teaching from the Lord. If the testimony of IRENAEUS, who places the writing of Matthew at the time of NERO while Paul and Peter were in Rome, has any validity, it is possible that Matthew may have composed a gospel originally for non-Palestinian converts who did not have access to the apostles and who could be dependent for their knowledge of the words and works of Jesus upon a written document. While the witness of Papias perhaps may be questioned, since there is no evidence of an Aramaic original, it is still possible that such pieces of gospel were extant, and that the writer made a translation or wrote a Greek edition for the Gentile churches. Any Hebrew original would have disappeared at an early time and the Greek gospel would become the traditional gospel of the people.

Many thoughtful scholars believe that the place of composition of Matthew must be found in some area of the Middle E where Judaism and early Christianity existed together and were in close contact, possibly in the initial stages of unity. They believe that the area that suits the requirements best is the territory N of Palestine among the Jews of the DIASPORA and the Gentile converts of the early mission churches. Since ANTIOCH OF SYRIA was a center of early Jewish-Gentile Christianity, this area is a logical choice for the place of writing of the first gospel. Ignatius was in Antioch and his writings reveal he was fond of the gospel. In Antioch both Jews and Gentiles would speak Greek and yet understand the OT. They used the Greek version of the Hebrew Bible and Matthew quotes the OT much through that version.

The old traditional view of the time and place of writing has been that Matthew was the first evangelist to write a gospel and that he wrote in Palestine, possibly in Jerusalem itself, about A.D. 60. Setting the date at the same time but at a different location now seems more plausible. Antioch in Syria, where the Jewish-Gentile church flourished around the year 60, not only accounts for the concerns about the prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem but also takes into consideration both the Jewish particularism and the Gentile universalism of the first gospel. Matthew's gospel, we must remember, was written in Greek for Greek-speaking Jews by a Greek-speaking Jew, but it also has wide appeal for the Gentile Christians just as Luke's gospel had. Matthew's gospel, therefore, must

have been written for a mixed group of Christians outside of Palestine. The church to which it likely was directed is described by Luke in Acts 11:19-26. Although absolute evidence is lacking, Antioch in Syria about A.D. 60 is both a probable and a plausible time and place of writing of the first gospel.

**X. Readers and destination.** It is almost certain that Matthew wrote for Jewish Christians in order to establish them in their faith in Jesus of Nazareth as the Christ promised in the OT. Where did these Christians live? The quotations from Matthew in patristic writings indicate that the first gospel was no doubt a favorite of the Syrian Jewish church. If the gospel was written in Antioch, as many believe, this setting would bear out the patristic testimony. It would be a mistake, however, to think that Gentiles were excluded. No doubt Matthew had in mind converted Jews, but both converted and unconverted Gentiles would be equally benefited and strengthened in faith. Jewish names and concepts are not explained in the gospel since they would be readily understood. On the one hand, it reflects the unbelief of Israel in Jesus' time, and on the other, it emphasizes the notion that the Gentiles superseded the Jews because the latter had rejected the Messiah. The national Jews needed repentance and the witness of the Messiah, but Matthew's position is no narrow nationalism. Jesus the Messiah is Savior of the Jews, but also of the whole world. To illustrate that his gospel is in no way particularistic, Matthew closes his message with the mandate that the apostles should make disciples of all nations (Matt. 28:19). The gospel is neither anti-Jewish nor anti-Gentile.

The contents of the gospel indicate that while its message is beamed at Greek-speaking Jews who had been converted to Christianity, the gospel also had a message for the Gentiles. While the mission of the Messiah emphasizes the primacy of the Jewish people ("I was sent only to the lost sheep of Israel" [Matt. 15:24]; "Go rather to the lost sheep of Israel" [10:6]) and indicates the Jewish flavor of the gospel, it is clear that the kingdom also is meant for the Gentiles because of the pointed parables condemning the Pharisees and the open door to the Gentile poor and downtrodden. All of this indicates the historical situation of the first gospel as the time of transition or amalgamation of the Jewish and Gentile elements in the early church. Perhaps one can say that the Jewish Christian church was being absorbed into the Gentile church. Matthew's main theme, "Jesus is the Messiah," is followed closely by a second emphasis, "the messianic kingdom for the world."

Matthew's gospel is admirably suited to a church that was still Hebrew but at the same time increasingly aligning itself with the Gentile world. The gospel breathes an atmosphere of messianism, yet it has a message for all the world. The covenant is fulfilled in Abraham and his seed, but in him all the families of the earth are to be blessed (Gen. 12:3). Accordingly, the first readers of the Gospel of Matthew were the amalgam of the Jewish-Gentile church in northern Palestine, Syrian Antioch, and surrounding territories. While it is possible that most of the readers were of Jewish extraction and would feel at home with the OT and Jewish emphasis, the Gentiles also would welcome such a gospel because they, too, accepted the OT. One may imagine that among both Jew and Gentile the lively proclamation of the gospel would not go many miles without some sort of written proof that Jesus was the Messiah, proof from the OT Scriptures. If Jesus was the Messiah, it would have been foretold in the OT. Preaching would give way to the proof of the written gospel (Acts 9:22).

The view that Matthew's readers lived in Palestine and that he wrote from Jerusalem was based on the premise that he had written in Hebrew, but now most scholars are quite certain that he wrote in Greek, and that the readers were not limited to Palestine. All things considered, Antioch in Syria is the most plausible place of writing (see above), and the audience is the Syrian church composed of both Jews and Gentiles. Was not a basic doctrine of Jesus and his apostles that *all* depend on *grace* to be saved? That God is no respecter of persons? For this reason, the readers of the Gospel of

Matthew were the believers described in Acts: "Now those who had been scattered by the persecution in connection with Stephen traveled as far as Phoenicia, Cyprus and Antioch, telling the message only to Jews. Some of them, however, men from Cyprus and Cyrene, went to Antioch and began to speak to Greeks also, telling them the good news about the Lord Jesus. The Lord's hand was with them, and a great number of people believed and turned to the Lord" (Acts 11:19-21).

The early Jewish-Gentile church is clearly defined also by the apostle Paul. His statement to the Galatians indicates that the kingdom calls all people and that it is a continuum and culmination of the kingdom of God in the OT (all Christians are Abraham's offspring): "for all of you who were baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus. If you belong to Christ, then you are Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise" (Gal. 3:27-29; cf. Eph. 2:11-22).

**XI. Language and text.** Matthew wrote in the Koine or common Greek that was spoken in the Mediterranean world during the 1st cent. (see GREEK LANGUAGE). This simplified form of Attic Greek was not primarily the language of literature, but a language spoken by the common people. The Gospel of Matthew must have been readily understood by the early Christians, most of whom were ordinary people. The evangelists turned the Koine into a literary vehicle when they committed the oral gospel to writing. Matthew's style is quite elegant, clear, and fluid. His Greek is neither poor Koine nor highly polished Greek. If he used Mark, it seems that he often improved the style and language. Matthew's language is smoother than Mark's but less varied than Luke's style.

By *text* is meant the preservation of Matthew's writing in ancient Greek MSS that are copies of the original autograph of the gospel. Not a single autograph (the author's original document) of any of the Gospels is known to exist, only copies of copies. Since several thousand ancient Greek MSS of the NT have been found, dating from the 2nd cent. onward, plus lectionaries, quotations from early church fathers, and many different translations, the text of the NT may be reliably established. There are, of course, many variant readings (differences in the wording of the various types or families of MSS) that came about through the centuries in the copying of the text, but Matthew's gospel has been affected little. Almost without exception the exact text of Matthew's gospel can be arrived at without great difficulty. The text of Matthew is in splendid condition. Although there may be differences in the wording in certain passages in the versions (simply because the translations were made from different MSS), the more recent English versions are uniform and represent the original text quite accurately. This is due to the fundamental acceptable results of modern textual criticism (judgment or evaluation of the best readings). Amazing discoveries of very ancient Greek texts (which are closer to the originals) during the past hundred years have aided in establishing the text of the Gospels. See TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (NT).

Modern English translations have used the most ancient MSS and the more correct readings, and their renderings are considered to be more

Matthew as pictured in a medieval MS in the Georgian language.

accurate than those of older versions. An example of this is the ending of the LORD'S PRAYER (Matt. 6:13). The most ancient Greek texts end with the petition, "Deliver us from [the] evil [one]," but the KJV added the words of the familiar doxology: "For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever." The reason for this difference is that the KJV was translated from late Greek copies that preserve what is known as the Byzantine Text, which probably comes from the 4th cent. and tends to be expansive. Textual critics believe the doxology of the Lord's Prayer may have been added because of liturgical considerations from 1 Chr. 29:11. It is another indication that the first gospel was used much in the worship of the early church.

Another example is the KJV wording of Matt. 5:44: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you." The best ancient texts read: "Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you," omitting "bless those who curse you" (added from Lk. 6:28), and "do good to those who hate you" (from Lk. 6:27). One can easily see from such a comparison that while all the words of KJV in Matt. 5:44 are "Scripture," not all of them were included by Matthew.

There are any number of such "conflations" in the Gospels, which resulted from attempts to harmonize them in parallel passages and make them more uniform (even in exact words). Such concerns are the source of many harmless variant readings. The discovery of ancient MSS such as CODEX VATICANUS (B), CODEX SINAITICUS (ℵ or Aleph), CODEX BEZAE (D), and Papyrus 46 (see CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI), have brought such conflations to light. The text is so well attested by ancient MSS that no fundamental teaching Christian faith and morals depends upon a textual dispute. While the church might debate issues in biblical theology, it is not often that anyone can say the reading of the text clouds the issue.

All interested students of the NT would find it most stimulating and profitable to make a study of the history of the text and the methods of textual criticism, particularly to discover the reasons why variants crept into the text. It is evident that some resulted from copying or repeating from memory and adding phrases from other Gospels, from deliberate changes to clarify the text for the next reader, from intentional changes to satisfy doctrinal concerns, and, as was mentioned above, to harmonize the

Gospels. Besides those examples cited, important variants are found Matt. 1:16, dealing with the virgin birth of Jesus; 5:32 and 19:9, which deal with our Lord's teaching on divorce; 5:22, where the phrase "without a cause" is omitted in ancient texts; and several others dealing with less disputed subjects. The fascinating subject of textual study has solved these and many other variations in the NT to the satisfaction of concerned Christians. The results of textual studies have given further evidence that "the word of the Lord stands forever" (1 Pet. 1:25).

(Significant commentaries include J. A. Broadus, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* [1886]; W. C. Allen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to S. Matthew,* ICC, 3rd ed. [1912]; A. H. McNeile, *The Gospel According to St. Matthew* [1915]; A. Plummer, *An Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to S. Matthew,* 2nd ed. [1928]; T. H. Robinson, *The Gospel of Matthew,* MNTC [1928]; R. C. Lenski, *The Interpretation of St. Matthew's Gospel* [1943]; F. L. Filson, A *Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew,* HNTC [1960]; F. W. Beare, *The Gospel according to St. Matthew* [1981]; R. H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Church under Persecution,* 2nd ed. [1994]; D. A. Hagner, *Matthew,* WBC 33, 2 vols. [1993-95]; W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to Saint Matthew,* ICC, 3 vols. [1988-97]; C. S. Keener, *A Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* [1999]; F. D. Bruner, *Matthew: A Commentary,* 2 vols. [2004-]; M. J. Wilkins, *Matthew,* NIVAC [2004]; J. Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew: A Commentary on the Greek Text,* NIGTC [2005]; U. Luz, *Matthew: A Commentary,* Hermeneia, 3 vols. [2001-7]; R. T. France, *The Gospel of Matthew,* NICNT [2007].

(Among many important monographs, see B. W. Bacon, *Studies in Matthew* [1930]; N. B. Stone-house, *The Witness of Matthew and Mark to Christ* [1958]; G. Bornkamm et al., *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew* [1963]; R. H. Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel: With Special Reference to the Messianic Hope* [1967]; M. Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew* [1974]; J. D. Kingsbury, *Matthew: Structure, Christology, Kingdom* [1975]; J. P. Meier, *Law and History in Matthew's Gospel* [1976]; D. R. Bauer, *The Structure of Matthew's Gospel: A Study in Literary Design* [1988]; G. Stanton, *A Gospel for a New People: Studies in Matthew* [1992]; P. Luomanen, *Entering the Kingdom of Heaven: A Study on the Structure of Matthew's View of Salvation* [1998]; J. K. Brown, *The Disciples in Narrative Perspective: The Portrayal and Function of the Matthean Disciples* [2002]; W. Carter, *Matthew: Storyteller, Interpreter, Evangelist,* rev. ed. [2004]; M. J. J. Menken, *Matthew's Bible: The Old Testament Text of the Evangelist* [2004]; U. Luz, *Studies in Matthew* [2005]; J. Riches and D. C. Sim, *The Gospel of Matthew in Its Roman Imperial Context* [2005]; J. T. Pennington, *Heaven and Earth in the Gospel of Matthew* [2007]; and the bibliography compiled by W. E. Mills, *The Gospel of Matthew* [2002].)

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**Matthew, Gospel of Pseudo-.** See PSEUDO-MATTHEW, GOSPEL OF.

**Matthew, Martyrdom of.** A late document presupposing the *Acts of Andrew and Matthias* but not a direct sequel (see ANDREW AND MATTHIAS, ACTS OF; cf. PETER AND ANDREW, ACTS OF). In this work the apostle MATTHEW replaces MATTHIAS as ANDREW'S companion. It is extant in Greek and Latin, but the Greek MSS at some points differ greatly.

While Matthew is praying Jesus appears in the form of a child and sends him to the city of the man-eaters, bidding him to plant a staff at the gate of the church which he (Matthew) and Andrew

founded. He is met by the queen, her son, and her daughter-in-law, all possessed by demons, whom Matthew expels. The bishop and clergy come to meet him, and Matthew preaches and plants the staff. The king at first is pleased, but later turns against Matthew and seeks to burn him to death. The fire, however, melts the images of gold and silver instead, destroys many soldiers, and forces the king to seek Matthew's help. Matthew rebukes the fire, prays, and gives up the ghost.

The body is carried in state to the palace, and there Matthew is seen to ascend to heaven, where he is crowned by the child. The king has the body sunk in the sea in an iron coffin sealed with lead. At dawn the bishop is bidden by a voice to celebrate the EUCHARIST, and Matthew appears between two men in bright apparel, with the child before them. The king repents and is baptized by the bishop, and then the apostle appears and ordains him a priest. On Matthew's departure a voice promises peace and safety to the city. (Text edited by M. Bonnet in *Acta apostolorum apocrypha* 2/1 [1898], 217-62; English trans. of excerpts in M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* [1953], 460–62l; see also *NTAp,* 2:458-60.)

R. McL. WILSON

**Matthew's Bible.** See VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE, ENGLISH IV.

**Matthias** muh-th*i*'uhs (Μαθθίας *G3416* [sometimes Ματθίας], short from of Ματταθίας *G3478,* from מַתִּתְיָהוּ *H5525,* "gift of Yahweh"; see MATTATHIAS, MATTITHIAH). The name of the "twelfth apostle," chosen to take the place of JUDAS ISCARIOT, the traitor (Acts 1:23-26; see A. W. Zwiep, *Judas and the Choice of Matthias* [2004]). Following PETER'S proposal (vv. 20-22), two men were put forward who were considered to have the necessary qualifications for apostleship, for they had been followers of Jesus since the time he was baptized by John. (The candidates were likely suggested by the "hundred and twenty" [v. 15], not by the smaller group of the eleven apostles.) Acts 1:22 probably also means that they must have encountered the risen Lord; but this would presumably have been true of all the "hundred and twenty." Human selection was thus involved from the start. To make divine selection clear, the sacred lot was cast after prayer, as had been done frequently in OT days (e.g., 1 Sam. 14:42). To cast URIM AND THUMMIM was the prerogative of the priest under the old covenant (Ezra 2:63), but the early Christians already may have considered themselves a "royal priesthood" (1 Pet. 2:9). After PENTECOST, there is no reference to the casting of LOTS within the church, evidently because the direct guidance of the HOLY SPIRIT was now enjoyed.

Granted Peter's initial thesis that the number of the "sacred college" must be kept at full strength (cf. Matt. 19:28), it was the logical course for a Jew to adopt; Scripture neither blames him nor asserts that PAUL was the true "twelfth man." However, later vacancies (like that created by the execution of JAMES [Acts 12:2]) were not so filled, unless the appearance of James, the Lord's brother, is an instance (12:17). EUSEBIUS says that Matthias was one of the "seventy" (Lk. 10:1). This is possible in view of the "apostolic qualification" mentioned above. Less likely are identifications with Zacchaeus, Nathanael, or Barnabas. Matthias is never mentioned again in the NT. Rival traditions say that he was either martyred in Judea or that he evangelized the Ethiopians. As usual with such shadowy figures, a "Gospel" and "Traditions" were later fathered on him, and samples have been preserved by CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA. See ANDREW AND MATTHIAS, ACTS OF; MATTHIAS, GOSPEL (TRADITIONS) OF.

R. A. COLE

**Matthias, Acts of.** See ANDREW AND MATTHIAS, ACTS OF.

**Matthias, Gospel (Traditions) of.** A *Gospel of Matthias* is mentioned by ORIGEN and other sources. Three (possibly four) quotations from the *Traditions of Matthias are* preserved by CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, and these show affinities with the *Gospel of the Hebrews* and the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas* (see HEBREWS, GOSPEL OF THE; THOMAS, GOSPEL OF). According to Clement and Hippolytus, the Basilidians claimed traditions transmitted by Matthias. The problem is (a) whether the documents mentioned are identical (scholars differ), and (b) whether they are connected with the Basilidians (Clement's quotations are not markedly Gnostic; see *NTAp,* 1:382-86).

R. McL. WILSON

**Mattithiah** mat'uh-th*i*'uh (מַתִּתְיָהוּ *H5525* in 1 Chr. 15:18, 21; 25:3, 21, elsewhere מַתִּתְיָה *H5524,* both meaning "gift of Yahweh"). This name (in its two Hebrew forms) is one of many in the OT that are built on the noun *mattānâ H5510* or its cognate *mattat H5522,* both meaning "gift" (and derived from the verb *nātan H5989,* "to give"; the Heb. *n* is often assimilated to a following consonant): MATTAN (NT MATTHAN), MATTANAH, MATTANIAH, MATTATTAH (NT MATTATHA and MATTHAT), MATTENAI (cf. also ELNATHAN, JONATHAN, NATHAN, NATHANAEL, NETHANEL, NETHANIAH). The name Mattithiah (which no doubt could also be spelled *mattatyāhû;* cf. *HALOT,* 2:656, s.v. *mattattâ)* comes into Greek as MATTATHIAS, with the shorter forms MATTHIAS and (prob.) MATTHEW.

(1) Son of JEDUTHUN; he and his brothers "prophesied, using the harp in thanking and praising the LORD" (1 Chr. 25:3). He was one of the Levite gatekeepers who played the harp when the ARK OF THE COVENANT was brought to Jerusalem (15:18, 20; 16:5). Later he became the head of the fourteenth company of temple musicians appointed by lot under DAVID (25:1).

(2) Firstborn son of Shallum and descendant of LEVI through KORAH; he was a postexilic Levite responsible for baking the offering bread (1 Chr. 9:31).

(3) One of the descendants of Nebo who agreed to put away their foreign wives (Ezra 10:43; called "Mazitias" in 1 Esd. 9:35).

(4) One of the prominent men (not identified as priests) who stood near EZRA when the law was read at the great assembly (Neh. 8:4; 1 Esd. 9:43 [KJV, "Mattathias"; NRSV, "Mattathiah"]). If he was a priest, he may be the same as #2 above.

R. F. GRIBBLE

**mattock.** A farming implement, with a blade at one end and usually a pick at the other, used to break up the soil. It was especially used on hills, where vines were often grown. The English term is used by modern versions to render Hebrew )ēt *H908,* which occurs in one passage (1 Sam. 13:20-21; KJV has "coulter," but it uses "matlock" for a different Heb. word in this same passage, and for still other words in 2 Chr. 34:6 and Isa. 7:25).

**maw.** This English term is used by the KJV once with reference to the stomach of sacrificial animals (Deut. 18:3; NIV, "inner parts"). The Hebrew term (*qēbâ H7687*) occurs in one other passage, where it refers to a woman's belly (Num. 25:8).

**Mazda, Mazdaism.** See ZOROASTRIANISM.

**Mazitias** maz'uh-ti'uhs. KJV Apoc. form of MATTITHIAH (1 Esd. 9:35).

**Mazzaroth** maz'uh-roth (מַזָּרוֹת *H4666).* Transliteration used by the KJV and other versions to render a Hebrew word that occurs only once (Job 38:32). The context (vv. 31-33) clearly has to do with the stars, and this term is used in parallel with a Hebrew word that probably refers to a constellation (*ʿayiš H6568,* either the Bear [Ursa Major] or the Lion [Leo]). If Mazzaroth is not a general term for "constellations" (cf. NIV), it may refer to a specific constellation or star cluster (one possibility is the Hyades). The term is sometimes thought to be an alternate form of *mazzālôt* (pl. of *mazzāl H4655*), which also occurs only once, apparently with reference to the constellations generally or to the zodiacal signs (2 Ki. 23:5). See ASTRONOMY III.

**mazzebah.** See MASSEBAH.

**meadow.** Defined as moist, low-lying grasslands, and associated with lush pastures, meadows are scarcely characteristic of hot, dry PALESTINE. Grassy meadows do occur, however, in rainier uplands as in GALILEE and LEBANON, and in damp patches near springs, wells, streams, and irrigation channels. The presence of the latter often is indicated by the occurrence of ʾābēl *H64* in place names (e.g., ABEL MEHOLAH, "meadow of the dance," Jdg. 7:22). In a few passages, English versions use the rendering "meadow" variously for several Hebrew words, such as the rare term *kar H4120,* "field, pasture" (Ps. 65:13) and the more common *nāwâ H5661* (Jer. 25:37 NIV, NJPS). The latter term is often translated "pasture" (see esp. Ps. 23:2). The rendering "pastureland" (NRSV, "pasture land") stands for *migrāš H4494,* a frequent term (esp. in Josh. 21) referring to a patch of land belonging to a city (but outside its walls) and used for grazing (see also SUBURB).

G. R. LEWTHWAITE

**Meah** mee'uh. KJV transliteration of mēʾâ *H4396* with reference to a tower in Jerusalem (Neh. 3:1; 12:39. See HUNDRED, TOWER OF THE.

**meal.** This English term has two distinct meanings, both of which are found in Bible versions. It most commonly refers to the time or act of eating (from Middle English *meel,* "appointed time"), or more specifically to the portion of food eaten at such a time. For this sense, see MEALS. The second meaning is its reference to the coarsely ground grains of cereal grass (from Middle English *mele,* derived in turn from Latin *molere,* "to grind" [cf. Gk. *mylē,* "mill"]). The KJV uses it in a number of passages where modern versions commonly have "[fine] flour" (Gen. 18:6 et al.; but cf. also NRSV 1 Ki. 17:12-16 et al.). The NIV sometimes uses "ground meal" where other versions have "dough" (e.g., Num. 15:20-21). See also BREAD; GRAIN; SACRIFICE AND OFFERINGS III.D.2.

**meal offering.** See SACRIFICE AND OFFERINGS III.D.2.

**meals.** Time of eating, foods served, manner of eating, and treatment of guests were all important aspects of mealtime in the ANE.

1. Terminology
2. Everyday meals

3. The wayfarer's meals
4. Guests at meals
5. The king's table
6. Taboos and restrictions
7. Ritual meals
8. Symbolic use of meals in the Bible

**I. Terminology.** Aside from terms for BANQUET and FEAST, various Hebrew words and phrases referring to the act or time of eating (or to the portion eaten at mealtime) occur in the OT. For example, such words as *)ăruḥâ H786* ("provisions, allowance"), *leḥem H4312* ("bread, food"), and *ma)ăkāl H4407* ("food, fodder") can be rendered "meal" (in the NIV, see respectively Prov. 15:17; 1 Sam. 20:27; Job 33:20). Several expressions with the verb *)ākal H430* ("to eat") are used in the sense of "to have a meal" or the like (e.g., *)ākal leḥem* in Gen. 37:25). The phrase *(ēt hā)ōkel* ("time of food, mealtime") occurs once (Ruth 2:14).

In the Greek NT one finds parallel uses. For example, the noun *brōsis G1111* ("meat, food") can refer to a meal or meal portion (Heb. 12:16). The verb *esthiō G2266* ("to eat") is often used with *artos G788* ("bread") for the act of having a meal (Matt. 15:2 et al.). But Greek also has the more specific terms *ariston G756* ("first [*i.e.,* morning] meal," then "luncheon"; cf. the verb *aristaō G753,* Jn. 21:12, 15) and *deipnon G1279* ("main meal, dinner, supper"; cf. both nouns in Lk. 14:12, translated "luncheon or dinner" in the NIV and other versions).

**II. Everyday meals**

***A. Time of eating.*** Only two meals a day were usually eaten (Exod. 16:12; 1 Ki. 17:6). The laborer worked until midday before taking his first meal. The noon meal was not important, usually consisting of bread, olives, and sometimes fruit. The chief meal of the day (and prob. the only one for the poor) was served in the early evening, an hour or two before sunset when the duties of the day were over. It was a time of rest, refreshment, and family reunion. After the meal, for an hour or two before bedtime, the men sat around and talked (cf. Jer. 15:17).

***B. Place of eating.*** At family meals in the earliest times the Hebrews usually sat on the ground on mats to eat. Men and women ate together (Ruth 2:14; Job 1:4) except at more formal gatherings (Gen. 18:8-10). Later the Hebrews adopted the Canaanite practice of sitting on chairs or stools and eating from small leather stands. Ordinary homes did not have a room just for dining; at mealtime a broad circular mat or low tables were placed on the floor within reach of all who would dip from the common dish. Larger homes had dining rooms with one side open to the street with adjustable curtains. Passers-by stopped to look in to see who was being entertained and even talked with the guests. The table was a three-sided piece of furniture with open space left for servants to serve the meal. Guests reclined on couches that could accommodate three

A single bowl located in the center of a mat served as the common dish from which those at the meal would take their portions.

people. The wealthy homes had large dining halls. AMOS denounced the dissolute rich reclining on their couches (Amos 6:4).

ABRAHAM served his guests outdoors (Gen. 18:8). GIDEON served an angel under a tree (Jdg. 6:19). Shepherds and laborers ate their meals where they worked. The disciples of Jesus picked ripe grain and ate it one Sabbath as they passed through the fields (Mk. 2:23). Jesus fed the multitude on a hillside (Jn. 6:1-14), and his disciples on a beach after his resurrection (Jn. 21:9-13).

***C. Foods served.*** BREAD and WATER were the mainstay of the common people (Isa. 3:1). Meat was a luxury seldom enjoyed by the poor, though wild game was available (Gen. 25:27-28; 27:3). Meat from specially fattened animals was saved for special occasions (1 Sam. 28:24; Amos 6:4; Lk. 15:23). A lamb sometimes was roasted entire, sometimes stewed in milk (see restriction, Exod. 23:19). FISH was an abundant source of meat. EGGS were available (Isa. 10:14; Lk. 11:12).

Milk, particularly of the goat and camel, was served fresh or made into CURDS and whey (prob. the dish that was given to SISERA, Jdg. 4:19). Butter and olive OIL were important foods. Melons were popular (Num. 11:5). VEGETABLES were an important part of the diet; beans, lentils, and peas were made into a tasty pottage (Gen. 25:29). Fresh FRUIT was eaten in season. Figs, raisins, walnuts, almonds were the commonest dried fruits (Gen. 43:11; 1 Sam. 25:18). Relishes (onions, leeks, garlic, lettuce), seasonings (salt, spices), and sweets (usually honey and dates) were greatly desired by the Israelites (Gen. 43:11; Num. 11:5; 1 Ki. 10:10). LOCUSTS were eaten by JOHN THE BAPTIST (Matt. 3:4).

The harvester's fare consisted of bread dipped in vinegar and parched grain (Ruth 2:14). The shepherd carried with him a meal of bread, sometimes fruit and CHEESE, which he ate at noon while the sheep rested. A soldier's ration consisted of parched grain, bread, and cheese (1 Sam. 17:17, 18; cf. 25:18). See also FOOD.

**III. The wayfarer's meals.** Wayfarers often had difficulty finding food. QUAIL and MANNA were provided by God in answer to the complaints of the hungry Israelites (Exod. 16:13-16). HAGAR

Bedouin woman making curds using a goat-skin bag.

and her son ISHMAEL were sent into the wilderness with only bread and a skin of water (Gen. 21:14). ELIJAH was fed by the ravens (1 Ki. 17:6). Caravan drivers were careful to take generous amounts of food with them, consisting of dried fruits, bread, olives, and cheese. A nomadic code of hospitality developed in the ANE so that a sojourner coming to a stranger's home was assured of food, shelter, and protection from enemies who might be pursuing him. His host knew that one day he might be obliged to ask for similar shelter. JAEL'S slaying of SISERA was a violation of the nomadic code (Jdg. 4:17-22; cf. Gen. 18:1-8; 19:1-3; 24:29-33; Jdg. 19:16-21 for other examples of hospitality to travelers). Inns for travelers were a much older institution than most people realize, though usually only the well-to-do trader or traveler could afford them. The brothers of JOSEPH stopped at an inn on the way home from Egypt (Gen. 42:27; 43:21). MOSES and his family stopped at a lodging place on their way back to Egypt (Exod. 4:24). The innkeeper was not subject to the nomadic laws of hospitality, for he required payment for his food and lodging (Lk. 2:7; 10:35).

## IV. Guests at meals

***A. Duties of host.*** Proper etiquette was an important part of hospitality in the ANE (Matt. 25:34-35). The host was obligated to protect his guests against enemies (Ps. 23:5). LOT (Gen. 19:8) and GIBEAH (Jdg. 19:23-24) were ready to sacrifice the honor of their daughters in order to protect their guests. The guest was welcomed with a kiss (Lk. 7:45); water was provided to wash his dusty feet (Gen. 18:4; 19:2; Jdg. 19:21; 1 Sam. 25:41; Matt. 15:1-2; Mk. 7:2; Lk. 7:44; Jn. 13:4-5).The guests attended in their best attire, usually white (Eccl. 9:8), or sometimes were provided with garments by their host. They were anointed by their host or by servants (Amos 6:6; Matt. 26:7; Lk. 7:38; Jn. 12:3). Jesus rebuked Simon the Pharisee for ignoring the usual courtesies (Lk. 7:44-46). Sometimes the guests had wreaths placed on their heads (Isa. 28:1; 61:3). They were escorted to the table where they reclined on couches (Esth. 1:6; Ezek. 23:41; Jn. 21:20), seated in order of age or importance (Gen. 43:33; 1 Sam. 9:22; 20:25; Mk. 10:37; Lk. 14:8). Jesus told his disciples not to follow the practice of competing for the highest place at the table (Lk. 14:7-11).

After the guests were seated, servants passed among them to wash the hands. Afterward the host offered a blessing for the food (1 Sam. 9:13). Jesus gave thanks when he fed the multitude (Matt. 14:19; 15:36; Mk. 6:41; 8:6-7; Lk. 9:16). He gave thanks at the LORD'S SUPPER (Matt. 26:26-27; Mk. 14:22-23; Lk. 22:17, 19; 1 Cor. 11:24). He blessed the meal with the EMMAUS disciples (Lk. 24:30). The early Christians thanked God for their meals (Acts 27:35; Rom. 14:6; 1 Cor. 10:30).

***B. Serving of food.*** Guests usually were served by the women of the household (Matt. 8:14-15; Mk. 1:30-31; Lk. 10:40), or by servants in the wealthier homes (1 Ki. 10:5; 2 Chr. 9:4). Forks and other utensils were not used; guests ate with their fingers (Prov. 26:15; Mk. 14:20; Jn. 13:26). Cups and goblets were provided for drinking wine (1 Ki. 10:21). As a special act of respect the master of the house sometimes personally attended his guests. The guest of honor received the choicest and largest portions of food (Gen. 43:34; 1 Sam. 9:24). As an assurance of friendly regard, the host himself would dip a piece of bread in the common dish and hand it to another at the table (Jn. 13:26). Crumbs were thrown under the table to dogs (Matt. 15:27).

***C. Entertainment.*** Banquets and feasts were often accompanied by music (Isa. 5:12), by singing (2 Sam. 19:35; Isa. 5:12; Amos 6:4-6), by dancing (1 Sam. 30:16; Matt. 14:6; Mk. 6:21-22; Lk. 15:25), by the asking of riddles (Jdg. 14:12-18). In NT times Greek banquets were aesthetic and intellectual gatherings. After eating, the assembled guests talked far into the night on philosophy and politics.

**V. The king's table.** Ancient oriental rulers gave banquets that are still unmatched for opulence. A tiny lapis-lazuli cylinder seal carved before 3000 B.C. in Mesopotamia shows a banquet of Queen Shub-ad of UR with guests seated on little stools, receiving from servants goblets of wine while other servants are fanning to keep them cool. AKHENATEN of Egypt served in a spacious dining hall with garlands hanging from pillars while slaves cooled the air with fans. He had a summer dining room in a garden on a tiny island on an artificial lake. Egyptians did not eat at the same table with foreigners (Gen. 43:32).

Many people ate at the king's table, including his family, vassals, and favorites (1 Sam. 20:29, 34; 2 Sam. 9:7, 13). Defeated enemies ate at the conqueror's table (2 Ki. 25:29). SOLOMON'S table was famous for its lavish service (1 Ki. 10:5) and abundant food (4:27). Sons of loyal friends of DAVID ate at Solomon's table (2:7). Four hundred prophets ate at JEZEBEL'S table (18:19). DANIEL and his friends refused the king's food (Dan. 1:5-8). NEHEMIAH had 150 officials at his table (Neh. 5:17). Officials, such as cupbearers, bakers, butlers, and carvers were in charge of the king's table (Gen. 40:1; Neh. 1:11). Singers, dancers, and other entertainers were used to enliven the banquets, which often developed into drunken orgies. The sacred vessels from the Jerusalem temple were used at BELSHAZZAR'S drunken debauch (Dan. 5:1-4). Probably the greatest banquet recorded in the Bible was that of Ahasuerus (XERXES) for his nobles and governors which lasted 180 days (Esth. 1:4). ESTHER gave private dinners for the king and HAMAN (5:4-12; 7:1).

**VI. Taboos and restrictions.** The Hebrews had a number of dietary laws that forbade the eating of certain animals because of UNCLEANNESS (Lev. 11; cf. Acts 10:9-16). The PHARISEES would not eat without washing their hands (Mk. 7:3). In NT times the Jews did not approve of eating with Gentiles or sinners (Matt. 9:11). Moderation in diet was encouraged (Eccl. 10:17). In the NT Christians were not to reject anything God has created (Acts 11:9; 1 Tim. 4:4). Excesses were condemned (Rom. 13:13; Gal. 5:19, 21; 1 Pet. 4:3). Jesus said that food was not the most important thing in life (Matt.

6:25). Christians were not to ask any questions about food set before them at feasts (1 Cor. 10:25-27).

**VII. Ritual meals**

***A. Pagan.*** The Mesopotamians emphasized that sacrifice was a meal provided for the deities, and Ras Shamra texts (see UGARIT) show that the Canaanites believed that the gods needed food. Babylonians offered wild and domestic animals; they offered cakes of meal, dotted with incense, before their gods as food offerings. Ugaritic worshipers in N SYRIA used food offerings in their worship. JEREMIAH denounced the people for offering cakes to the QUEEN OF HEAVEN (Jer. 7:18). Offerings of food for the dead were common in Mesopotamian and Egyptian cultures. The Greeks offered animal sacrifices, and even the Eleusinian mysteries included the offering of sheaves of grain (see MYSTERY RELIGIONS). The Romans sacrificed great numbers of animals. Gifts of food were brought to the gods at mealtime on special occasions (such as a birthday, wedding, or safe return from a journey).

***B. Jewish.*** Hebrew Scriptures do not equate SACRIFICE with a meal provided for God. The sacrifices of GIDEON (Jdg. 6:19-22) and of MANOAH (13:15-20) were not eaten by the angel of the Lord but were transformed into a holocaust. Israelite sacrifice cannot be satisfactorily explained by calling it a meal offered to a god, though at the popular level it is quite likely that many Israelites thought that sacrifices were a meal in which the Lord took part. The three major festivals of the Hebrews—Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles—involved offerings. The prophets protested against the abundance of sacrifices and offerings from a disobedient people (1 Sam. 15:22; Isa. 1:13-17; Amos 5:21-24; Mic. 6:7, 8; Mal. 1:6, 7). Slaves shared in the sacrificial meals (Deut. 12:12).

***C. Christian. The*** NT ritual of the LORD'S SUPPER is a ritual meal derived from the Jewish PASSOVER and instituted by Jesus (1 Cor. 11:23-26). It is observed as a memorial reminder of the sacrificial death of Jesus for our sins. PAUL warned that the Corinthian Christians were making a mockery of the sacred meal (11:20-22).

**VIII. Symbolic use of meals in the Bible.** In the OT, failure of food is a symbol of God's judgment (Ezek. 4:16; Amos 4:6); fullness of bread symbolizes prosperity (Ezek. 16:49). The Egyptians will be given as food to the beasts and birds, symbolizing judgment (29:5). The psalmist says, "My tears have been my food" (Ps. 42:3), expressing longing for God. Feasting is a symbol of happiness (Prov. 15:15) and of judgment (Jer. 51:39). God will make a great feast at the end of the ages (Isa. 25:6). Solomon speaks of "the bread of wickedness" (Prov. 4:17).

In the NT feasting is a symbol for the coming kingdom (Matt. 8:11; 26:29; Mk. 14:25; Rev. 19:9, 17). Jesus said his food was to do the will of God (Jn. 4:34). He referred to himself as living water (4:10), bread from heaven (6:41), eating his flesh and drinking his blood (6:54-56). God's word is compared to food (Matt. 4:4).

(See further A. C. Bouquet, *Everyday Life in New Testament Times* [1953], 69-79; M. S. and J. L. Miller, *Encyclopedia of Bible Life* [1955], 299-319; E. W. Heaton, *Everyday Life in Old Testament Times* [1956]; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* [1961], 10, 122, 484-517; P. J. King and L. E. Stager, *Life in Biblical Israel* [2001], ch. 2; C. L. Blomberg, *Contagious Holiness: Jesus' Meals with Sinners* [2005].)

**Meani** mee-ay'ni. KJV Apoc. form of MAANI (1 Esd. 5:31).

**Mearah** mee-air'uh (מְעָרָה [not in NIV]; cf. the noun מְעָרָה *H5117,* "cave"). A Sidonian city, listed among the territories that the Israelites had not occupied (Josh. 13:4 KJV, NRSV). The site is unknown, and several emendations of the text have been proposed. The NIV, understanding the first consonant as a preposition (*mē,* i.e., *min H4946,* "from"), has ARAH.

**measure.** See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

**measuring line.** This expression is used in many English versions as a rendering of two Hebrew phrases, *qāw hammiddâ* (Jer. 31:3; *Ketib qĕwēb*) and ḥ*ebel middâ* (Zeph. 2:5). Both *qāw H7742* and ḥ*ebel H2475* can refer to a CORD or LINE, while *middâ H4500* means "size, measure, standard." The word *qāw* by itself can be rendered "measuring line" (cf. NIV, 2 Ki. 21:13; Job 38:5; et al.), and several passages speak of allotting or dividing up land with a ḥ*ebel* (Ps. 78:55; Amos 7:17; cf. also the beautiful metaphorical expression in Ps. 16:6); the latter term thus also takes on the meaning of "[allotted] plot of land" (e.g., Josh. 17:14) or even "region" (e.g., Deut. 3:4). The use of a cord of definite length for measuring was common (cf. 2 Sam. 8:2; Isa. 44:13). See also MEASURING REED.

**measuring reed (rod).** The Hebrew expression *qĕ;nēh hammiddâ* (lit., "reed of the measure") occurs six times in Ezekiel as the prophet gives the dimensions of the future temple (Ezek. 40:3, 5; 42:16-18). The word *qāneh H7866* means "reed" or "stalk," and from the Semitic root is derived the Greek term *kanna* (or *kannē;* cf. also *kanōn G2834,* "rule" [see CANON]), as well as related terms in other Indo-European languages (e.g., English *cane,* through French and Latin). The SEPTUAGINT translation of Ezekiel, however, uses another Greek term for "reed," *kalamos G2812,* which no doubt influenced the writer of Revelation (see Rev. 11:1; 21:15-16). Reeds were commonly used in the ANE as instruments of measurement. The length of such rods would have varied over any given period of time. See MEASURING LINE; WEIGHTS AND MEASURES I.B.

**meat.** See FOOD.

**meat offering.** See SACRIFICE AND OFFERINGS III.D.2.

**Mebunnai** mi-buhn'*i* (מְבֻנַּי *H4446,* apparently from בָּנָה *H1215,* "to build"). A Hushathite (i.e., from HUSHAH) and one of the Thirty, DAVID'S elite guard (2 Sam. 23:27); because he is called SIBBECAI in the parallel passages (2 Sam. 21:18; 1 Chr. 11:29; 20:4; 27:11), some scholars suspect that the name Mebunnai is the result of textual corruption.

**Mecherathite** mi-ker'uh-th*i*t. See MEKERATHITE.

**Meconah** mi-koh'nuh (מְכֹנָה *H4828,* "foundation, abode"). KJV and TNIV Mekonah. A town in JUDAH, listed between ZIKLAG and EN RIMMON in a list of cities settled after the EXILE (Neh. 11:28). It was probably in the NEGEV, but the site is unknown (for the view that Meconah is the same as MADMANNAH, see J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* [1959], §317.29-30).

**Medaba** med'uh-buh. KJV Apoc. form of MEDEBA (1 Macc. 9:36).

**Medad** mee'dad (מֵידָד *H4773,* "beloved"). An Israelite elder upon whom the Spirit of the Lord came, enabling him to prophesy (Num. 11:26-27). See ELDAD.

**Medan** mee'dan (מִדָן *H4527,* "strife"). Son of ABRAHAM and KETURAH and the founder of an Arabian tribe (Gen. 25:2; 1 Chr. 1:32). Since the name is mentioned just before MIDIAN, some think it may be a doublet. Medan is not mentioned anywhere else in the Bible or in any extrabiblical document and therefore remains unidentified, although E. A. Knauf (*ABD,* 4:656) suggests an association with Wadi Mudan in S Midian.

**Medanite** mee'duh-n*i*t. According to the MT, the Medanites (Heb. *mĕdānîm*) sold JOSEPH in Egypt (Gen. 37:36). This name is regarded as an alternate form or a misspelling of *midyānîm,* "Midianites" (cf. v. 28). See MIDIAN.

**Mede** meed. See MEDIA.

**Medeba** med'uh-buh (מֵידְבָא *H4772,* perhaps "waters of strength"). An ancient town in MOAB, identified with modern Madeba in Jordan, on a tableland c. 16 mi. SE of the mouth of the JORDAN River and 6 mi. S of HESHBON. The first biblical reference to Medeba is found in a victory song over Moab (Num. 21:30), where Medeba is mentioned as one of the cities taken from SIHON, king of the AMORITES. After the victory of Israel over Sihon (21:21-26), Medeba was assigned to the tribe of REUBEN (Josh. 13:9, 16).

The claim to this land often was disputed by the Reubenites, Ammonites, and Moabites (cf. Denis Baly, *The Geography of the Bible* [1957], 30, 172). The Ammonites (see AMMON), after the disgraceful treatment of DAVID'S messengers, united with the Arameans (see ARAM) in a campaign against JOAB and ABISHAI before Medeba, but they were defeated (1 Chr. 19:6-15). According to the MOABITE STONE, Medeba had belonged to OMRI and AHAB, but MESHA king of Moab captured it and had it rebuilt (*ANET,* 320, lines 8, 30). The prophet ISAIAH names Medeba in an oracle against Moab (Isa. 15:2). During Maccabean times (see MACCABEE), Medeba belonged to the NABATEANS. According to 1 Macc. 9:36-42, John son of Mattathias was murdered by a man from Medeba. John's brothers, Jonathan and Simon, avenged their brother's death. After the death of ANTIOCHUS, the city was taken by Hyrcanus and finally was captured by Alexander Jannaeus, although Hyrcanus II promised to restore it to ARETAS, king of ARABIA (cf. Jos. *Ant.* 13.5.4; 13.9.1; 14.1.4). See HASMONEAN II.

In the Byzantine period Medeba was apparently a wealthy city, for several of the mosaic pavements dating from this time are still partially preserved here. Today the fame of Medeba rests upon its mosaic map of the Holy Land, dating from the late 6th cent., but first discovered in 1884 (M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map* [1954]; see CARTOGRAPHY, BIBLICAL). Unfortunately, large portions of the map were damaged or destroyed during the construction of a new church on the old

The Medeba (or Madeba) map, a mosaic that depicts the Holy Land, including a detailed representation of Jerusalem.

site. The mosaic map was included in the pavement of this church. (See *ABD,* 4:656-58; *NEAEHL*, 3:992-1001.)

P. A. VERHOEF

**Media** mee'dee-uh (מָדַי *H4512;* this form, as well as מָדַי *H4513* [only Dan. 11:1], is also used as a gentilic, "Mede[s]"; Aram. מָדַי *H10404;* Gk. Μῆδος *G3597*). The home of the Medes, an ancient Indo-European people of NW Iran who were absorbed by the rise of PERSIA in the 7th cent. B.C. The Hebrew name appears as MADAI, one of the sons of JAPHETH (Gen. 10:2; 1 Chr. 1:5); Madai is evidently regarded as the ancestor of the Medes. The only sources of knowledge about their geographical distribution in antiquity is found in the annals of the Assyrian rulers who campaigned against them. Their language, although of Indo-European origin and possibly older than Persian, has survived only in loanwords and specific names in Old Persian records. They seem to have settled in the plateau of Iran below the Caspian Sea and considerably NE of the TIGRIS River. They were shielded somewhat from the SCYTHIANS, who shared a related culture, and by the CIMMERIANS, with whom they appear to have been allied. Ultimately Scythia fell upon the Cimmerians and the nearby kingdom of Urartu (see ARARAT), and the Medes were left alone to fend off further aggression.

The origins of Media are obscure; however, the annals of the Assyrian SHALMANESER III mention them. He ruled from 858-824 B.C. and probably discovered them in the region of ECBATANA (Hamadan) around 836. The annals of Shamshi-Adad V (823-811) mention a ruler of Iran who had 1,200 cities N of Lake Urmia. TIGLATH-PILESER III (745-727), one of the most methodical of Assyrian strategists, carried out a number of campaigns in Iran penetrating to the foot of Mount Demavend. It appears that during the 8th cent. Media provided horses for the Assyrian army, but the alliance of the Iranian tribes was a constant threat to the settled villages and towns of MESOPOTAMIA. SARGON II (721-705) overcame HOSHEA, the ephemeral king of SAMARIA, and placed the subject peoples "in the towns of the Medes" (2 Ki. 17:5-6; 18:11), which he controlled.

Sargon is known to have taken a certain Dayaukku as prisoner of war and deported him with his

family to HAMATH in SYRIA. It has been suspected that this is, in fact, the Deioces mentioned by HERODOTUS (*Hist.* 1.96) as the founder of the Median royal line, the son of an unknown chieftain. His son Khshathrita (Phraortes) died in a battle with the Assyrians, and his son Uvarkhshatra (Cyaxares) succeeded to his dominion over the three sections of Media (ibid., 1.102) and apparently renewed Median control over the regions round Lake Urmia. Herodotus adds that during this period Cyaxares learned the warfare and military organization of the Scythians and used it with success against Alyattes, king of Sardis, in a long campaign. During this war an eclipse of the sun occurred that greatly terrified the troops of both armies. This astronomical event had been forecast by the Milesian Greek sage Thales and is one of the few dates in Median history that may be pinpointed with accuracy as 28 May 585 B.C.

The effect of Scythian culture is seen in the mixed form of what survives of Median art, which demonstrates strong barbarian motifs. Cyaxares overcame his Scythian overlords and annexed the regions of the Persians and the Mannai to his kingdom apparently using Ecbatana as his capital. In 615 B.C. he had marched on NINEVEH but had been repulsed. He turned N and captured Aššus on the Tigris River. The Babylonian king NABOPOLASSAR concluded a treaty with Cyaxares which was sealed by the marriage of Amytis, granddaughter of Cyaxares, with the son and heir of Nabopolassar, NEBUCHADNEZZAR II. In the inscriptions from this period the general term *Umman-manda* is used by


Media.

Artistic relief from Persepolis showing typical Median dress (c. 350 B.C.).

the Assyro-Babylonian scribes for Scythians, Cimmerians, and at least in this instance for the Medes (D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldean Kings in the British Museum* [1956], 16).

The hoped-for attack of the Medes upon BABYLON, the subject of Isaiah's prophecy (Isa. 13:17-19), came to pass after the Median power had been combined with that of Persia in 539 B.C. Cyaxares's kingdom passed to his son and successor Arshtivaiga (ASTYAGES), under whom the Median state gave way and fell to its former vassal, Persia. For a brief period Media had shared the rule of W Asia with the Chaldeans, Lydians, and Egyptians and had built a number of great city-states. Media, however, finally fell to Persia under CYRUS II in 550. The name Media was used in later times by the Sassanians and their successors. It appears in Roman literature, and Luke says that Medes were among those to whom PETER preached on PENTECOST (Acts 2:9).

(See further E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran,* 1 [1929]; F. W. König, *Älteste Geschichte der Meder und Perser* [1934]; G. G. Cameron, *History of Early Iran* [1936]; R. Ghirshman, *Iran* [1961]; E. Porada, *Alt-Iran: Die Kunst in vorislamischer Zeit* [1962]; T. C. Young, Jr., in *CAH,* 4, 2nd ed. [1988], 1-52; E. M. Yamauchi, *Persia and the Bible* [1990], ch. 1; M. Roaf in *Later Mesopotamia and Iran,* ed. J. Curtis [1995], 54-66.)

W. WHITE, JR.

**mediator.** One who acts as intermediary between parties to reconcile them. In a general sense it

means one who interposes, and in so doing, gives some kind of guarantee. By mediating between two persons, the mediator is also to be representative of both sides. Thus, he can give a guarantee in both directions that some kind of agreement can be reached and that justice will be done.



## I. General introduction

***A. Linguistic background.*** The word *mediator* occurs in the English OT once as the rendering of Hebrew *mēlîṣ H4885* (Job 33:23; this Heb. word occurs also in Gen. 42:33; 2 Chr. 32:31; Isa. 43:27). In the NT it renders Greek *mesitēs G3542,* which is found six times (Gal. 3:19-20; 1 Tim. 2:5; Heb. 8:6; 9:15; 12:24; cf. LXX Job 9:33 [rendering the Heb. ptc. *môsîaḥ*] and note the verb *mesiteuō G3541* in Heb. 6:17). The concept of mediation tends to slide over into such others as RECONCILIATION, RANSOM, and ATONEMENT. Actually the sense of reconciliation is more to the fore in the NT passages where the exact Greek word appears. The emphasis seems to be on the efficacy of Christ and his work of salvation, and in the Hebrews passages seems to refer more to the initiator of a new covenant by which reconciliation is established (see COVENANT, THE NEW). In the technical sense, it applies to the finished work of Christ. In it, Christ is mediating between God and human beings, but not always in the reconciling of differences; frequently it is in the sense of his being a channel of communication.

***B. The use of the terms.*** It is still worth noting by way of introduction that *mediation* can be a word of considerable ambiguity, although it is used technically in religion, and especially in the Christian religion. There is the general truth that many things are mediated to mankind in some way or another. One readily sees how life itself is mediated through one's parents; moreover, society and culture give intellectual, moral, and religious convictions. "No man is an island"—everyone has a certain amount of capital with which he operates, mediated to him no matter how much he eventually makes it his own.

This general understanding of the terms may be seen in an even wider context. In religion there is the necessary distinction between natural and supernatural, human and divine, and if there is to be any relationship between these diverse categories of being, some kind of mediation must be assumed. Mediation in the general sense, therefore, especially as it gets closer to a religious understanding, has to do with establishing and maintaining some kind of relationship between God and human beings. It is the assumption of every religion that this gulf, however wide, is bridgeable. People believe they can reach up by way of priests or priestcraft, perhaps by magic. There are official acts and rites that supposedly bring a person into the presence of God. This does not necessarily imply sinfulness; more

generally it implies the separation of two different kinds of being. From the other direction, every religion seems to speak of God's reaching down to human beings. What communion is possible? How does the high and holy one condescend to his creatures? How does spirit touch flesh?

In the biblical sense this whole question becomes much more pressing. If man is made in the IMAGE OF GOD, then there need be no fundamental difference between them. Human beings "inbreathed with the breath of God" are not strange to God's presence. The profound and radical problem seen in Scripture is, therefore, not HUMAN NATURE, but the nature of SIN. It is here that the great separation takes place. Not only does sin separate from God, because HOLINESS cannot even "look upon" unholiness, but the nature of sin is so radical, so cosmic, that sinners do not wish to approach God; they no longer want communion with the Holy One. A change in a person's nature can take place so that part of the problem of mediation becomes a creative one, and this is surely by necessity from God's side.

How then may one have a new nature in order that the previous oneness with God may be restored? There is no question that the biblical emphasis is on the GRACE of God; he initiated the process, paid the price, sustained the reconciliation. He alone can give assurance of success. "There is no one righteous, not even one," insists PAUL, echoing the psalmist (Rom. 3:10; Pss. 14:1; 53:1). Not even Israel, the chosen one, does good. All mankind sins continually in rebellion and disobedience. The appeal of the prophets does not restore them; not only are the actions of the Israelites wrong, but their affections are wrong; "their hearts are far from me" (Isa. 29:13). Israel is under the obligation of a series of covenants and even with all of God's help, never makes good. God himself must provide the way; only his mediator can bridge the gap.

Of basic significance, however, is this: COVENANT in the OT is more than contract. As Israel sinned continually, God's arm was still strong to save. Default by one member of a covenant or a contract should render it null and void; the prophetic word, however, is that God will never utterly cast off his people. God keeps the covenant by showing mercy. Indeed, he sustains the covenant until he can rework it in a new covenant. There must be a mediator who will "guarantee it by an oath" (cf. Heb. 6:17 NRSV).

By way of setting or context, therefore, a *mediator,* as the term is generally used, is a "go-between." In religion in general, a person's reaching up and God's reaching down are understandable, but impossible because of sin. In the Bible, specifically, it can be seen that people ought to obey and

Bull head from a Sumerian lyre (Ur, c. 2600 B.C.). Moses functioned as a mediator between God and the people when the Israelites sinned by making a golden calf at Mount Sinai.

therefore, by nature, do not need a mediator; but as a matter of fact, they sin themselves into such a necessity. The solution for this problem, therefore, rests in the act of God, not in the potential in people, so that even Israel, with every support, never made good. Mediator and mediation, therefore, in biblical usage, become a necessity of operation from God's position, not ours. ABRAHAM found a ram in a thicket (Gen. 22:13), the surprising provision made by God. The "lamb was slain from the creation of the world" (Rev. 13:8). God was ready (if one may use a time sequence) for what now appears to have been inevitable. Mediator and mediation in the biblical sense, therefore, are a very special study.

## II. The special biblical use

***A. A philosophic approach.*** It is generally conceded that the approach of the Bible is not philosophic, and this certainly is true as one observes the Greek development of philosophy in the Western world. This is not to say that issues raised in Scripture do not give rise to philosophical problems. There is no question that the Bible presents a "worldview" and that this worldview is supported by persons, teachings, "the mighty acts of God," and the interpretation put on those "acts of God" by the writers of the various biblical books. There is an impressive cohesion and unity in the Bible. What is meant, therefore, is that, whereas there is much philosophic material in the Scriptures, the writers rarely engage in what is strictly called "philosophizing."

The philosophical questions, nevertheless, remain: the nature of God, the move and meaning of history, the hierarchy of values, and basically the necessary relationships between transcendence and immanence. This last is the problem of mediation, and has to be dealt with. How does God touch the

world of nature? How do human beings reach up to God? There is in all this the kind of question that became of crucial importance in the development of the LOGOS in Greek philosophy. It started with Thales, probably, and reached its peak with the STOICS, and had the kind of later development in philosophy that may be reflected in the Johannine writings of the NT.

Any complete interpretation of mediation or mediator must face up to the fact that in spite of what has just been said regarding a lack of philosophy, there must be some recognition of hypostatic mediation treated in a variety of ways in the Scriptures. In discussing the word *mediator,* JESUS CHRIST must come to the fore; but this is not to say that similar ideas were not already under treatment before the fulfillment in Jesus Christ. There is no question, as the writer to the Hebrews puts it, that "In the past God spoke to our forefathers through the prophets at many times and in various ways" (Heb. 1:1). This is true of the idea of mediation as it is true of many other subjects.

The OT speaks of WISDOM, or WORD, or SPIRIT, all of which terms can be interpreted as merely ways of speaking, but strangely the terms are frequently used as if they were personal, even though they have to do with the nature of God and may be thought of as ways in which God acts. The terms are frequently used as if there is something, or someone, distinguishable from God, but representing him in his outreach to humanity. In such fashion they are therefore interesting prototypes of what becomes a full-orbed CHRISTOLOGY in the person and work of Christ. These "realities," such as Wisdom, Word, and Spirit, are not merely God's attributes, but become almost personified, especially in the Wisdom Literature of the OT. SERVANT OF THE LORD passages, especially in Isaiah, take on this same character. A hypostasis is a reality between a person and an abstraction—rooted in God's nature, but distinct from him. It is clear, therefore, that the OT is necessarily philosophical in the use of such concepts.

**1. Wisdom.** Take for example the term *wisdom.* It can be interpreted in the ordinary sense of understanding or broad knowledge. It can be thought of as creative also, or understood as a kind of Tao, the "way of things." It is not so much an attribute of God as it is a clue to God, or something that God has set loose in his world to represent him (cf. Job 28:23-27; Ps. 104:24; Prov. 1:20-33; 3:13-19; and especially 8:22-31). In a poetic way there is an inescapable personification, "Wisdom calls aloud in the street, / she raises her voice in the public squares" (Prov. 1:20).

**2. Spirit.** The use of *Spirit* is much the same. The development of the idea in the OT is not a systematic one, nor is this surprising, since the OT is surely not a systematic theology. But there is no question that God touches men and women by his Spirit. By the same token, there is no question that God's touching human beings by his Spirit is a mediating act. In a sharper sense, the Spirit is portrayed as appearing in nature (Gen. 1:2; Job 33:4; Ps. 104:29-30). God is creative and supporting in the universe by his Spirit. Again, it is clear that the Spirit is operative in human experience and history (Neh. 9:20; Isa. 4:4; 61:1; Ezek. 37:1-14; 36:27; Zech. 4:6). Thus men are guided and history is controlled and directed by the movement of God's Spirit in the hearts of those who obey him.

On another level the Spirit apparently acts in an eschatological sense. This is not immediately apparent in the OT, but it is established in the NT when the prophet JOEL is quoted on the day of PENTECOST in support of the break-in of the new kingdom: "In the last days, God says, / I will pour out my Spirit on all people. / Your sons and daughters will prophesy, / your young men will see visions, / your old men will dream dreams" (Acts 2:17; cf. Joel 2:28). Frequently the idea of Spirit is used as the inspiring of individuals in prophetic utterances, in artistic skill, and in strength for battle. There is nothing more characteristic in the use of Spirit in the OT than the inspiration of an artist. The

OT writers were not puzzled by the psychology of how a great creative idea should come to human beings: it is plainly, in their understanding, a gift of the Spirit of God.

The term HOLY SPIRIT (lit., "Spirit of holiness") occurs three times in the OT: once in the Psalms (Ps. 51:11) and twice in Isaiah (Isa. 63:10-11). It is highly debatable whether this is any reflection of that development of the office of the Holy Spirit which is set forth in the NT, and which reaches definition in the great creeds of the church. In the NT, the person of the Holy Spirit is a member of the TRINITY, and can be understood only insofar as the Trinity is understood, and then over against the Persons of the Father and the Son. The OT emphasis adumbrates the NT doctrine, with an emphasis on the Spirit as essence more than person; power more than personality. Basically God is a Spirit by nature and essence, and the Spirit, as spoken of in the OT, is clearly a reflection of his divine immanence. Yet in all this, God does mediate his person to other persons by spirit touching spirit, and thereby enlightens and quickens with divine energy. The easiest analogy, although not necessarily the best, is the way in which one human being touches another human being. Even though the bodies and the senses are channels of communication, one person may enlighten and inspire another, and communion in friendship and love is possible only when spirit touches spirit.

**3. Logos.** The word LOGOS is a complex study in itself, but is relevant for brief treatment here as illustrating a means of God's reaching out to his creation. The question is the extent to which it is used in the ordinary sense of the word itself, and the extent to which it is understood in the light of its subtlety and sophistication in the philosophic tradition of the Greeks.

The Logos of God in Scripture refers to Christ and is thus a mediation between God and human beings. God finds ways of speaking and we find ways of hearing. In addition to this, it is by God's command that the world is brought to existence and sustained ("by his powerful word," Heb. 1:3). In mystery and miracle, therefore, God, who is Spirit, crosses the chasm to the world of nature and matter by his creative Word.

***B. The prophet as mediator.*** By way of introduction, it must be recognized that in the history of theology the work of Christ has been classically analyzed into that of Prophet, Priest, and King. The device is a useful one as long as it is remembered that any such outline is a point of departure rather than a rigid control. The outline is a simple one, which is an advantage. It serves well as a basis of operation. In no area is the outline more useful than in an understanding of mediator and mediation as the concepts find fulfillment in the NT, specifically in Jesus Christ.

An added note of interest and of help, which in turn opens up the classification of Prophet, Priest, and King, is the fact that in each case there is a double use. To make this clear, one observes that as Prophet, Jesus not only spoke the Word of God or the words of God, but was in himself the living Word. He said what had to be said "officially," and at the same time manifested what had to be said in terms of life. The same sort of thing is true of the office of Priest. Jesus appears in the Gospels as the fulfillment of OT previews and types (this has its classical explanation in Hebrews), because his is the total fulfillment once and for all. He fulfills the office of Priest, however, not only as the One who makes the offering, but as the One who is the offering. Kingship illustrates the same double thrust. Christ is King in the normal sense of the word: there is no question that he is to rule and to do so eschatologically; his rule will be in power and completeness. At the same time, the evidence is inescapable that Christ the King is also the Suffering Servant, and so, in some sense, he is the King who rules by serving.

From this general introduction, a discussion of Christ as Prophet is now germane. Modern

theology has drawn the emphasis on the Living Word as the proper interpretation of Jesus' ministry. This probably is due to the fact that 20th-cent. theology in general has been evading the impact of verbal and plenary INSPIRATION, and this tendency has moved the church away from an authoritative book, away from propositional theology, and away from rules and laws ("moralisms" and "legalisms"), toward a personal encounter with the living Lord. It is not necessary to criticize this emphasis in order to make plain the fact that the other position has been neglected or even discarded. This is a weakness, and certainly an evasion of much that dominates the Gospels, which could and should serve as a guide for life. At the conclusion of the SERMON ON THE MOUNT (and social action in the 20th cent. happily urges the ethic of Jesus' teaching there), Jesus plainly says, "Therefore everyone who hears these words of mine and puts them into practice is like a wise man who built his house on the rock" (Matt. 7:24).

Jesus apparently did not hesitate to underline "these words of mine," and makes the astounding declaration that a man's life stands up or falls down in relation to his *words*. When Jesus had made the requirements of DISCIPLESHIP entirely too stringent for the multitudes, and indeed for some of his closest followers, many turned away. What he was saying to them was indeed a hard saying; and Jesus refused to soften. The question he then set for his disciples was not merely a rhetorical one: "Do you also wish to go away?" (Jn. 6:67 NRSV). Even his disciples could have gone away. It is a nice question whether people really can bear the words of Christ; but Peter's answer is significant: "Lord, to whom shall we go? You have the words of eternal life" (6:68). The emphasis is clearly on the "hard saying" and "the words of eternal life" (6:60, 66-69).

What has been set forth, therefore, by way of these references points up the continuity between the OT and the NT. OT law reaches fulfillment in the teachings of Christ, and the sayings of Christ lay on the Christian the same requirements of obedience; for what he says to human beings mediates what God says to them. Part of the idea of fulfillment includes, of course, interpretation, and Jesus is apparently more interested in content and motive than the OT appears to be. Nevertheless, he did not hesitate to say, as illustrative of this continuity, "Do not think that I have come to abolish the Law or the Prophets; I have not come to abolish them but to fulfill them. I tell you the truth, until heaven and earth disappear, not the smallest letter, not the least stroke of a pen, will by any means disappear from the Law until everything is accomplished. Anyone who breaks one of the least of these commandments and teaches others to do the same will be called least in the kingdom of heaven, but whoever practices and teaches these commands will be called great in the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. 5:17-19). There is no escape from the continuity with the law. There is no escape from even the "iotas" and the "dots." One does not relax these commandments; he "practices them and teaches them." It may be said again that how one "fulfills" the law can be an area of debate, but the law cannot be debated; it is understood at the same time that Jesus and the Gospels give official Christian interpretation to the OT Torah. After all this has been urged, Christ is in the tradition of the prophets, and by way of this high calling mediates the words of God to man.

It is only in the acceptance of Christ's revelatory mediating position with regard to the "words" of God that Christ, the Living Word, may be properly understood. His life is illustrative of what he had come to say. He revealed in the flesh the revelation of God himself, but never apart from the authority and interpretation of the words. To state it another way, there is no escape from the control of the words by way of the Living Word. The two ideas are completely interlocked. It is possible to think of any other man as saying one thing and doing another, as set forth idealistically—what a person ought to do as over against what he is willing and capable of doing; not so with Christ. The living words that come from God through him cannot be divorced from what he showed to be the

Word in life.

Nevertheless, the Living Word does mediate God to us. The writer to the Hebrews writes in this fashion: "In the past God spoke to our forefathers through the prophets at many times and in various ways, but in these last days he has spoken to us by his Son.…The Son is the radiance of God's glory and the exact representation of his being" (Heb. 1:1–3). In the Gospel according to John, it is quite evident that the emphasis must be placed on Christ as the Living Word: "I am the way and the truth and the life" (Jn. 14:6). Or again, "Anyone who has seen me has seen the Father" (14:9).

In the Johannine writings generally, this emphasis is the burden of description and definition. The identity between Christ the Word and God himself introduces the philosophical terms of the gospel: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God" (Jn. 1:1). This Word was creative (the parallel to the Logos idea in the OT is quite clear), in it was life and light; through it men and women are enlightened, empowered, and brought to a new kind of nature by a new kind of birth (1:2-13). But this was not merely the creative power of the Logos of God's Spirit, for there was more: "The Word became flesh and made his dwelling among us. We have seen his glory, the glory of the One and Only, who came from the Father, full of grace and truth" (1:14). The same idea is picked up again in the First Epistle of John: "That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked at and our hands have touched—this we proclaim concerning the Word of life. The life appeared; we have seen it and testify to it, and we proclaim to you the eternal life, which was with the Father and has appeared to us. We proclaim to you what we have seen and heard" (1 Jn. 1:1-3).

References to Christ as the Living Word appear again and again in this same fashion throughout the Gospels. It will be evident later that this Word is redemptive as well as revelatory. It is sufficient to make clear at this point only that Christ, as set forth in the Gospels, really does reveal God, not only his will, but also his nature. With regard to the original question of the meaning of mediator and mediation, it is evident that Christ spanned the chasm. He came across from the transcendent God to manifest the GLORY of God, even on the dusty roads of Palestine.

The other ideas of Spirit and Wisdom as developed in the OT are not here separated from Christ the Logos. Wisdom is evident in what Jesus had to say, and the Spirit is needed to take of the things of Christ and show them to us (Jn. 16:15). Even though Christ has come to show how life may be lived, we now live in a variety and complexity unknown in ancient Palestine. How then does the way of God incarnate in Jesus Christ in 1st-cent. Palestine relate to a person in the 20th-cent. civilization? This is the office of the Holy Spirit, who leads mankind into all truth, but he is never to be divorced from the words of Christ and the Living Word. Christ was never married and he never had any children. Has he nothing to say to people who are married and have children? Christ was never attached to a machine on a complex assembly line. Has he nothing to say to a man who is? He was never a slave, nor was he a master. He never suffered the pangs and anxieties of old age. He never traveled by jet plane, and he never bore arms in battle. The mediation, therefore, of the words and the Word requires the mediation of the Holy Spirit. It is at this point that the modern emphasis on existentialism has relevance. The 20th-cent. Christian in a society unimaginable in ancient Palestine or in ancient Rome still obeys the words and Word and may therefore "image God."

The structure is somewhat like this (although there are limitations in finite means and language): the Father is the source and ground of creative and sustaining life. He has spoken in the law, to his OT saints, in the holy nation, in the "mighty acts" of holy history. Thus God "reached" human beings. "I AM WHO I AM" (Exod. 3:14) was at the same time the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (3:15), and transcendence inspired immanence. Then God's Word became flesh; the Father revealed himself in

the Son; the Holy Spirit came upon the church to make known the Son, who revealed the Father. Mediation is inescapably trinitarian.

***C. The priest as mediator.*** In the priestly office, Christ fulfills a double function. He is the "offerer" and is also the offering. When the time came for him to lay down his life he was perfectly clear at this point: "No one takes it from me, but I lay it down of my own accord" (Jn. 10:18). It is essential, therefore, to see what is required of a priest when he offers himself as a sacrifice.

The OT PRIESTS were required to be of the tribe of LEVI. A relationship to the family of MOSES and AARON is indicated. In addition to proper family relationship, there were complex rules and regulations having to do with the priest's physical health and also his physical completeness. Special rules and regulations were laid down regarding his preparation for and his training in his calling. Even his economic support and his dwelling place were under special law. In every regard a man was "set aside" for priesthood.

On the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16) is found the climax of the whole OT approach to God. It is here that in the clearest fashion is depicted the mediatorial office of the priest toward God. As the prophet mediates God's Word to his people, the priest mediates the people's word to God. On the Day of Atonement the whole nation drew near and the priest sought forgiveness for the sins of the whole people. It is easy to see typified here what the NT means when it says that Christ dies for human beings. The Day of Atonement was a community action, and when the priest went into the Holy of Holies, he met God as a representative of God's people and carried out in action what God had set forth as acceptable worship. See ATONEMENT, DAY OF.

At this point, however, the emphasis was on the priest and not on the offering. The preparation of the priest on this day was significant. In order to mediate he must be "right," and the personal preparation he made is assumed to "righten" him to stand in God's presence. He was required to wash his body and to put on clean and fresh garments. So much for the outer person; then he was required to make an offering for his own sins. Cleansed outside and inside, in body and spirit, he was now ready to act as mediator. Only because of his own cleansing might he now make an offering for the cleansing of the people.

The parallel in Jesus to this OT preparation of the high priest is easy to see. On this one thing the Gospels are crystal clear. Christ was indeed the sinless One. Personally he challenged his enemies to find sin in him, and the challenge was not taken. In addition to this, as the writer to the Hebrews makes clear, his identity with his people in his mediating priesthood is much more profound than could have been possible for any priest in the OT dispensation. He "has been tempted in every way, just as we are—yet was without sin"; we do not have a high priest "who is unable to sympathize with our weaknesses" (Heb. 4:15). The book of Hebrews returns to this idea again and again. Finally now, once and for all, there is a High Priest apart from liturgy and ceremonial cleansing who may move people into the presence of God.

Of deeper significance than Jesus' personal preparation and purity is the task itself, which gives enormous weight to mediation and which surely must be its heart and core. He is the mediator supreme in the offering made. When Jesus made his offering on the stage of history, the words of JOHN THE BAPTIST described once and for all his central task. John did not announce the coming of a teacher, nor a healer, nor a social welfare expert, although these are all surely true and have their place in the Gospels and in the theology of the church. These, however, are John's words of announcement: "Look, the Lamb of God!" (Jn. 1:36). No exegesis in those days was required. All his hearers knew what it meant to call Jesus the Lamb of God. In the one simple announcement was

summed up the whole sacrificial complexity of the OT TABERNACLE and TEMPLE: the sacrifices, the repeated offerings, the almost endless routines of WORSHIP. Now had appeared the complete sacrifice once and for all. What sinners could not do for themselves God was now doing for them. What endless sacrifices could not secure was now secured by the free gift of grace: "you are to give him the name Jesus, because he will save his people from their sins" (Matt. 1:21).

It is evident that any discussion of Christ as the offerer cannot long stay away from Christ as the offering. The sinless One is clearly called to act as priest (cf. again Lev. 16), but that very description applies to the offering as well. When John announced "the Lamb of God," the first thing that must have come to mind was the care with which the Lamb without blemish was chosen and nurtured for the sacrifice in the OT dispensation. Care was taken also by the priests themselves to insure that the Lamb that was brought for the offering was without blemish. The old hymn rightly reflects what use is made of this in the NT: "There was no other good enough to pay the price of sin."

What begins in this simplicity and in the parallels drawn between the OT and the NT becomes a doctrine of profound concern to the NT. There is

A figure representing the Jewish high priest. Jesus mediates for us in his high priestly role.

the necessity of some price to be paid, but a part of the price has to do with purity of life, perfect obedience, complete commitment; this and much more is required for acceptability in God's sight. It is impossible to speak of this only in terms of mediation; this idea moves over into such other topics as reconciliation, atonement, and the like.

Although Anselm in *Cur Deus Homo* was writing primarily on the INCARNATION and thereby discussing the ATONEMENT by necessity, he was speaking to the point, nevertheless, of this perfection

of sacrifice that is acceptable to God. What Anselm established is that there is a necessity for the God-Man. Only man has sinned and cannot pay; only God can pay and he has not sinned. Therefore in the solution of this impasse, a God-Man is required, bearing the debt of man and bearing the power of the forgiving God. When Jesus numbered himself with the transgressors ("God made him who had no sin to be sin for us," 2 Cor. 5:21), in his death he took on himself in his humanity what man had done; nevertheless, in his deity, he was capable of bearing what had been done.

The required OT sacrifices, therefore, are insufficient and incomplete, and the solution is that God had to send his Son in order that what he alone could do would be sufficiently complete. This can be said in a multitude of ways: "Christ died for our sins," "he gave his life a ransom for many," "in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." These and other passages are sufficient in and of themselves, although theological writers are tempted to build arguments on certain texts at the expense of others. Certain definitive ideas, however, seem to run through all the references and must be maintained at all costs: the offering is vicarious, that is, Christ had to do for us what we could not do for ourselves; he died in our place. The offering also must be perfectly holy, for only a perfect sacrifice can answer a sin against God. The offering must, as now suggested, satisfy the demands of God, whether these be the demands of obedience or purity, or in some sense a payment, or in some sense a punishment. And finally, the sacrifice must satisfy the sinners, who must stand in the assurance that they are forgiven. There was great therapy for the OT Jew when he was assured by the priest that his fulfillment of ritual marked him cleansed. The emphasis on belief in the NT has the same therapy available. Where Christianity has been most fruitful and satisfying in human history has been where the mediatorial work of Christ has been believed and accepted.

The Jews were people who accepted the laws of God and God's arrangement for the mediation of the priest as well as the whole complex sacrificial order. In the same sort of simplicity, a Christian is one who "accepts Christ"—so easy to say, so difficult to do. In other words, he finds Christ acceptable. How is this so? Christ as prophet tells him who God is and what God demands. Christ as prophet makes clear how far the sinner is from fulfilling these demands. How then may God and sinners be brought together? What mediation is possible? When one finds Christ "acceptable," or when one "accepts Christ," he simply takes his word for what is accomplished in the priestly act.

The chasm between holy God and sinful man is bridged by the God-Man. One believes that this satisfies God, and knowing that it is satisfying to God, it satisfies the human heart. It must be said that this can hardly do people much good unless they accept it as true. Has it not been clear from the outset that in any religion of the world, from the crudest animism to the highest theism, people find their mediation, their bridge to God, only in what they believe God finds acceptable? No price is too great: even children have been sacrificed. A Christian is one who at the outset, regardless of what else his Christianity demands of him otherwise, believes that he is saved once and for all through the finished work of Jesus Christ. There is for him no other way.

One idea closely related to Christ's priestly office, which is frequently neglected and needs to be refurbished, is that of intercession. Christ makes continual intercession for us at the right hand of the Father (Rom. 8:34; see INTERCESSION OF CHRIST). This, of course, is pictorial language, although it is difficult to see how it can be better said. What needs to be made clear is that Christ's finished work is constantly a reality in God's presence. God continuously saves the sinner through Christ's work. God judges sinners in the light of Christ's redemptive act. God even knows the sinner in, and not through, Christ.

Intercession is popularly thought of as PRAYER, but it is not necessary to read out of this idea that Christ somehow physically or personally stands over against the Father saying prayers. It is not this at

all. The writer to the Hebrews lays great emphasis on Christ's relationship to the Father, and the book of Revelation in its own pictorial way says the same. The Lamb that was slain from the foundation of the world is the Lamb of God in the presence of God. In the mystery of the Trinity, all these figures of speech break down. They simply say in a variety of ways, from the time of the cross onward, that what Christ did is now a part of the very life and activity of God. This is not to say that God changes, for to repeat the wonder again, the Lamb was slain from the foundation of the world. But it is to say that God, by the mediatorial act he himself provided, treats sinful man henceforth by way of, or through, or on account of, the sacrifice of Calvary.

This is in a strengthening sense a saving reality. No Christian is alone in his victory or in his defeat in his day-by-day walk before God, or in his evasion of God because of sin. The presence of Christ's work is always before God on the believer's behalf.

***D. The king as mediator.*** Ideas of kingship are so colored and discolored by popular usage that it is difficult to protect the biblical idea of kingship from misuse (see KING, KINGSHIP). It is well to remember the limitations set on kingship in Israel. The prophet SAMUEL resisted the demands of the people because they were wanting a king like the kings of the surrounding nations who were simply oriental potentates, despots, or tyrants. God, however, allowed through Samuel the anointing of a king.

The biblical idea of kingship is made clear by the limitations placed on the first king. In the first place, he was anointed by God, and one anointed by God is appointed by God (1 Sam. 10). In the second place, he was acclaimed by the people, or to turn the phrase somewhat, he was acceptable to them. It is well to remember this in that popular phrase "accepting Christ" (cf. 10:24). Finally, he was called to service. One of the most interesting things about King SAUL was his modesty. After all the excitement of his being appointed by God and acclaimed by the people, he returned to his plow, and it was from his daily tasks that he was called to service. He was clearly God's man for God's people. There are, of course, certain rights and powers in kingship, but they are never divorced from duties (10:25).

It is clear then that a proper king rules as lord, but also as servant. In several passages (2 Sam. 14:17, 20; Ps. 110; Jer. 22:18), the king is set forth as lord; his claims to allegiance are right and proper. In his lordship, however, whether good or bad, he stands for the people and the people are blessed or blamed in him. He holds the mediating position between God and God's people, and in a sense he speaks for God as prophet and acts for the people as a priest. His mediation is so complete that the king is inseparable from the kingdom as God blesses or judges. As the psalmist says, he is the people's "shield" (Pss. 84:9; 89:18). In the NT Christ is God's "Righteous One" and "the author of life" (Acts 3:14, 15). His claims to allegiance are overpowering. It is his expectancy that people should recognize in him that "one greater than Solomon is here" (Matt. 12:42). He did not hesitate to call men into service, even to death. He expected men and women to take seriously and completely the sovereignty of his person (Matt. 10:34-39).

All this by itself may be too much to take from any person, especially from an itinerant rabbi from Palestine, and, of course, the Jew found this hard to accept. The claims of Christ to kingship without the trappings of a king seemed monstrous to Jews expecting a Messiah who would break the power of Rome and rule for the sake of Israel. For those who became believers, however (and the first Christians were Jews), it was the other side of Christ's kingly activity that fulfilled for them the true picture of the king as "the Suffering Servant." Indeed, it is at this point that the gauntlet was thrown down not only for the Jew, but for every person since. This is the true worldliness that stands

opposed to Christianity, that is, the acceptance of worldly ideas of kingship, power, and success, as opposed to otherworldliness, which sees true power in complete self-giving, that is, the power of the cross, which as Paul says, can be for many a scandal and foolishness (cf. 1 Cor. 1:18-31).

The Christian accepts the crucified One as the Suffering Servant who rules and to whom eventually every knee shall bow and every tongue confess. But the bowing and the confessing will not be because of the pomp and circumstance of a monarch, but because of the essence and reality of a kingly Person. Today, significantly, only those kings can continue to rule who are willing to be servants to the people, and where kings do not rule, politicians seeking office, whether honestly or hypocritically, must offer themselves as servants. Somehow, the idea has caught.

In the kingship of Christ, therefore, the mediation is clear. God touches his people through the king; the people count on their king to stand for them in God's presence; the king offers himself as a servant of God, and the people accept him in his service. Read in either direction, from man to God or God to man, Christ the king is Christ the mediator.

***E. The modern emphasis.*** The focus on Christ is inescapable, regardless of how the subject of mediator is approached, and there is no question that in the modern emphasis, that focus, by necessity as well as by choice, remains. There is, however, a shift from the old orthodoxy to a different center of operation. Relating this to the rubric of Prophet, Priest, and King, the old orthodoxy emphasizes the priestly act of Christ, whereas modern theology emphasizes the prophetic and somewhat the kingly office.

This is an outgrowth of the modern emphasis on action, and especially social action. Attention is therefore given to Christ as Prophet in the manner already set forth: the authoritative words and the "Living Word." There is a modern shift of emphasis away from the authority of the words to the existential relationship to the Living Word. This is not to say that the words of Christ are not given attention, but it is to say that they are not given the kind of attention that was formerly given, which rested on the inspiration of Scripture and therefore treated the words of Christ as mediating the will of God.

There is today a heightened appreciation of the ethical question of Christ's teachings and a recognition of the challenge of his ethic over against the life of his day and the modern world. What is missing, however, is any notion that the Bible, or the NT, or even such specifics as the Sermon on the Mount contain or in any way can be treated to produce a "code of ethics." An extreme illustration of the code book approach to behavior was in the quasi-military development of Ignatius Loyola and the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits). This degenerated in time to casuistry, or more popularly, "jesuitism." It was good to believe that God Almighty had mediated to us a way of life that included every possible facet, but it was soon discovered that this approach eventually ran into the ridiculous.

The counter movement may well have run into the ridiculous at the other extreme, but at least it is understood why the shift of emphasis had to be made, and there is, of course, great truth in the recognition of ethical practice as being in some sense existentialist or "situational." As this operates, and the approach is, of course, brief, there was the living Christ of NT times, moving in a Judaistic, Hellenistic, Roman environment, moving among human beings as a revelation of the will of God. The Word had become flesh. It is the function now of the Holy Spirit to mediate directly, albeit on the basis of the NT, the Word of God, as that Word relates to any given person in any given situation. The words of Christ, or even the life of Christ in ancient Palestine, although basic and not irrelevant, nevertheless need the plus factor of the Holy Spirit operating on that Word toward a person's ethical practice. In OT times God spoke through the prophets and "in these last days" he spoke through his

Son; and in these days he speaks through his Spirit, who mediates the Living Word to a living situation.

Another modern emphasis, although not as strong as that of the prophetic ministry of Christ, accepts the mediation of Christ as King. Mention is made in the 20th cent. of the idea of Christ as Lord, the ruler of all life. This may be said in many ways, but again the emphasis is on relevance, and now the emphasis is on relevance to the totality of life. Men and women are seeking the Word of God in the broadest possible ways. What does Christ have to say to poverty, war, race, social injustice, international affairs? Christ reiterated in his ministry that he had "come to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." It was only after the coming of the Spirit, Pentecost, and the world vision of Paul, that this original word to the lost sheep of the house of Israel becomes global.

It is a constant temptation of the Christian church to become separatist, and there are good reasons why for the sake of purity there have been constant withdrawal groups in the history of the church. The modern emphasis, however, is on "mission," with the new idea that Christianity must lose itself in human needs in order to find itself. The contemporary conflict between so-called conservatives and liberals is clear enough: does God rule in a person's heart first before he rules in a community, or must the things of God be brought to bear in a community in order to reach a person's heart? This is a false dichotomy and is brought out here merely to point up that the modern emphasis is on community.

What is lacking in the modern emphasis on mediation is an understanding, or an appreciation, or perhaps even better, an acceptance, of the basic transaction that occurred preeminently on the cross of Christ. Christ sacrificed for all eternity his self-giving life. His preaching and healing, his cleansing power, his subsequent resurrection, his continual intercession, and his coming again are all of a piece and are illustrative of his priestly, prophetic, and kingly ministry. (P. T. Forsyth's book title, *The Cruciality of the Cross* [1909], is not merely a neat play on words.) The cross is the crux, and something had to happen there in the most profound understanding of the word *mediation.*

Nearly all views of the cross have in them some merit. Christ's death was an example of how people ought to stand for their principles. It was an illustration of the love of God. It was surely a victory over sin in the flesh (cf. G. Aulén's *Christus Victor* [1961]). John Bailey is correct here, as elsewhere, when he says that theology must insist on the words "at least." The cross meant "at least all these things," and at some level did mediate light and truth and power. But there is still the question of what was *done.* An offering had to be made, but it had to be an offering acceptable to God. The understanding of the offering is related to the understanding of the offense against God, and no interpretation of Christ's death is complete that does not insist on an offering of life sufficient to satisfy the demands of God; sufficient to pay the price of sin (however this is construed); sufficient to turn away wrath upon the guilt of the sinner; and happily, sufficient to satisfy a person that God himself has provided a way of salvation.

There has to be some acceptance of the theme set forth in 1 Timothy, "For there is one God and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself as a ransom for all" (1 Tim. 2:5-6). It is easy to make out of this something mechanical, and frequently in medieval times the ransom was treated in a bizarre fashion. The easy way with this and other passages is to throw the loving Christ over against God the judge. Even if such things are impossible it must still be said in some fashion that mediation is dependent on an offering given and accepted. Take, for example, the book of Revelation. There Christ is referred to twenty-nine times as the "Lamb who was slain." The OT background is inescapable as is the necessity of an offering.

Without expecting to plumb the mystery of the godhead, another emphasis must still be made

which answers this apparent mechanism in the offering and the receiving of the offering, and which answers this apparent split in the godhead—Christ over against the Father. After Paul has said, "All this is from God, who reconciled us to himself through Christ," he goes on to say, "God was reconciling the world to himself in Christ" (2 Cor. 5:18-19). Both sides of the intellectual impasse are set forth. Christ was provided to make the reconciliation, but God himself was in the act of reconciliation. In simple terms, the judge on the bench pronounced the fine, but came off the bench to pay what he himself had demanded. Christ's mediatorial act, answering the demands of God, was the act of God himself.

**III. Summary.** The story of the whole Bible is the story of redemption, and redemption rests on the mediatorial work of Jesus Christ. The plot begins with Gen. 3, the FALL. The question then is: What can God Almighty do, or what is God Almighty willing to do, to save his lost creation? Lostness rested on the rebellion and disobedience of one who believed the temptation, "you will be like God" (Gen. 3:5). The action of the story from then on is God's action. He came "seeking," as the simple Genesis narrative portrays, while the sinner went hiding. Found of God, sinners continued their resistance by rationalization and excuse, while God pronounced on them first judgment, then promise.

From that point onward, judgment and grace go hand in hand. Human beings in their sin are not acceptable to God, but God in his grace provides a way of acceptance. The whole sacrificial system of the OT is God-initiated. All the "mighty acts" interrelated with the life of the chosen people speak God's word of judgment and promise, and the words of Scripture accompany the acts for interpretation and understanding. Law and covenant are set in motion, but provision is made for those who break the law and do not keep the covenant. By Word, Wisdom, and Spirit, through law, nation, prophet, or king, God still comes seeking, and sinners are called to accept and respond in obedience.

All this is climaxed in Jesus Christ, who is by definition "the full revelation of God," and however he is approached in study or in personal response, he is the mediator of the new covenant, the arrangement by which God and man at last are one. The act of atonement is the supreme mediatorial act initiated by God, sustained by his power, accepted in its completion, and let loose, finally, as a new force and a new hope in the life of men and women. (See further E. Brunner, *The Mediator* [1934]; V. Taylor, *The Atonement in New Testament Teaching* [1940]; G. S. Duncan, *Jesus Son of Man* [1948]; R. Letham, *The Work of Christ* [1993]; J. H. Armstrong, ed., *The Glory of Christ* [2001].)

A. H. LEITCH

**medicine.** The practice of treating DISEASE. See also HEALING AND HEALTH.

**I. Miraculous healing.** Cases of divine healing are recorded throughout Bible times. These events were most common in the times of the four Gospels, but also appear in apostolic contexts and are sporadically recorded in the OT. Examples in the latter are the healing of NAAMAN'S leprosy (2 Ki. 5:8-14) and of MIRIAM'S leprosy (Num. 12:1-15), the restoration of JEROBOAM'S withered hand (1 Ki. 13:4-6), and the recovery of HEZEKIAH from what was apparently a severe infection (carbuncle, H-bug, or staphylococcal, 2 Ki. 20:1-11). Raising of the dead is recorded once at the hand of ELIJAH (1 Ki. 17:17-24), and once through ELISHA (2 Ki. 4:1-37). Although in this latter case death may have been due to sunstroke, fulminating meningitis also is possible. Subarachnoid hemorrhage due to rupture of an artery at the base of the brain is another possibility, but this does not occur often in one so young. The four Gospels record some two dozen instances of physical healing of either individuals

or groups. In one case ten lepers were healed together. Definite distinction is made between physical sickness and DEMON possession (Mk. 1:32-34).

When claims for faith healing are made today, it frequently is easy to discount them as cases of neurotic illness (psychological illness with apparent physical signs and symptoms), mistakes in diagnosis or prognosis, remissions or temporary improvements that are well known in many incurable diseases, temporary alleviation of symptoms by some means, or the simultaneous pursuit of medical treatment. Most modern claims collapse under this scrutiny. However, the healings of Christ clearly pass these tests. He healed lepers, a man with longstanding paralysis causing wasting, a woman with curvature of the spine, an epileptic, lunatics, and a woman with a gynecological disorder, probably a uterine fibroid (Matt. 9). John is more selective than the other evangelists in his accounts of healing, and these are usually presented to illustrate some spiritual truth, such as the parallel between physical and spiritual blindness, where Christ is set forth as the answer to the latter (Jn. 9). The apostolic miracles also are notable, such as the healing of the man lame from birth (Acts 3).

It is interesting to note that the miracles of healing do not occur evenly throughout Bible times. They are mainly clustered around the times of the exodus, the prophets Elijah and Elisha, and the beginning of the Christian era. This illustrates that their primary function was revelatory. They were used as signs to confirm faith in something new that God was doing.

The belief that healing is "in the atonement"—i.e., that Christ died for all sicknesses and sins—and that there we can claim all physical healing by faith, finds no support in the Scriptures. Professor A. Rendle Short (*The Bible and Modern Medicine: A Survey of Health and Healing in the Old and New Testaments* [1953]) points out that there are a few recorded healings of patients with ailments such as coughs, abscesses, or fractures, from which they were likely to recover anyway. If any group of Christians should have been able to apply faith in this way, it would have been the apostolic Christians, but there are several well-documented cases of illness among them. TIMOTHY suffered from stomach ailments, probably gastroenteritis (1 Tim. 5:23); TROPHIMUS was so ill that he could not travel with Paul (2 Tim. 4:20); EPAPHRODITUS nearly died (Phil. 2:30). In the light of 2 Cor. 12:7-9 and Gal. 4:13-15, it seems inescapable that Paul's "thorn in the flesh" was a physical ailment.

The oft-quoted verse, "This was to fulfill what was spoken through the prophet Isaiah: 'He took up our infirmities and carried our diseases'" (Matt. 8:17), cannot be applied indiscriminately. Although Jesus Christ is "the same yesterday and today and forever" (Heb. 13:8), this does not mean that he acts in the same way under different circumstances and in different ages.

**II. Demon possession.** Some modern critics would say that the biblical idea of demon possession was the attempt of an unscientific age to explain diseases like epilepsy and the various types of insanity. This view would make Christ either in error himself, or intentionally conforming to the ideas of the day, in both cases giving false and misleading teaching.

Admittedly some of the NT cases do sound like description of modern-day mental illness and epilepsy. In one such case (Matt. 17:15), the Lord is specifically recorded as having cast a demon out of a boy. The clinical descriptions are far from complete, and thus comparison with known diseases must be made with reserve. However, a demonic influence could surely stimulate the motor cortex, the part of the brain initiating movement of limb and other muscles, and thus precipitate an epileptic-like convulsion.

Two cases, interesting in the face of present-day psychiatric knowledge, are those of SAUL and NEBUCHADNEZZAR. The picture given of Saul, in the middle chapters of 1 Samuel, is of a man who periodically had deep depressive moods with dangerous delusions of persecution (paranoia) in

which he could be soothed by the playing of a harp. This explanation does not conflict with 1 Sam. 16:14, which states that "an evil spirit from the LORD tormented him." This type of mental illness certainly can be regarded as the evil power acting through a twisted mind, even if it is indirectly by way of the patient's subconscious. This is as far as the writer of 1 Samuel would be able to see. Note also the biblical way of regarding God as finally responsible for everything—his active and permissive will are not distinguished.

Nebuchadnezzar clearly was afflicted with mental illness at the height of his pride, which is described in the latter part of Dan. 4. It has been suggested, probably correctly, that he was suffering from severe melancholia or depression. He may have had a tendency to manic-depression. This is a mental condition in which periods of uncontrollable elation (and high-pressure irrational mental activity) alternate with spells of deep depression. In this case the emphasis was on the depression with only a tendency in the other direction shown, for one cannot blame insanity for his overweening pride—"Is not this the great Babylon I have built as the royal residence, by my mighty power and for the glory of my majesty?" (4:30). In this condition, it is typical that the periods of elation are followed by depths of depression, from which recovery usually occurs.

**III. Preventive medicine.** A powerful argument for the guiding hand of a supernatural being can be found by studying the sanitary laws of Israel. Compared with the primitive ideas of the surrounding tribes, the children of Israel were centuries ahead. Apart from the refinements that more detailed technical knowledge brings, their preventive medicine compared favorably with that of modern civilizations. It has been suggested that these rules were merely the result of intelligent observation, but the strong tendency for the ancient mind to find a supernatural or magical explanation for natural phenomena argues heavily against this theory. Repeatedly one finds the statement, "The LORD said to Moses." All other explanations are unsatisfactory.

There was a strong emphasis on personal cleanliness. Ceremonial washings were commonplace, and the use of some form of soap has an early origin. The term LYE (Jer. 2:22 NRSV) refers surely to the *natron* or washing soda collected in antiquity from the alkali lakes of Egypt. It was recognized that an uncontaminated WATER supply is essential to a healthy community. Infection of the water supply may lead to typhoid, cholera, and dysentery epidemics. Dead animals in still water were known to contaminate the water, although this did not apply to spring water after the carcass was removed (Lev. 11:29-36).

© Dr. James C. Martin. "Reproduction of the City of Jerusalem at the time of the Second Temple–located on the grounds of the Holy Land Hotel, Jerusalem." Photographed by permission.

Model of the double pool of Bethesda in Jerusalem. Here Jesus healed those suffering from disease and illnesses.

It is truly remarkable that each person was held personally responsible for the disposal of his own excreta (Deut. 23:12-14). Foods likely to transmit disease also were restricted, although there was no knowledge of the disease processes involved. The principle of isolation for lepers and of quarantine for other health reasons was important, but also quite out of keeping with then current medical knowledge.

**IV. Leprosy in the Bible.** The modern disease known as *leprosy* is a condition caused by a rod-shaped bacterium or bacillus called *Mycobacterium leprae,* which belongs to the same family as tuberculosis. Like tuberculosis, it is a long-lasting condition characterized by areas of chronic low grade inflammation. *Nodular leprosy* is characterized by the appearance of nodules in the skin, particularly on the face and on the back of the hands and wrists. Later the three main nerves in the arm are involved, with resultant paralysis. The nodules tend to burst and ulcerate, leading to ugly sores. In *neural leprosy,* the main involvement is that of the peripheral nerves supplying the skin of the limbs. This leads to loss of feeling. In any condition in which this occurs, the anaesthetic (numb) parts become damaged to a surprising degree because the protection of pain sensation is gone. Thus penetrating ulcers form with infection and death of bone, particularly in hands and feet.

There is no description of any disease in ancient literature that fairly definitely sounds like modern leprosy except for a legendary account from China. In studying OT references to leprosy, one must realize that these do not necessarily indicate a carefully classified condition caused by *Mycobacterium leprae* and answering to the above description. The Hebrew word *ṣāraʿat H7669,* translated as "leprosy," apparently is used for a whole group of ugly skin conditions (R. G. Cochrane, medical adviser to the American Leprosy Missions, in a booklet entitled *Biblical Leprosy: A Suggested Interpretation,* 2nd ed. [1963]). That the term refers to conditions completely unrelated by the standards of a dermatology textbook does not mean the Bible is in error. It merely indicates the use of a general term by people who had no detailed scientific knowledge. There is little resemblance between the description of the disease given in Lev. 13 and modern leprosy. In particular, loss of sensation is not mentioned. The regulations of UNCLEANNESS for these patients as far as corporate

worship was concerned was good preventive medicine, as it slowed the spread of disease by quarantine.

Dr. Cochrane points out that leprous areas are never white (see Lev. 13:13). This description appears in other references. For instance, in Exod. 4:6 Moses is commanded to put his hand in his bosom, "and when he took it out, it was leprous, like snow" (cf. also Num. 12:10; 2 Ki. 5:27). He suggests that these quotations answer to the description of *leucoderma,* a condition in which there is complete loss of pigment from certain areas of skin with surrounding areas more deeply pigmented than normal. The awful social stigma would be there nevertheless. Interestingly, this condition actually is called "white leprosy" in India.

It is more likely that the various lepers healed by Christ (e.g., Lk. 17:12-19) had the disease known as leprosy today, since the latter was known in Israel at this time. It also seems to fit in better with the hopeless state of these ostracized people as it is described.

**V. Circumcision.** The rite of CIRCUMCISION was established as a national practice for the descendants of ABRAHAM (Gen. 17). It marked a COVENANT or agreement between God and a people he was setting apart in a special place. The Jews removed the foreskin of their male babies on the eighth day as part of their fulfillment of the law. This was done with a sharp stone (Exod. 4:25) or a sharp knife (Josh. 5:2). PAUL points out that such a covenant brings added responsibility rather than honor. Being a Jew meant nothing in itself, if there was no "circumcision of the heart" (Rom. 2:29), or spiritual surrender of the individual to God.

Today, even in English-speaking lands, circumcision is widely practiced. The advisability of circumcision is one field in which there is room for difference of opinion in the medical profession. Some doctors never advise it, others do as a general rule. There is a minority of babies in which the prepuce is very tight and circumcision should be done. For the rest, in the present writer's opinion, the reasons for and against on medical grounds are practically equal. Although circumcision was widely practiced in the ANE, infant circumcision was apparently limited to Israel; this practice helped the Jews to avoid the licentious puberty rites practiced in some surrounding nations.

**VI. Obstetrics in the Bible.** The Bible does not profess to be a textbook of science or medicine, but in spite of this few realize how many references occur in the Bible related to CHILDBEARING. The birth of children and attendant circumstances did, in fact, play a prominent part in the lives of OT and NT characters. In fact, it was of such importance that the fertile woman was honored and the barren pitied or even despised. When HAGAR conceived, her childless mistress SARAH was despised in her eyes (Gen. 16:4). Such was RACHEL'S distress at her barrenness that she said to JACOB, "Give me children, or I'll die!" (30:1). This feeling of inferiority was carried over into the NT, for ELIZABETH, just before the birth of John the Baptist, said, "The Lord has done this for me.…In these days he has shown his favor and taken away my disgrace among the people" (Lk. 1:25).

Children were regarded, much more directly than often today, as a gift of God (cf. Ruth 4:13; 1 Sam. 2:21; Gen. 4:1; 30:2). Likewise, God was regarded as the cause of sterility. HANNAH'S adversary (Elkanah's fertile wife) chided her because "the LORD had closed her womb" (1 Sam. 1:6; cf. also Gen. 16:2; 20:18; 29:31; 30:22). It is interesting to notice on record two undoubtedly miraculous examples of postmenopausal conception: Sarah and Elizabeth (Gen. 18:11; Lk. 1:36).

Back in early times, labor was regarded as an extremely painful experience. The day of desolation of EDOM is described in Jer. 49:22 as the day in which "the hearts of Edom's warriors will be like the heart of a woman in labor." The Lord himself said, "A woman giving birth to a child

has pain because her time has come; but when her baby is born she forgets the anguish because of her joy that a child is born into the world" (Jn. 16:21). Apparently it was recognized that women having their first child had a worse time than the others (Jer. 4:31).

The most likely cause of death of a mother soon after the birth of a live child is severe postpartum hemorrhage, which rarely kills today. In OT times it was sometimes friends and relatives apparently who effected the delivery (cf. 1 Sam. 4:20). On other occasions a MIDWIFE was present (Gen. 35:17; 38:28). The Egyptian midwives tried to use the apparently well-recognized fact of the rapid easy labors of the Hebrew women as an excuse for not obeying Pharaoh's command to kill the babes (Exod. 1:19).

Most interesting are the references we have to complicated labor. For instance, the labor of TAMAR is described as follows: "When the time came for her to give birth, there were twin boys in her womb. As she was giving birth, one of them put out his hand; so the midwife took a scarlet thread and tied it on his wrist and said, 'This one came out first.' But when he drew back his hand, his brother came out, and she said, 'So this is how you have broken out!' And he was named Perez. Then his brother, who had the scarlet thread on his wrist, came out and he was given the name Zerah" (Gen. 38:27-30). For the babes to move around this much the mother must have had a large roomy pelvis or the babes must have been very premature (as often with twins), or both. The fact that the first babe appears to have torn the perineum ("you have broken out") is against extreme prematurity. Transverse or oblique lie with hand presentation

Collection of ancient medical tools found at Ephesus.

occurs in about one in 500 cases and the babe usually has to be turned.

One reads of Jacob's birth, following that of Esau, "After this, his brother came out, with his hand grasping Esau's heel; so he was named Jacob" (Gen. 25:26). It is not clear on a casual reading whether this was another hand presentation (much less likely) or whether the hand episode occurred with both babes born. In any case one must have followed the other very quickly.

Rachel died with the birth of BENJAMIN after hard labor (Gen. 35:16-20). However, the midwife was able to tell her that she was about to have another son, which indicates that it must have been a breech presentation (i.e., the buttocks appeared first). There is no record of difficulty with the birth of Rachel's first son, JOSEPH, which is against the breech lie being caused by a small pelvis difficult for the head to fit into. A breech presentation associated with the death of the mother soon after a live birth is most likely due to *placenta previa,* a condition in which the afterbirth is attached to the inside wall of the womb at a low level. This hinders the head from fitting into the pelvis and the babe swings round into the breech position with the buttocks leading. Such a condition is liable to be associated with hemorrhage both before and after birth, and this could account for the rapid death of Rachel soon after the birth. *Puerperal sepsis* from infection would not kill as quickly as this. The only other common cause of maternal death, *eclampsia,* is unlikely, since this usually is most severe in the first pregnancy, and so would be unlikely to be bad enough to kill with the second babe. Thus it is almost certain Rachel died of hemorrhage also complicating a breech delivery, and this was most likely caused by *placenta previa.* Benjamin was indeed fortunate to survive.

(See further H. C. Kee, *Medicine, Miracle, and Magic in New Testament Times* [1986]; B. Palmer, ed., *Medicine and the Bible* [1986]; I. and W. Jacob, eds., *The Healing Past: Pharmaceuticals in the Biblical and Rabbinic World* [1993]; F. Rosner, *Encyclopedia of Medicine in the Bible and the Talmud* [2000]; V. Nutton, *Ancient Medicine* [2004]; H. F. J. Horstmanshoff and M. Stol, eds., *Magic and Rationality in Ancient Near Eastern and Graeco-Roman Medicine* [2005].)

D. A. BLAIKLOCK

**meditation.** This English noun occurs a few times in the OT as the rendering of Hebrew *higgāyôn H2053* (Ps. 19:14) and *ś;îaḥ H8490* (Ps. 104:34). More common is the verb *meditate,* which renders primarily the respective cognates *hāgâ H2047* (Josh. 20:47; Ps. 1:2) and *śîaḥ H8488* (esp. in Ps. 119, e.g., vv. 15, 23, et al.). (These Hebrew terms occur elsewhere with other meanings.) The KJV uses the verb in the NT as a translation of *meletaō G3509,* "to attend to, practice" (only in 1 Tim. 4:15; cf. also Lk. 21:14 KJV and RSV), which is the word used in the SEPTUAGINT to render the Hebrew verbs mentioned above.

To judge by the use of the terms, meditation seems to have been more a Hebrew than Christian practice. It is a most rewarding act of WORSHIP, of spiritual renewal, of mental refreshing, and of divine communion (see Job 15:4; Ps. 77:3, 6). The first reference concerns ISAAC, who "went out to the field one evening to meditate" and saw REBEKAH coming (Gen. 24:63). The verb here, however, i s *śûaḥ H8452;* it occurs nowhere else and its meaning is uncertain (both NRSV and NJPS understand it to mean "walk"). The most familiar passage is Ps. 19:14, "May the words of my mouth and the meditation of my heart / be pleasing in your sight, / O LORD, my Rock and my Redeemer." Also well known is the command given to JOSHUA to meditate on the Book of the Law "day and night" (Josh. 1:8, echoed in Ps. 1:2; cf. 119:97). The godly meditate also on God's CREATION, "on all your works" (Ps. 77:12; cf. 119:27; 145:5).

G. B. FUNDERBURK

**Mediterranean.** See GREAT SEA.

**medium.** See DIVINATION; FAMILIAR SPIRIT.

**Meeda** mi-ee'duh. KJV Apoc. form of MEHIDA (1 Esd. 5:32).

**meekness.** Mildness and gentleness of character; PATIENCE, HUMILITY. Meekness is one of the most commonly misunderstood terms applied to GODLINESS. It has been interpreted in a variety of ways, from weakness and timidity to strength and self-control. In the OT, the KJV uses the adjective *meek* about a dozen times to render Hebrew *ʿānāw H6705* (Num. 12:3; Ps. 22:26; et al.), but this term in current English often indicates "deficient in spirit or courage," so modern versions prefer such adjectives as "humble, afflicted, poor." The Greek adjective *praus G4558* occurs a few times, mainly in Matthew (Matt. 5:5 et al.); more common is the noun *prautēs G4559* (1 Cor. 4:21 et al.).

The meek are specially blessed with divine care and rich rewards. In recording God's rebuke of MIRIAM and AARON for speaking against MOSES, the biblical text states, "Now the man Moses was very meek, more than all men that were on the face of the earth" (Num. 12:3 RSV; the NRSV and NIV have "humble"). DAVID cried, "O LORD, you will hear the desire of the meek" (Ps. 10:17 NRSV; NIV, "afflicted"). ISAIAH prophesied that the messianic King would "decide with equity for the meek of the earth" (Isa. 11:4 NRSV; NIV, "the poor"); moreover, "The meek shall obtain fresh joy in the LORD" (29:19 NRSV; NIV, "the humble"). David offered the oppressed people encouragement by saying that the wicked would soon disappear, "But the meek will inherit the land and enjoy great peace" (Ps. 37:11). The land David referred to was Palestine, but Jesus promised greater possessions: "Blessed are the meek, for they will inherit the earth" (Matt. 5:5). The meek then have access to God's constant protection and boundless love.

Meekness or gentleness in the NT is a natural virtue, a Christian grace, and part of "the fruit of the Spirit" (Gal. 5:22-23). Jesus said, "Take my yoke upon you and learn from me, for I am gentle and humble in heart, and you will find rest for your souls" (Matt. 11:29). PAUL wrote to the Corinthians, "By the meekness and gentleness [*epieikēs G2117*] of Christ, I appeal to you" (2 Cor. 10:1). Paul not only extolled and emulated this virtue of Christ, but commended it to his churches: "As a prisoner for the Lord, then, I urge you to live a life worthy of the calling you have received. Be completely humble and gentle; be patient, bearing with one another in love" (Eph. 4:1-2). He admonished the Colossians to put on the graces of "compassion, kindness, humility, gentleness and patience" (Col. 3:12). Likewise he commends it to Timothy and to Titus (1 Tim. 6:11; Tit. 3:2). JAMES instructs Christians to "welcome with meekness the implanted word" (Jas. 1:21 NRSV; NIV, "humbly"); and recommends to the wise and understanding: "Show by your good life that your works are done with gentleness born of wisdom" (3:13 NRSV; NIV, "humility"). PETER wrote that all Christians should always be prepared to make a defense of their hope "with gentleness and respect" (1 Pet. 3:15). (See *NIDOTTE,* 3:454-64; *NIDNTT,* 2:256-59.)

G. B. FUNDERBURK

**Megiddo** mi-gid'oh (מְגִדּוֹ *H4459* and מְגִדּוֹן *H4461* [only Zech. 12:11], derivation uncertain). A major Bronze Age and Israelite city in the JEZREEL Plain. It commands the entrance to the Wadi ʿArah, which served in antiquity as the main pass on the VIA MARIS between the SHARON Plain and the Valley of Jezreel. Near the foot of Megiddo, that route branches out in three main directions: (1) NW past JOKNEAM to the Plain of Acco and the Phoenician coast; (2) NE via ANAHARATH to KINNERETH, HAZOR, and thence to DAMASCUS or the Lebanese BEQAʿ; (3) E to BETH SHAN and from

Megiddo and the Jezreel Valley.

there to TRANSJORDAN and Damascus. Throughout the three millennia of its existence, Megiddo was one of the most strategic points in Palestine, and many crucial battles took place in its immediate vicinity.

**I. Identification.** The 14th-cent. Jewish scholar Eshtori Haparhi was apparently the first European to propose the location of biblical Megiddo at the Arab village of Lejjun. This latter site had preserved the name of the former village of Roman times that came to be called Legio after the BAR KOKHBA revolt when the sixth Roman legion was stationed there. It formerly had been known as Kephar Othnai (*m. Gittin* 1:5; 7:7; cf. *Kaparkotnei,* Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Geogr.* 5.16.4). The same conclusion was reached by Edward Robinson. C. R. Conder's objections have been refuted successfully by G. A. Smith and others. The excavations at Tell el-Mutesellim, an ancient mound that stands beside Lejjun, have demonstrated that the Megiddo of OT times was located on the tell, while the later village of Kephar Ohtnai (Legio) occupied an area below it (cf. the relationship between Tell el-Ḥusn and Beisan, the ancient mound and Arab village of Beth Shan).

**II. Archaeological investigation.** Excavations at Tell el-Mutesellim were made by the *Deutsche Orientgesellschaft* from 1903 until 1905 under the direction of Gottlieb Schumacher. He dug exploratory trenches in various areas of the mound and

Megiddo lies at a key crossroads on what served as an international highway. (View to the NE.)

on the slopes along the length of its walls. His main excavation was a deep exploratory cut about 20-25 meters wide that cut across the diameter of the site from N to S. He even uncovered completely a large building near the eastern end of the tell. At one small area in the middle of the large cut, the excavators went clear through the lowest stratum to bedrock. They counted six levels of construction from the Middle Bronze to the Iron Age. Two large buildings were uncovered (Schumacher's *Nordburg* and *Mittelburg*). Sufficient material for establishing their date with certainty has not been published, but it is generally assumed that they were built during the Middle Bronze Age and continued in use during the Late Bronze Age having undergone various repairs and modifications.

Of special interest were two tomb chambers roofed over by corbeled vaults that were discovered under those buildings; these may have been the tombs of the kings of Megiddo during the Late Bronze Age. In the southern section of this excavation, part of an impressive building from the Iron Age also was uncovered (Schumacher's *Palast*). The eastern building was likewise from the Iron Age. Because of the stone pillars discovered in it, Schumacher thought it was a temple containing stelae (*Tempelburg*), but his assumption is unnecessary as such columns were standard in public buildings of that period. The principal segments of the fortification wall that Schumacher uncovered also were from the Iron Age, though portions of older walls also were found. Among the important finds from this excavation, mainly published by C. Watzinger, were seals bearing the inscriptions "belonging to Shema, servant of Jeroboam," and "belonging to Asaph," which came from the palace ruins, as well as a decorated incense stand discovered in the highest level (VI) near the southern end of Schumacher's trench, and a carved proto-Aeolic stone capital that was found in reuse as a building stone in the *Tempelburg* (the first of such capitals to be unearthed in Palestine).

The year 1925 saw the renewal of excavations at Megiddo by an expedition from the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The work continued until 1939 under the consecutive directorship of C. S. Fisher, P. L. O. Guy, and G. Loud. These excavations, which were initiated by J. H. Breasted, comprised the most extensive archaeological endeavor ever conducted on a Palestinian site. The original objective was to uncover every stratum of the tell level by level. The four highest strata of the city from the 9th century B.C. to the Persian Period were completely excavated.

During the last four years of the excavation, work was limited to two principal areas in which earlier levels were reached: in the N at the gate area (A-A) where they went down to level XIII; on the E in the temple area (B-B) where virgin soil was reached (level XX). In two other areas they stopped at what was principally level VI: on the S in the vicinity of Schumacher's *Palast* (C-C), and

on the NE in the region connecting areas A-A and B-B (area D-D). On the eastern slope of the tell, which was uncovered mainly to clear a place for the expedition's dump, many burial caves were discovered from all of the various periods of occupation; these contained an abundance of finds that were published in a separate volume and greatly augment the knowledge obtained from the stratified deposits. On this slope seven levels from the early Bronze Age also were uncovered (according to the older terminology of the excavators their beginning was placed in the Chalcolithic period); these were designated as stages I-VII.

The excavators counted a total of twenty strata in the city's history, but some of these were discerned only after the original numbering, and therefore are designated by secondary symbols (e.g., VI A, VI B; IV A, IV B; etc.); there are also levels in which several different building styles can be detected, so the total number of strata actually is closer to twenty-five or more.

The oldest settlement, XX, was founded in the Chalcolithic period during the 4th millennium B.C. This stratum, which includes several phases, is represented only by pits and a few segments of houses, most of them apsidal in form. Levels XIX-XIV belong to the Early Bronze Age. Level XIX, from the first stage of EB, provided the first public building: a small temple surrounded by a thick brick wall. It was discovered in area B-B, which continued to be the city's sacred site throughout the entire Bronze Age, since temples were built there from the end of the 4th millennium until the mid-12th cent. B.C. (level VII). In the stone floor near this earliest temple there were inscribed the forms of men and various animals, apparently in hunting scenes. Stratum XVIII dates to the first phase of EB II (c. 29th cent.). The principal innovation in this level is the stone wall nearly 4-5 meters thick, and which was widened later to c. 8 meters; it was preserved to a height of c. 4 meters. This is the widest wall in the history of the city and resembles in its thickness the brick wall discovered at Khirbet Kerak (Beth-Yerah) which is more or less contemporary. Near the wall a large building was partially uncovered, but not enough of it was revealed to show whether it may have been a temple.

The great wall continued to exist during EB II and III (c. 28th-25th centuries). In stratum XVII (EB II) a large circular "high place" (no. 4017) made of small unhewn stones was built. Level XVI saw the construction of an adjacent temple (no. 4040) that was enclosed within a *temenos* wall. This latter wall was destroyed in level XV by the construction of two additional temples (nos. 5192 and 5269). All three of these sacred shrines have the same general plan (Megaron Type). The central chamber was a broad room containing a rectangular altar built against the S wall; in front of it were two pillars supporting the roof. The entrance from the courtyard was through the N wall opposite the altar, and before it on the outside there were two additional pillars that apparently supported a roof forming a sort of stoa or porch. Beside the central room there was also another, smaller one. The temples continued to exist in level XIV B, that is, until the end of EB (this interpretation of the sacred area was based on soundings by I. Dunayevsky).

On top of the "high place" and in various other loci, material was discovered which dates to the Middle Bronze I (Intermediate EB-MB). These meager deposits represent that period of decline which followed the destruction of the EB city. The subsequent levels appear to be contemporary with the 12th Egyptian dynasty (c. 1991-1786 B.C.) when the culture of Palestine was the urbanized society of the MB II A. Levels XIII A and B evidently correspond to this phase of Megiddo's history. The statuette base of an Egyptian official named Thut-hotep, which was discovered with two other Egyptian stelae in a wall of stratum VII, date to the same period. The wall and gate of level XIII was uncovered in area A-A. They were built of mud bricks on stone foundations; the thickness of the wall was c. 2 meters and was reinforced by salients and recesses. The entryway was a narrow passage that made a 90-degree turn into the city; it was suitable only for pedestrian traffic and for draught

animals. Two towers projecting from the line of the wall—inside and outside—protected the openings of the gateway between them. Within the inner tower the chamber for a stairway to the upper story was preserved. On the outside there were steps leading up to the gate; these were built against the wall, which was c. 3 meters wide and was reinforced by a rampart.

Levels XII-X belong to the age of HYKSOS domination (18th-17th cent.). By this time Megiddo consisted of the upper city or citadel, and a lower city at the foot of the mound (the existence of such a "suburb" was suspected by the Chicago investigators and confirmed by Yadin's subsequent work). The plan of the buildings was entirely changed and the thickness of the wall base was doubled. In level XII the wall was reinforced by a rampart typical of the early Hyksos age with a narrow stone wall above it. In level X the great gate that served the city until the end of the Bronze Age (stratum VII A) apparently was built. The entrance to this gate was straight, without a turn, in order to facilitate the passage of vehicles. It had the form of a triple entryway guarded by a double row of buttresses protruding from each side. This plan is typical of the Hyksos age, and parallel examples have been found at other sites. Not only in the gate but also in most of the other structures there is a noticeable continuity in layout from level XI (and to some degree even in level XII) up to level VII A, which indicates that there were no appreciable upheavals in the history of the city. In level X a large building called a palace by the excavators because of its size (and the treasure of ornaments and carved ivories that were found in it) was constructed. This building also lasted into level VII A with various modifications and repairs. It was over 50 meters long and the thickness of its outer walls was 2 meters and more.

Level IX was apparently the city conquered by THUTMOSE III; it had its beginning at the start of the Late Bronze Age. In spite of this conquest there was no perceptible decline in the city, and the period of level VIII (end of the 15th and the 14th cent.) was one of the most flourishing times for Canaan-ite Megiddo. In the sacred area a new temple of the special "fortified tower" type resembling that at SHECHEM was built. It had only one long room with a niche at the southern end and an entrance at the N end protected on both sides by two projecting towers; its walls were up to three meters thick, which certainly indicates that it was a tall building. There was a court in front of the temple. This shrine evidently was built during the Amarna period (see TELL EL-AMARNA), and it remained in existence until level VII A, although it, too, underwent certain alterations and modifications.

The "palace" was repaired and enlarged in level VIII. In one of its rooms was found an extensive treasure that had been hidden under the floor; it bears witness to the wealth of the kings of Megiddo during that age. The collection included gold implements, ivory ornaments, and necklaces of gold and lapis lazuli, etc. The fragment of a clay tablet inscribed in Akkadian CUNEIFORM found by a shepherd at the foot of the excavation dump near the gate probably belongs to this period. The tablet included a few hitherto unknown lines from the seventh tablet of the famed GILGAMESH Epic and, being the first of its kind discovered in Palestine, it furnishes a glimpse into the varied cultural influences at Megiddo during the Amarna Age.

Levels VII B and VII A belong to the 13th and 12th centuries B.C. and no appreciable changes occurred in the layout of the main buildings that continued to exist during these levels from the previous stratum. The most important find from these levels is a collection of more than 200 decorated ivory plaques that are without parallel in Palestinian archaeology. This treasure was found in the western part of the palace in three adjacent rooms, the floors of which were lower than the rest of the structure. Clarification of the stratification of these rooms is of special importance because among the ivories there was a box bearing a hieroglyphic inscription that included the name of RAMSES III. Stratum VII A also produced a bronze stand for a statue of Ramses VI (mid-12th cent.).

On the basis of this latter item it is possible to establish that level VII A was destroyed in the last third of the 12th cent.; there was, therefore, a strong Egyptian influence on the city in this period just as there was at nearby Beth Shan.

With the destruction of level VII A the golden age of Canaanite Megiddo came to an end. The principal structures of the city—the gate, the palace, and the temple—were completely destroyed and were never rebuilt. The two phases of level VI date to the 11th cent. B.C. In stratum VI B there were only small, insignificant structures; but a certain degree of resurgence is noticeable in VII A. Near the former palace another large building was erected and the city gate may have been restored partially. According to the pottery found here, the city apparently was still Canaanite, which also seems to be indicated by the thick level of destruction that covered it. It is unknown what caused the great decline in the city between levels VII and VI. The town may have come under PHILISTINE domination since "Philistine" ware also was present in those strata.

The dates of the buildings in levels V and IV still are not settled. At first the opinion of the excavators was accepted: they assigned the "stables" to the reign of SOLOMON, the large buildings that preceded them to that of DAVID, and level V B to the period before David. However, J. W. Crowfoot and K. Kenyon criticized this interpretation and suggested that most of these structures should be dated to the reign of AHAB because of the similarity in style of construction to SAMARIA. Exploratory excavations carried out by Y. Yadin in the vicinity of the northern stables in 1960 and later led him to support this latter suggestion. W. F. Albright and G. E. Wright had discerned that the structures of levels V A and IV B uncovered in various parts of the tell actually belong to one level, although the excavators assigned them to two different strata. (See G. E. Wright, "The Discoveries at Megiddo, 1935-39," *BA* 13 [1950]: 28-46.)

Since in most parts of the tell the Chicago excavators stopped at level IV A, not much is known about the city beneath it. The palace excavated on the southern side of the tell (building no. 1723 and courtyard no. 1693) was partially uncovered by Schumacher. The building itself occupied an area of 28 by 22 meters, and its walls, on an average having a thickness of 2 meters, indicate that the building had a second story. The structure was built entirely of ashlar blocks, and only the inner fill of the walls contained unhewn stones. In front of this building there was a large courtyard surrounded by a wall constructed according to a special method whereby ashlar alternated with unhewn stones. The entryway to the courtyard was in the northern wall, flanked by two projecting towers. Not far from the site of this gate two proto-Aeolic capitals were discovered (embedded in walls of level III); in their original position they may have served as ornamentation for the entrance to the courtyard. The ground plan of this building and of another one situated on the northern side of the tell (as revealed in Yadin's later excavations there) corresponds to that of the typical *bīt ḫilāni,* a royal type structure entered by a portico, of which similar examples are known from Zinjirli.

The main buildings of level IV A, usually referred to as stratum IV, are the large complexes in the SW and the NE portions of the tell. These were built according to a single plan: a long rectangular structure with two parallel lines of columns down the center to support the roof; between the columns stood stones with "troughs" hollowed out of the top. The center "aisle" had a dirt floor while the side "aisles" were of cobblestones. The southern complex included five units; the building fronted on a large courtyard that had a deep, unplastered pit in the center. One alteration in the form of the building was quite noticeable, namely, the addition of another unit on the northern side. In the opinion of the excavators that modification was carried out during the course of the original construction before the building was completed, but this is difficult to accept; it seems more likely that it was made at a time when the complex was being reconstructed after having been destroyed.

The northern complex consisted of three buildings containing twelve units in all, to which an additional unit was later added; this latter stood by itself. The original interpretation of these level IV A structures as stables is *not* supported by Scripture; neither were any objects found in them suggestive of horses or chariotry. J. B. Pritchard has demolished the "stables" theory in a penetrating analysis of all the evidence ("The Megiddo Stables: A Reassessment," in *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century,* ed. J. A. Sanders [1970], 268-76). Subsequently, identical buildings have been found at BEERSHEBA (Tell es-Saba⁽) full of storage and other vessels. The masses of pottery vessels were stacked in the *side* "aisles" on the cobblestones. Z. Herzog argues convincingly that the "feeding troughs" were for the pack animals who were tethered in the *center* "aisle" while being loaded and/or unloaded. The Megiddo excavators had admitted many serious objections to the "stable" interpretation. A more careful reading of 1 Ki. 9 would have prevented this archaeological "myth."

A palace was built also during the period of the store city. It stood at the eastern end of the tell near the northern storage complex; part of this structure already had been uncovered by Schumacher, who thought that it was a temple (his *Tempelburg*). The measurements of this structure (no. 338) resemble those of the palace from level IV B, and a walled but somewhat smaller enclosure also was associated with it. At the NW corner of its courtyard a small structure was found (no. 355) reminiscent in plan of the gateway from the palace in level IV B, and the drainage canal passing through the center proves it to be an entryway. The excavators pointed out that this building abutted onto one of the adjacent storage complexes, but since the walls are not structurally joined with it, it is possible that the storehouses were built prior to the gateway. This one resembles in dimensions the earliest phase of the southern storehouses in contrast to all the others. However, one finds it extremely difficult to accept the excavators' interpretation to the effect that a change was made in the building plan during the course of construction; it seems more likely that these additions and alterations were made sometime afterward. The new fort, which was designed to fulfill the function of the previous palace, also was constructed of ashlar stones with unhewn stones between them, and nearby, within walls from levels III and II, five proto-Aeolic capitals were found as well (including the first one discovered by Schumacher); these certainly must have served as ornamentation for the entryways of the building.

The city of storehouses was surrounded by a mighty fortification wall of the salient-and-recess type (first discovered by Schumacher). The city gate associated with this wall is of a layout similar to those of the Bronze Age except there are now four buttresses on each side instead of two or three; a defensive guard tower projects outward on each side of the entryway. Gates of almost exactly the same dimensions have been discovered at both HAZOR and GEZER (cf. below); the same general plan is reflected in the entrance to the temple court as depicted by Ezek. 40:5-16. The fact that the gates at Hazor and Gezer were associated with casemate walls led Yadin to search for traces of such a casemate structure below the salient-and-recesses wall at Megiddo, but no such structures were found either in his own exploratory dig on the N or in the extensive excavations made elsewhere on the mound by the Chicago expedition. It is certain that the complex of "triple gate" (with four buttresses), salient-and-recess wall, and fortified approach ramp all existed together at Megiddo.

The gate was constructed of beautifully formed ashlar stones fitted together according to the system of alternating headers and stretchers. In front of the gate was a spacious plaza surrounded by a wall and leading to an outer gate consisting of two buttresses. A ramp passed through this first entryway and made a 90-degree turn to the left into the main gate.

The question of whether the "store city" with its warehouses was Solomonic or later (perhaps

dating to the Omride dynasty) is hotly disputed. Yadin claims that the two palaces of the *bīt ḫilāni* type and a row of beautifully constructed rooms (which he takes to be a casemate wall) attached to the northernmost of them are Solomonic, while the stores and the salient-and-recess wall are from the reign of Ahab. It is hard to see how the triple gate, and the imposing fortified approach way (which matches the one at Gezer where only a casemate wall exists) could be other than contemporary with the triple gates at Hazor and Gezer. One thing is certain: Yadin's assumption that a uniform system of construction (casemate wall and triple gate) existed in the contemporary Solomonic cities of Hazor, Gezer, and Megiddo is subject to serious reservations. The similar gates at all three and the identical casemate walls at Gezer and Hazor do not in any way preclude the possibility that the Solomonic engineers may have elected to encircle Megiddo with a salient-and-recess wall.

As a result of more recent excavations, I. Finkelstein and D. Ussishkin ("Back to Megiddo," *BAR* 20/1 [1994]: 26-43) have argued that levels V A and IV B are not Solomonic but must be dated to the time of Ahab. The chronology of Iron Age strata at Megiddo and other sites continues to be hotly debated.

The city of level IV was destroyed completely and all of its public buildings covered with debris. Therefore between this stratum and the construction of the city in level III there may have been a period of abandonment. Over the ruins of the former royal buildings there arose a series of dwellings, but it must be noted that most of the structures were spread out according to a definite plan that included carefully laid out streets, both straight and intersecting. As mentioned above, the gate of this stratum was only a double entryway, and the salient-and-recess wall continued to exist. The stores and the palace were not rebuilt. On the contrary, two large, public buildings were set up near the city gate, in the same positions as the palaces of the former Canaanite kings. These two new buildings resemble one another in their ground plans; each possessed a large court surrounded by rooms with a double row of rooms on one side. R. Amiran and I. Dunayevsky have demonstrated that these buildings represent a new style of architecture originating in Assyria and bearing close resemblance to the forts at Hazor, Tel Jemmeh, and Lachish.

In stratum II a new fort was built according to a similar plan. The fort stood at the eastern end of the mound, and had been partially excavated by Schumacher. This fort was built on top of fort no. 338 from level IV A. One of the most notable structures of stratum III is the granary that was at least 7 meters deep and 11 meters in diameter, having a circular stairway leading down each side.

The excavators indicate that in levels III and II there is a decided resemblance with regard to structures; there is no destruction layer separating them, and most of the modifications are simply repairs carried out during the course of time. Thus, it would seem that the wall was torn down inasmuch as some of the buildings from level II were set over it. Megiddo was now an unfortified town with a small fortified citadel commanding the surrounding dwellings. The last level at Megiddo (stratum I) represents an unfortified town with no sizable buildings. It belongs to the Persian period (6th-4th centuries B.C.), and with this the long history of the city comes to an end.

One of the most interesting discoveries of the Megiddo excavations is the long water channel dug from within the city to the small spring located

The descent into the Iron Age water system at Megiddo. This protected system provided a safe supply of water in the event of an extended siege.

outside of its walls. The tunnel was constructed in order to facilitate the drawing of water from this spring by the citizens during time of siege. Near the western end of the tell a deep shaft was sunk, c. 25 meters deep, and steps were hewn out of the side by which one could descend into it. From the bottom of this shaft a tunnel c. 70 meters long and 3 meters high led to the spring, and a wall covered the spring blocking the approach to it from the outside. From signs of the quarrying it is clear that the channel was cut simultaneously from both ends in a manner similar to that used for making the SILOAM tunnel at JERUSALEM; and at the meeting point one notes correction for an error of about one meter. The excavators are of the opinion that this channel was hewn at a very late stage in the Bronze Age, but continued its existence into the Israelite period. From Yadin's investigations it seems more likely that both the water tunnel and the beautifully built outside gallery that preceded it were built during the Iron Age.

**III. Recorded history.** Although the archaeological evidence testifies to Megiddo's existence as early as the 4th millennium, the town's written history does not begin until the 2nd millennium.

The Early Bronze Age (3rd millennium) city was certainly one of the major urban centers of Palestine, and this situation was only temporarily interrupted by the intrusion of the MB I (Kenyon's intermediate EB-MB) settlement. With the beginning of the 12th Egyptian dynasty in the 20th cent. B.C., Megiddo had returned to the status of a strong city state whose culture is in reality a resumption of the Early Bronze civilization. The earliest inscription pertaining to Megiddo is that on the stela of Thut-hotep, which originally must have been set up during level XIII. Its presence at Megiddo bears witness to strong ties with Egypt and may explain the absence of any reference to this city in the famous execration texts (expressing curses on Pharaoh's enemies).

Like the rest of Palestine, Megiddo enjoyed flourishing occupation during the Hyksos Age, but there are, of course, no inscriptions to shed light on this period. When Megiddo again emerges into the light of history, she is at the head of a vast confederacy (mainly inspired by KADESH ON THE ORONTES) to resist Egyptian occupation of Canaan. Pharaoh Thutmose III smashed that effort during his first military campaign; the decisive action took place in the vicinity of Megiddo. The Canaanite allies had hoped to block the Egyptian advance at the passes leading from the Sharon to the Jezreel plains. Pharaoh apparently surprised them by choosing to march through the Wadi ʿArah while they were deployed facing the southern entrance near Taanach and the northern beside Jokneam. Thus the Egyptians were able to set up their camp in the plain before Megiddo near the Qina Brook (see MEGIDDO, WATERS OF ). The next day the Canaanites were defeated soundly and fled for refuge to Megiddo. Their escape was assured when the Egyptian troops turned aside from the pursuit to plunder the Canaanite encampments at the foot of the city's lofty mound. Siege was laid to the town and after seven months the besieged princes surrendered. Meanwhile, the Egyptian army had parceled out the agricultural lands of Megiddo and was utilizing them, under the supervision of palace officials for the support of the troops in the field. The wheat was especially notable, over 207,300 sacks besides that used by the army for its daily provision (*ANET,* 234-38).

The Canaanite rulers were sent home ignominiously riding on donkeys; their sons were taken as hostages to Egypt, where they received training at Pharaoh's court that prepared them for future service as royal vassals in their respective homelands. The Leningrad Papyrus no. 1116a bears testimony to the presence of emissaries from Megiddo at Pharaoh's court during the rule of the 18th Egyptian dynasty. Megiddo apparently became the base for an Egyptian garrison that upheld Pharaoh's authority in the Jezreel Valley. This can be inferred from one of the Taanach letters (no. 5) in which a certain Amanhatpa commands the prince at Taanach to send his troops and logistic support to Megiddo. Despite certain difficulties (e.g., the lack of royal titles in the Taanach epistle), this Egyptian possibly is to be identified with Pharaoh Amenhotep II, whose second campaign brought him to the Jezreel Valley in order to quell a revolt at Anaharath (cf. *ANET,* 247a). Upon his return journey he evidently encamped "in the vicinity of Megiddo" long enough to deal with another rebel from Gebathomen.

During the Amarna period Megiddo was ruled by a certain Biridiya, whose name apparently reflects an Indo-Aryan lineage. His epistles date to the end of Amenhotep III's reign and the beginning of AKHENATEN's. They pertain mostly to the tumultuous events associated with the rise and fall of Labʾayu, prince of Shechem, who was actively opposing Egyptian hegemony with the aid of the *ʿApiru* (see HABIRU). It was a time of confusion: Biridiya complained that the Egyptian administrators were acting in a hostile manner toward him though he himself was carrying out his orders (including the furnishing of thirty head of cattle to Pharaoh's officials; see EA, 243). Perhaps as a result of their mistrust, the Egyptians had removed their garrison from Megiddo, leaving the responsibility for its defense on Biridiya's shoulders; he was on guard day and night, and during the hours of daylight his fields were being harvested under the protection of his foot and chariot forces lest the *ʿApiru* attack the workmen in the field (EA, 243).

Labʾayu seized control of the towns in the DOTHAN Valley, destroyed the city of SHUNEM at the foot of the Hill of MOREH, and apparently aroused the people of Taanach to expel their own ruler, Yashdata (EA, 250 and 245). The latter sought refuge with Biridiya (EA, 245) whose own town was soon put under siege by Labʾayu. Biridiya pleaded with Pharaoh to reinstate the Egyptian garrison; 100 archers were needed desperately to save the situation (EA, 244). Finally, Pharaoh had ordered

Lab)ayu's arrest and transport to Egypt, and Biridiya claims that he joined other Canaanite kings in carrying out this order. But the culprit was taken from Megiddo on the way to Acco via Hannathon; there he succeeded in bribing his captor, Suarta of Acco, and of escaping. Biridiya and Yashdata rode out together to apprehend the fugitive but he already had been caught by his enemies (from the land of Gina, i.e., the Jenin Valley) and put to death (EA, 250); Biridiya protested his and Yashdata's innocence of that murder (EA, 245).

The responsibility for harvesting the crops of the ruined Shunem had been laid upon the city-state rulers of the Jezreel Valley, but Biridiya claimed that he alone had been obedient in this regard; he had brought corvée workers from the other side of the valley (Yapū, i.e., JAPHIA, Josh. 19:12) to accomplish the task (EA, 365). The sons of Lab)ayu and the (*Apiru* soon resumed their nefarious activities (EA, 246), probably until the Egyptians intervened forcibly. The distrust and tension that existed between Acco and Megiddo during the "Lab)ayu affair" probably continued to prevail (cf. the letter from Satatna of Acco, EA, 234).

Little can be learned about Megiddo from the subsequent history of the Late Bronze Age. There is one possible reference to the town in a topographical list of Seti I, but the reading is not certain. Papyrus Anastasi I mentions the road to Megiddo from Beth Shan and describes in lurid detail the frightful passage of a lone charioteer through the Wadi (Arah to the Sharon Plain. The road followed one side of the narrow defile that was much more difficult in those days because of the heavy underbrush and scrub forest. Marauders often were lurking on all sides to catch the unwary Egyptian messenger (*ANET, 477–78*).

In the Iron Age, Megiddo is mentioned among the conquered kings of Josh. 12:21. It was allotted to the tribe of Manasseh, but the Manassites were unable to occupy it or any of the other fortified towns that rimmed the plain of Jezreel (Josh. 17:11; Jdg. 1:27; cf. 1 Chr. 7:29). The allusion to the waters of Megiddo as witnessing DEBORAH's victory over SISERA (Jdg. 5:19) probably refers to the Brook Qina.

Later excavations have shown that both Megiddo and Taanach continued to exist side by side during


This extensive, three-chambered gate structure at Megiddo protected the main entrance into the city (9th or 8th cent. B.C.).

the transition from Canaanite to Israelite occupation; there is no longer any need to suppose (with Albright) that they saw periods of alternate settlement. It would appear that Megiddo became an Israelite city during the wars of David when he wrenched the hitherto unconquered enclaves from the Canaanite and Philistine occupants.

During the reign of Solomon, Megiddo, Hazor, and Gezer were all fortified as part of that king's military network (1 Ki. 9:15), which held the commercial routes of the Levant in an iron grip. Later, Megiddo was included in Solomon's fifth administrative district under the rule of Baana son of Ahilud (4:12).

The city fell to SHISHAK in the fifth year of King REHOBOAM (c. 924 B.C.), as evidenced by its appearance on the Pharaoh's display inscription (no. 27) and the discovery of a fragment of his victory stela at Megiddo. AHAZIAH, king of Judah, who was wounded at the time of Jehu's revolt, fled to Megiddo and died there (2 Ki. 9:27; cf. 2 Chr. 22:9). In the year 733/732 B.C. Megiddo was conquered by TIGLATH-PILESER III, king of Assyria, who made it the capital of an Assyrian administrative district called *Magiddû* that included the Jezreel Valley and GALILEE (the "Galilee of the Nations," cf. Isa. 9:1 [Heb. 8:23]). With the collapse of the Assyrian Empire, Megiddo fell for a short time under the hegemony of the kingdom of Judah, as evidenced by the confrontation between King JOSIAH and Pharaoh NECO that took place in the Valley of Megiddo and culminated in Josiah's death (2 Ki. 23:29; 2 Chr. 35:22). The reign of Josiah was the last period of prosperity at Megiddo. It was evidently during these later stages of Megiddo's history that the ritual mourning for HADAD RIMMON in the plain of Megiddo became so popular (Zech. 12:11), although it may have been a resurgence of pre-Israelite religion.

During the course of the Persian age, the city was abandoned entirely and its role as guardian of the entrance to Wadi ʿArah was taken over by Kefar Othnai (Legio). Megiddo's history as the scene of crucial battles is also reflected in John's Apocalypse, where "the battle on the great day of God Almighty" at the culmination of history is said to take place beside ARMAGEDDON (*Harmagedōn G762,* prob. from *har měgiddô,* "mountain[s] of Megiddo"; Rev. 16:14–16).

(The periodical literature on Megiddo is extensive. Articles by Y. Yadin include "Solomon's City Wall and Gate at Gezer," *IEJ* 18 [1958]: 80–86; "New Light on Solomon's Megiddo," *BA* 22 [1960]: 62–68; "Hazor, Gezer and Megiddo in Solomon's Times," in *The Kingdoms of Israel and Judah,* ed. A. Malamat [1961], 66–109; "Megiddo of the Kings of Israel," *BA* 33 [1970]: 66–96. Important works include the following: H. H. Nelson, *The Battle of Megiddo* [1913]; G. Schumacher, *Tellel-Mutesellim, 2* vols. [1908–29]; C. S. Fisher, *The Excavation of Armageddon* [1929]; P. L. O. Guy, *New Light from Armageddon* [1931]; R. M. Engberg, *Notes on the Chalithic and Early Bronze Age Pottery of Megiddo* [1935]; R. S. Lamon, *The Megiddo Water System* [1935]; R. S. Lamon and G. M. Shipton, *Megiddo* I [1939]; G. M. Shipton, *Notes on the Megiddo Pottery of Strata VI-XX* [1939]; G. Loud, *Megiddo* II [1948]; J. N. Schofield, "Megiddo," in *Archaeology and Old Testament Study,* ed. D. Winton Thomas [1967], 309–28; A. F. Rainey, *El Amarna Tablets 359–379* [1970], 24–27; Y. Aharoni, "The Stratification of Israelite Megiddo," *JNES* 31 [1972]: 302–11; G. I. Davies, *Megiddo* [1986]; A. Kempinski, *Megiddo: A City-State and Royal Centre in North Israel* [1989]; I. Finkelstein et al., eds., *Megiddo III: The 1992–1996 Seasons* [2000]; T. P. Harrison et al., *Megiddo 3: Final Report on the Stratum VI Excavations* [2004]; *NEAEHL,* 3:1003–24.)

A. F. RAINEY

**Megiddo, waters of.** A place mentioned in the victory song of DEBORAH (Jdg. 5:19). The allusion is probably to the WADI draining the basin behind MEGIDDO, between it and the hills to the S. THUT-MOSE III encamped beside that brook, which was called Qina or Gina *(qi-n),* before attacking Megiddo (*ANET*, 236, 238). The biblical passage suggests that instead of dividing the spoil and receiving a reward for their services, which would have been done on the southern side of the JEZREEL Valley in front of TAANACH and Megiddo, the Canaanite kings were swept away by the torrent KISHON in the center of the plain.

A. F. RAINEY

**Megilloth** mi-gil'oth. The plural form of *mĕgillâ H4479,* meaning "scroll" or "roll" (Jer. 36:28–29; Ezek. 3:1–3). The name Megilloth is given to a set of five short OT books, each brief enough to be read publicly at an annual religious festival. The order in some MSS and in editions of the Hebrew Bible follows that of the feasts throughout the year: Song of Songs (Passover), Ruth (Pentecost), Lamentations (the ninth of Ab, commemorating the destruction of the temple), Ecclesiastes (Tabernacles), and Esther (Purim). The grouping of these five books as a collection within the third division of the Hebrew Canon (the Writings; see CANON OF THE OT V.B) seems to have originated after the time of the TALMUD. The Masoretic MSS usually group them together, but their order is not uniform (see C. D. Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* [1897; repr. 1966], 1–8).

S. BARABAS

**Mehetabeel** mi-het'uh-bee'uhl. KJV alternate form of MEHETABEL (only Neh. 6:10).

**Mehetabel** mi-het'uh-bel (מְהֵיטַבְאֵל *H4541,* "God does good [*or* treats kindly]"). (1) Daughter of MATRED and wife of Hadad (Hadar) king of EDOM (Gen. 36:39; 1 Chr. 1:50). See HADAD (PERSON) #3.

(2) Grandfather or ancestor of the false prophet Shemaiah (Neh. 6:10; KJV, "Mehetabeel"). See SHEMAIAH #19.

**Mehida** mi-h*i*'duh (מְחִידָא *H4694,* meaning unknown; on the basis of many Heb. MSS, some scholars prefer the reading מְחִירָא, meaning "bought [as slave]"; cf. MEHIR). Ancestor of a family of temple servants (NETHINIM) who returned from the EXILE with ZERUBBABEL (Ezra 2:52; Neh. 7:54; 1 Esd. 5:32 [KJV, "Meeda"]).

**Mehir** mee'huhr (מְחִיר *H4698,* "bought [as slave]"; cf. MEHIDA). Son (or descendant) of Kelub, included in the genealogy of JUDAH (1 Chr. 4:11). His place in the genealogy is unclear.

**Meholah.** See ABEL MEHOLAH.

**Meholathite** mi-hoh'luh-th*i*t (מְחֹלָתִי *H4716,* prob. gentilic of מְחוֹלָה, "dancing"; see ABEL MEHOLAH). A descriptive adjective given to ADRIEL son of BARZILLAI, who married SAUL's daughter, MERAB (1 Sam. 18:19 [NIV, "of Meholah"]; 2 Sam. 21:8). He was probably an inhabitant of Abel Meholah, but some scholars, vocalizing the Hebrew word differently, read Mahlathite, that is, a descendant of

MAHLAH, from the tribe of MANASSEH (see *ABD,* 4:681).

S. BARABAS

**Mehujael** mi-hy*oo*'jay-uhl (מְחוּיָאֵל *H4686,* prob. "smitten by God"; the second time in the verse, the *Qere* reading is מְחִיָּאֵל, possibly meaning "God gives life" [cf. *HALOT, 2:568]).* Son of Irad and descendant of CAIN (Gen. 4:18). The name is thought by some to correspond to MAHALALEL in the line of SETH (5:12–17).

**Mehuman** mi-hy*oo*'muhn (מְהוּמָן *H4540,* possibly from Old Pers. *vahumanah,* "intelligent" [see *ABD,* 4:681–82]). 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). Some have speculated that the name is a variant of MEMUCAN (see v. 14).

**Mehunim** mi-hyoo'nim. KJV alternate form of MEUNIM.

**Me Jarkon** mi-jahr'kon (מֵי הַיַּרְקוֹן *H4770,* "waters of the Jarkon" or "pale waters"). A town (or river?) within the tribal territory of DAN (Josh. 19:46). The text is difficult, and some writers (on the basis of LXX, *apo thalassēs)* emend *mê* to *miyyām,* "from the sea" (i.e., "on the west"). Most scholars, however, associate the name with a stream called Nahr el-ʿAuja, which flows into the Mediterranean a few miles N of JOPPA (but see *SacBr,* 37c). The ancient Hebrew name "pale waters" may well reflect the considerable quantity of organic soil the river carries at certain times, giving it its greenish appearance. See also RAKKON.

S. WOUDSTRA

**Mekerathite** mi-ker'uh-th*i*t (מְכֵרָתִי *H4841,* gentilic of an otherwise unattested name, מְכֵרָה, meaning "plan"). A descriptive title given to HEPHER, one of DAVID's mighty warriors (1 Chr. 11:36). It is not clear whether Mekerah was a place or an ancestor. Some, however, have proposed that this passage or its parallel (2 Sam. 23:34), or both, have suffered textual corruption.

**Mekonah** mi-koh'nuh. KJV and TNIV form of MECONAH.

**Melatiah** mel'uh-t*i*'uh (מְלַטְיָה *H4882,* "Yahweh has delivered"). A man from GIBEON who helped rebuild the wall of Jerusalem under NEHEMIAH (Neh. 3:7). For discussion, see JADON.

**Melchi** mel'k*i*. See MELKI.

**Melchiah** mel-k*i*'uh. KJV alternate form of MALKIJAH.

**Melchias** mel-ki'uhs. KJV Apoc. form of MALKIJAH.

**Melchiel** mel'kee-uhl (Μελχιηλ, "God is [my] king"; see MALKIEL). Father of CHARMIS; the latter was one of the governors of BETHULIA to whom JUDITH made an appeal for aid (Jdt. 6:15).

**Melchior** mel'kee-or. According to late Christian tradition, the name of one of the MAGI who traveled to BETHLEHEM (Matt. 2:1–12).

**Melchisedec** mel-kis'uh-dek. KJV NT form of MELCHIZEDEK.

**Melchi-shua** mel'ki-sh*oo*'uh. KJV alternate form of MALKI-SHUA.

**Melchizedek** mel-kiz'uh-dek (מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק *H4900,* "king of righteousness" or "[my] king is righteous[ness]"; Μελχισέδεκ *G3519*). KJV NT Melchisedec. A priest-king mentioned in three biblical books (Gen. 14:18–20; Ps. 110:4; Heb. 5:6–11; 6:20—7:28) and in several nonbiblical documents.

**I. Genesis.** In Gen. 14:18–20 Melchizedek is identified as king of SALEM and priest of EL ELYON. After Abram (ABRAHAM) had defeated KEDORLAOMER and the kings who were with him, Melchizedek brought him bread and wine (expressing friendship and perhaps religious kinship) and blessed him. "Then Abram gave him a tenth of everything." Salem is best identified with JERUSALEM on the basis of (1) Ps. 76:2; (2) the early mention of the city as *Uru-salem* or *Uru-salimmu* in the TELL EL-AMARNA letters (14th cent. B.C.) and in Assyrian inscriptions, long before it became an Israelite city; (3) the TARGUMS; and (4) the GENESIS APOCRYPHON.

Most critics regard Melchizedek as a Canaanite priest because both elements of the name he serves (El and Elyon) occur as names of specific deities, the first in UGARIT (M. H. Pope, *El in the Ugaritic Texts* [1955]) and the second in PHOENICIA; an ARAMAIC inscription from SYRIA combines the two into a compound (E. A. Speiser, *Genesis,* AB 1 [1964], 104). In addition, many critics regard both Gen. 14:18–20 and Ps. 110:4 as a piece of syncretism whereby the pre-Davidic kingship and this Canaanite worship of El Elyon were linked with Yahwism and the founding of the Davidic dynasty to foster the emergence of Jerusalem as Israel's cultic center. These views, however, must be rejected, for they presuppose that Scripture is deceptive and that hypothetical reconstructions are more trustworthy.

On the contrary, Scripture equates El Elyon with Yahweh. Melchizedek regarded El Elyon as the creator of matter, the cosmos (Gen. 14:19), a concept foreign to the polytheistic religions of the ANE, which did not distinguish spirit from matter and therefore worshiped the elements of the cosmos. Moreover, it is clear that Abram regarded Melchizedek as worshiping the same God as he. By unhesitatingly giving Melchizedek a tithe of everything (v. 20), the Yahwist Abram not only showed his support of this priest-king and his sanctuary but also publicly demonstrated that he recognized him as a person of higher spiritual rank than he, a patriarchal priest. By contrast, Abram declines a gift from the king of SODOM, thus indicating publicly that he has no theological or spiritual affiliation with him. Also, by referring to Yahweh as El Elyon (v. 22; this feature is not found in the Samaritan, LXX, or Peshitta versions), Abram emphasized to the king of Sodom that his God and Melchizedek's were one and the same. Finally, the OT elsewhere uses this name as an epithet for Yahweh (Pss. 7:17; 47:2; 57:2; 78:56).

**II. Psalm 110.** In Ps. 110:4 a Davidic king is acclaimed by divine oath "a priest forever, in the

View of the Kidron Valley (looking S, with modern Silwan to left). This is probably the location of the Valley of Shaveh, where Melchizedek went out to meet Abram.

order of Melchizedek." F. F. Bruce has stated: "The background for this acclamation is provided by David's conquest of Jerusalem c. 1000 B.C., by virtue of which David and his house became heirs to Melchizedek's dynasty of priest-kings" *(NBD,* 749). Be that as it may, it is sure that DAVID had in view the One greater than himself when he called him Lord in v. 1 (cf. Mk. 12:35–37). The acclaim must refer to the Lord Jesus, who was Son of God as well as son of David.

**III. Hebrews.** The writer of Hebrews refers to Ps. 110:4 and applies it to Jesus (Heb. 5:6, 10; 6:20). Then, in order to demonstrate that Christ superseded the Aaronic priesthood, he shows that Melchizedek is a type of Christ by noting that both are identified as king of righteousness as well as king of peace, both are unique ("without beginning of days or end of life"), and both abide as priest continually (Heb. 7:1–3). He then proceeds to show that the order of Melchizedek is superior to the order of AARON because (1) Melchizedek is greater than Abraham (the father of LEVI, from whom Aaron descended), for he blessed Abraham and received tithes from him (vv. 4–10); (2) David predicted that the order of Melchizedek would replace the Levitical priesthood, showing that the latter was imperfect (vv. 11–19); (3) this order has a divine oath behind it (vv. 20–22); and (4) this order is permanent (vv. 23–25). (It is noteworthy that the author of Hebrews does not offer any TYPOLOGY in connection with the bread and wine that Melchizedek brought out to Abraham.)

Attempts to identify Melchizedek with the patriarch SHEM, an angel, a power or virtue or influence of God, the Holy Ghost, the Son of God, the Messiah, etc., are unauthorized additions and irreconcilable with the argument of Hebrews. It is an essential part of this argument that Melchizedek is given no pedigree and that he was a man made like unto the Son of God (cf. W. Smith, *A Dictionary of the Bible* [1863], 2:315).

**IV. Extrabiblical sources.** PHILO JUDAEUS (*Leg.* 3.25–26) refers to Melchizedek simply as a peaceable and righteous or lawful king. In contrast, a midrashic document found among the DEAD SEA SCROLLS (11QMelch=11Q13) depicts Melchizedek as an eschatological judge (comparable to the role of the archangel MICHAEL) who will destroy BELIAL in the end times. Finally, *Melchizedek* is the

title of a fragmentary gnostic tractate preserved in Coptic (originally composed in Greek, prob. in the 3rd cent. A.D.) that is part of the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY (NHC IX, 1); it apparently identifies Jesus as Melchizedek redivivus, an eschatological high priest and warrior.

(In addition to the standard commentaries on Genesis, Psalms, and Hebrews, see the bibliography in M. de Jonge and A. S. van der Woude, "11Q Melchizedek and the New Testament from Qumran Cave 11," *NTS* 12 [1966]: 318 n. 3; H. H. Rowley, "Melchizedek and Zadok," in *Festschrift für A. Bertholet,* ed. W. Baumgartner et al. [1950], 161ff.; A. R. Johnson, *Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel* (1955), 31–46, 120–22; O. Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament* [1959], 38ff.; B. A. Pearson, *Gnosticism, Judaism, and Egyptian Christianity* [1990], 108–23; *NHL,* 438–44; *DDD,* 560–63.)

B. K. WALTKE

**Melea** mee'lee-uh (Μελεά *G3507,* perhaps from מְלֵאָה *H4852,* "fulness"). Son of Menna, included in Luke's GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Lk. 3:31).

**Melech** mee'lik (מֶלֶךְ *H4890,* "king," possibly short form of מַלְכִּיָּהוּ *H4899,* "Yahweh is [my] king"; see MALKIJAH). TNIV Melek. Son of Micah and descendant of SAUL through JONATHAN and MERIB-BAAL, included in the genealogy of BENJAMIN (1 Chr. 8:35; also 9:41).

**Melek** mee'lik. TNIV form of MELECH.

**Melicu** mel'i-ky*oo*. KJV form of MALLUCH (only Neh. 12:14).

**Melita** mel'i-tuh. KJV form of MALTA.

**Melito** mel'i-toh (Μελίτων). Bishop of SARDIS in the 2nd cent. A.D. EUSEBIUS refers to him several times and gives a list of his numerous writings *(Eccl. Hist.* 4.26.2). One of them is *Peri Pascha,* a polemical treatise that sets forth Christ (who is "by nature God and man") as the new and true PASSOVER (text and English trans. by S. G. Hall, *On Pascha and Fragments* [1979]; see also L. H. Cohick, *The Peri Pascha Attributed to Melito of Sardis: Setting, Purpose, and Sources* [2000]). Melito had an interest in the CANON OF THE OT, referring to it as the "old covenant" (Eusebius has preserved his list, *Eccl. Hist.* 4.26.13–145). A Latin work known as *Narrative of Melito* (an account of the death and assumption of Mary) was wrongly ascribed to Melito of Sardis.

**Melki** mel'k*i* (Μελχί *G3518,* from מִלְכִּי, possibly short form of מַלְכִּיָּהוּ *H4899,* "Yahweh is [my] king"; see MALKIJAH). The name of two men included in Luke's GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST: Melki son of Jannai and Melki son of Addi (Lk. 3:14, 28).

**melon.** The valued fruit of a tendril-bearing vine (of the family *Cucurbitaceae,* which includes the CUCUMBER and the pumpkin). Melons were among the foods of Egypt that the Israelites missed in the desert (Num. 11:5; Heb. *)ăbaṭṭîah H19).* Does this refer to sweet melon (muskmelon, *Cucumis melo)* or watermelon *(Citrullus vulgaris)?* Probably the latter, but both grew in Egypt; both were delicious and would have been invaluable in the wilderness. A good watermelon could weigh 30 lbs., and a large sweet melon 6–7 lbs. The Hebrew word *miqšâ H5252* (Isa. 1:8; Jer. 10:5) possibly refers to a

melon patch (so NIV, but most versions understand it to mean "cucumber field").

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

**Melzar** mel'zahr (מְלְצַר *H4915).* According to the KJV, Melzar was the name of the Babylonian official in charge of DANIEL and his friends (Dan. 1:11, 16). In fact, however, the term is a common noun (from Akk. *maṣṣāru)* meaning "guard" or "warden."

**mem** maym (from מַיִם *H4784,* "water[s]"). The thirteenth letter of the Hebrew ALPHABET (מ), with a numerical value of forty. It is named for the shape of the letter, which in its older form seems to be a stylized picture of running water. Its sound corresponds to that of English *m.*

**member.** A body part; also, one of the persons that compose a group. No Hebrew term corresponds precisely to English *member,* but modern versions use it occasionally in idiomatic expressions (e.g., "the members of his household," Gen. 36:6; in the KJV, see Deut. 23:1; Job 17:7; Ps. 139:16). In the NT, by contrast, the Greek noun *melos G3517* occurs more than twenty times. This term can be used literally of a body part, such as the eye or the hand (Matt. 5:29–30), but usually it has a derived sense. The parts of the body are not to be an instrument of wickedness but of righteousness (Rom. 6:13, 19; cf. 7:5, 23; Jas. 4:1). The "members that are upon the earth" (NIV, "whatever in you is earthly") are to be put to death (Col. 3:5). Even the tongue, though a "small member," can be "a world of evil" (Jas. 3:5–6).

A different metaphor is that of Christians viewed as members of the BODY OF CHRIST. AS such, believers must not unite themselves with prostitutes (1 Cor. 6:15). For the same reason, they are to "speak truthfully" to their neighbors (Eph. 4:25). Since Christian husbands are members of Christ's body, they must love their wives as their own bodies (Eph. 5:28–30). Moreover, the body illustrates our function in the CHURCH (Rom. 12:4–5; 1 Cor. 12:12–27). God has arranged the physical body "so that there should be no division in the body, but that its parts should have equal concern for each other. If one part suffers, every part suffers with it; if one part is honored, every part rejoices with it" (1 Cor. 12:25–26). Similarly, believers must honor and care for each other.

W. G. BROWN

**Memmius, Quintus** mem'ee-uhs, kwin'tuhs (Κόιντος Μέμμιος). A Roman envoy who, with Titus MANIUS, bore a letter to the Jews after defeating LYSIAS in battle in 164 B.C. and offered to negotiate in their behalf with ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes in Antioch (2 Macc. 11:34). Neither of the men is otherwise known to history.

**memorial.** An object or a ceremony that commemorates an event or keeps its remembrance alive. One of the Hebrew words translated "memorial," *)azkārâ H260,* is a sacrificial term describing the act that brings the offerer into remembrance before God, or God into remembrance with the offerer (cf. Num. 5:26 et al.; the cognate verb *zākar H2349,* "to remember," can be used in the hiphil stem in the sense of "bring a memorial offering," Isa. 66:3). The related noun *zikkārôn H2355,* a more general term meaning "reminder," can be used of an offering (Num. 5:15), but also of a memorial made of stones (Josh. 4:7), of a written record to be remembered (Exod. 5:15; Mal. 3:16; see BOOK OF REMEMBRANCE), and of a celebration (Lev. 23:24). The object of memorials is to preserve and perpetuate the most valuable in persons and incidents (cf. Exod. 13:8–10). SOLOMON said, "The

memory *[zēker H2352]* of the righteous will be a blessing" (Prov. 10:7). Contrarily for the wicked, "the memory of him perishes from the earth" (Job 18:17; cf. Pss. 9:6; 109:15; Eccl. 9:5; Neh. 2:20).

That which qualifies for memorial is the worthily unusual—persons, incidents, or things, usually epoch-making. Memorials are direction markers in history, indicating trends in the course of events. When the Hebrews discovered that there was one living God who participated in human affairs, and with whom COVENANT could be made, his name became a memorial. An apocalyptic psalmist said, "O LORD, we wait for thee; thy memorial name [NIV, your name and renown] is the desire of our soul" (Isa. 26:8 RSV). Also, "the law of the LORD" was to be memorialized (Exod. 13:9). Great acts of God are preserved in memorials: the CREATION (20:11); the deliverance from Egyptian bondage (13:8); and Christ's death on the cross (1 Cor. 11:24–26; Gk. *anamnēsis G390,* "remembrance"). True worship and good deeds were objects of memorials: Israelite worship (Lev. 2:2; Num. 31:54); Mary's anointing Jesus (Matt. 26:13; Mk. 14:9; Gk. *mnēmosynon G3649);* and Cornelius's worship and neighborly service (Acts 10:4). These and others are recalled by the various memorials that perpetuate them.

Memorials are to aid a person's memory in preserving what is most cherished. Maybe it is a subconscious sense of immortality that has always prompted human beings to try in some way to survive the grave. Prehistoric men drew pictures on their cave walls, and throughout history people have marked the graves of their loved ones. Stone is one of the oldest means of memorials. Rulers of Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Hatti, Persia, Greece, and Rome have left their memorials in pyramids, obelisks, cliffs, statues, slabs, and other stone forms. MOSES had the names of the twelve sons of Israel engraved on two onyx stones as a memorial (Exod. 28:9–12); and the TEN COMMANDMENTS were put on stone (34:1). Later, JOSHUA "copied on stones the law of Moses" (Josh. 8:32). Another medium was the use of BOOKS, whether of parchment, papyrus, or paper. It is a mark of divinely inspired genius that Moses began the book that resulted in the Bible, a memorial of divine revelation and human response (Exod. 17:14; 24:4). Eventually the Bible became the most durable, inclusive, and influential memorial in history.

Other memorials were religious activities. Israelite priests presented cereal offerings, burned with incense, "as a memorial portion" (Lev. 2:2). Gold offerings were made "as a memorial for the Israelites before the LORD" (Num. 31:54). The angel said to Cornelius, "Your prayers and gifts to the poor have come up as a memorial offering before God" (Acts 10:4). Memorial days, particularly those associated with worship and feasts, have been most meaningful. Two paramount memorial feasts of Bible record are the PASSOVER and the LORD's SUPPER. Moses said, "This day [Nisan 15] shall be for you a memorial day, and you shall keep it as a feast to the LORD" (Exod. 12:14 RSV). Instituting the Lord's Supper, Jesus said, "This is my body, which is for you; do this in remembrance of me" (1 Cor. 11:24). The fourth commandment is, "Remember the Sabbath day by keeping it holy" (Exod. 20:8). See also REMEMBER.

G. B. FUNDERBURK

**Memphis** mem'fis (from Gk. Μέμφις; Heb. נֹף *H5862* and מֹף *H5132* [only Hos. 9:6]). KJV Noph (except. Hos. 9:6). A city of EGYPT, on the W bank of the NILE, some 13 mi. S of Cairo, in an area including the modern village of Mit Rahineh. The city was first called *inb-ḥḏ,* "the white wall," but later was known as *mn-nfr* (Mennefer), after the pyramid of Pepi I of the 6th dynasty. From this name are derived the Hebrew forms as well

Sphinx of Ramses II at Memphis.

as Greek *Memphis,* by which the city is now commonly known. Memphis was also called in Akkadian *Hikuptah* (from ḥ*[t]-k*ʾ*-pt*ḥ, "the house of the spirit of Ptah"), from which later the name *Aigyptos,* "Egypt," developed.

*General history.* According to legend, Memphis was the first capital of united Egypt, being built by the traditional unifier and first king, Menes. It remained the capital until the end of the Old Kingdom (c. 2200 B.C.). After it lost the seat of government it was still a city of importance, particularly in religion, and kings of later times built temples and other structures there. In 670 B.C. the city was captured by the Assyrians. During the Persian period it was a cosmopolitan city and was visited by the Greek historian HERODOTUS. Little of its late history is known; after the Muslim conquest the ruins of Memphis were used for the construction of Fostat, which later became Cairo.

*Archaeological history.* Excavations were conducted here in 1909–13 by Flinders Petrie around the acropolis and the temple of Ptah. Later (1915–19, 1921–22), C. S. Fisher excavated the palace of MERNEPTAH. These earlier excavations also revealed part of a temple of RAMSES II (1301–1234 B.C.), a chapel of Seti I (1313–1301), some tombs dated c. 800, and remains of the embalming house of the APIS bulls, with inscriptions of NECO, Apries (HOPHRA), and Sheshonk (SHISHAK). Further work by the Pennsylvania University Museum and the Egyptian Department of Antiquities in 1954–56 was carried out in the area of the enclosure wall of Ptah. In 1980, the Egyptian Exploration Society began an archaeological survey of Memphis that continues to the present.

*Religious importance.* The supreme god of Memphis was Ptah, a creator-god, patron of arts and crafts, depicted usually in the form of a man wearing the straight beard, having a smooth (hairless?) head, and holding the wʾs-scepter, the symbol of dominion. A late stela, dating from the time of Shabaka, c. 700 B.C., preserves an early text of Memphite theology, which affirms that Ptah created everything, essentially by the simple processes of thought and speech. At Memphis the divine triad consisted of Ptah, his wife, the lioness-headed Sekhmet, and their son, Nefertem. The Apis bull, also worshiped here, is shown with the solar disc and uraeus serpent between its horns. It was regarded as an incarnation of Ptah and OSIRIS (the latter also combined with Apis to make SERAPIS). See EGYPT VII.A.

*Other Memphite remains.* To the W of the city site is a vast cemetery at Saqqara, with royal tombs, or cenotaphs, of rulers of the first two dynasties. From the third dynasty there is the world's "first monumental architecture in stone," the step-pyramid of King Djoser. The fourth dynasty royal inhabitants of Memphis created at Giza the most impressive group of tomb structures known, the Giza pyramids; around these clustered the lesser tombs of royal retainers and officials. The fifth dynasty kings built their sun temples and pyramids at Abusir, between Saqqara and Giza. At Saqqara, dynasties five and six provided excellent examples of scenes of daily life executed in painted relief on the walls of rooms of funerary complexes of officials such as Ptahhotep, Ti, Mereruka, and Kagemni. Here were the royal pyramids of those dynasties, such as that of Pepi I, mentioned above as the source of the name of Memphis. The pyramids of dynasties five and six are especially significant because of the religious spells, the Pyramid Texts, inscribed upon their walls. Also of importance at Saqqara is the Serapeum, the burial place of the Apis bulls, whose monuments range in date from dynasty eighteen to the end of the Ptolemaic period.

*Biblical associations.* In the Bible the name Memphis appears only eight times, all in the OT prophets. Hosea prophesied that the Israelites would return to Egypt and that Memphis would bury them (Hos. 9:6). In Isa. 19:13 ("an oracle concerning Egypt"; see v. 1), the Lord declares that "the leaders of Memphis are deceived; / the cornerstones of her peoples have led Egypt astray." In Jer. 2:16 the prophet states that as a consequence of apostasy and false worship Israel has suffered at the hands of the Egyptians: "Also, the men of Tahpanhes and Memphis / have shaved the crown of your head." After the murder of GEDALIAH by Ishmael, the Israelite remnant fled to Egypt in fear of possible reprisals by the Babylonians, in spite of the warnings of JEREMIAH (cf. 43:5–7).

In Egypt the Hebrew refugees were further admonished by the Lord. Jeremiah 44 contains a prophetic message addressed to "all the Jews living in Lower Egypt—in Migdol, Tahpanhes and Memphis—and in Upper Egypt" (44:1). Chapter 46 is largely a prophecy against Egypt; the report of war was to be published in her cities, including Memphis: "Take your positions and get ready, / for the sword devours those around you" (46:14). Perhaps the most striking predictions concerning Memphis are in Ezek. 30:13, where the Lord declares, "I will destroy the idols / and put an end to the images in Memphis," while the prophet Jeremiah stated that the city "will be laid waste and lie in ruins without inhabitant" (Jer. 46:19). The ruins of Memphis give silent witness to the fulfillment of these prophecies, and the scarcity of statues of Egyptian deities is quite marked, particularly in view of the long history of the building of temples at this city.

(See further J. Capart and M. Werbrouck, *Memphis à l'ombre despyramides* [1930]; A. Badawi, *Memphis als zweite Landeshauptstadt im neuen Reich* [1948]; M. Dimick, *Memphis: The City of the White Wall* [1956]; R. Anthes, *Mit Rahineh 1955* [1959]; idem, *Mit Rahineh 1956* [1965]; J. Kamil, *Sakkara and Memphis: A Guide to the Necropolis and the Ancient Capital,* 2nd ed. [1985]; D. G. Jeffreys, *The Survey of Memphis* [1985]; D. J. Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies* [1988]; C. Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis* [1992]; L. Giddy, *The Survey of Memphis II* [1999].)

C. E. DEVRIES

**Memphitic Version.** See VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE, ANCIENT, IV.C.

**Memra** mem'ruh. See LOGOS II.B.

**Memucan** mi-my*oo*'kuhn (מְמוּכָן *H4925,* derivation uncertain; cf. H. S. Gehman in *JBL* 43 [1924]:

325). TNIV Mamukan. 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, 16, 21). Memucan served as their spokesman, and Queen VASHTI was banished by Ahasuerus (XERXES) on their advice.

**Menahem** men'uh-hem (מְנַחֵם *H4968,* "comforter"). Son of GADI; he usurped the throne and became one of the last kings of Israel (2 Ki. 15:14–22).The name Menahem is found in various epigraphical sources (*IPN,* 222); SENNACHERIB mentions a Menahem of Samsimuruna in Palestine (Taylor Prism, *ANET,* 287).

**I. Career.** Aside from his father's name, Gadi, we know nothing of his antecedents. He was at TIRZAH when SHALLUM assassinated ZECHARIAH, the last of JEHU's dynasty; a month later, he in turn killed Shallum and assumed the kingship (2 Ki. 15:10–14). M. Unger (*Israel and the Aramaeans* [1957], 97ff.) suggests that he was an army commander who, like OMRI, avenged his master. The book of Kings records: (1) the scandal of Menahem's sack of TIPHSAH (v. 16); (2) the formal notice of Menahem's reign (vv. 17–18); (3) the heavy tribute to Pul (TIGLATH-PILESER III, vv. 19–20); (4) the formal notice of Menahem's death in the fiftieth year of Azariah (UZZIAH, vv. 21–22).

**II. Chronology.** The synchronisms in 2 Ki. 15:17, 23 date Menahem's reign from the thirty-ninth to the fiftieth year of Uzziah, that is, a period of ten years plus his accession year (this shows that Israel used the accession year system by this time, also that the regnal years in Israel and Judah did not coincide; otherwise the tenth of Menahem would have covered Uzziah's forty-ninth). Tiglath-Pileser became king of Assyria in 745 B.C. and king of Babylon (under the name Pulu) in 727, the year before his death; this is proved by a correlation of the Babylonian Chronicle with a Babylonian king list. A passage in the Annals of Tiglath-Pileser records tribute paid by "Menihimmu of Samarina"; this event generally had been dated to 738, as the next section of the Annals covers the events of his ninth year. W. F. Albright (in *BASOR* 100 [Dec. 1945]: 16–22) accordingly takes 738 as the earliest date for Menahem's death, but E. R. Thiele *(The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings,* 3rd ed. [1983], ch. 7) has shown that the relevant passage could well refer to Tiglath-Pileser's third year (743) or to any intermediate year (cf. A. Poebel *in JNES 2* [1943]: 89 n. 23).

Consistently with the above, Thiele *(Mysterious Numbers,* 124) derives the dates 752–742. Albright follows a different method, avoiding Thiele's extended coregency of Amaziah and Uzziah; he dates Uzziah 783–742, and Menahem 745–738. This involves rejecting a synchronism in 2 Ki. 15:1, but elsewhere rejecting the lengths of reign and


Panel depicting Tiglath-Pileser III (from Nimrud, c. 728 B.C.). Menahem king of Judah was forced to pay tribute to this Assyrian conqueror.

working by the synchronisms. Some older systems put Menahem's reign earlier to make room for the years given for the remaining kings (15:23, 27; 17:1); but it is now clear that the Assyrian cross-reference is incontrovertible, and another explanation must be found (see PEKAH).

**III. Tiphsah.** A very abrupt statement (2 Ki. 15:16) records that, after ousting Shallum, Menahem sacked "Tiphsah" and ravaged the district with a brutality unprecedented among Israelites, though it had been practiced by Syrians (8:12) and Ammonites (Amos 1:13). The name is that of a town on the upper EUPHRATES (Gk. *Thapsakos),* but this cannot be meant. Lucian appears to have been the first to emend to TAPPUAH; the assumed textual corruption (from *w* to *s),* would be plausible for the early Hebrew ALPHABET. J. A. Montgomery *(A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Kings,* ICC [1951], 450) objects that "such a barbarous raid is incomprehensible between neighbouring cities"; the distance was some 15 mi., with SHECHEM between. The words "from Tirzah" suggest their proximity, though the language might mean rather that Menahem was not yet in control of Samaria. In the last years of Israel, "no man spares his brother" (Isa. 9:19 RSV).

**IV. Relations with Assyria.** If Menahem became king in 752/1, there was a recession of Assyrian power during his early years, and he paid tribute to Tiglath-Pileser toward the end of his reign; or if Albright's chronology is followed, a principal argument for it would be the interpretation of the Assyrian record as referring to Menahem's last year, 738. A figure of 1,000 talents is mentioned in 2 Ki. 15:19, representing fifty shekels for every wealthy man (v. 20), or approximately 60,000 people. This was the price of a slave in Assyria; it makes an interesting comparison with the thirty shekels of Zech. 11:12. The statement is valuable evidence as to the population of Israel, and incidentally concerning the keeping of fairly accurate records at court. A similar tribute was extracted by Tiglath-Pileser again when he overthrew Pekah (*ANET,* 284), and by SENNACHERIB from HEZEKIAH (*ANET,*

288); Adadnirari took 2,300 talents from DAMASCUS in 806 with twenty talents of gold (*ANET,* 281–82); but this was not, apparently, exacted from the people.

The question arises whether this tribute was altogether imposed; Kings implies that Menahem was bargaining for special protection "to strengthen his own hold on the kingdom." This has led some authorities to date the event to Menahem's early years; but apart from the chronological problems of such a view, taxation at the end of the reign would help explain Pekah's revolt and successful instigation of an anti-Assyrian policy. Menahem may have been facing internal disaffection, or he may have sought, in view of the resurgence of Assyria, to secure himself by vassalage rather than take his chance with the states of ARAM and PHOENICIA. Hosea may refer to this policy, which could be regarded as dating from Jehu's time (Hos. 5:13; 8:9). (See further H. Tadmor in *Studies in the Bible,* ed. C. Rabin [1961], 248–66; C. Schedl in VT 12 [1962]: 101–7; V. Pavlovský and E. Vogt in *Bib* 45 [1964]: 326–37; T. R. Hobbs in *ABD,* 4:692–93.)

J. LILLEY

**Menan** mee'nan. KJV form of MENNA.

**mene, mene, tekel, parsin (upharsin)** mee'nee, mee'nee, tek'uhl, pahr'sin, yoo-fahr'sin (Aram. מְנִי מְנִי תְקֵל וּפַרְסִין, from מְנָא *H10428*, תְּקֵל *H10770*, פְּרֵס *H10593).* An inscription that appeared on the wall of the palace of BELSHAZZAR at BABYLON (Dan. 5:25–28).

**I. The text.** The handwriting probably employed the local unvocalized ARAMAIC in cursive script. It is, however, possible that ideographs in Neo-Babylonian CUNEIFORM script were used. Some vocalize the initial word as *menâ,* "he has weighed" or "weigh out"; others argue that the second *mene* is dittography and a later addition to the text (it is missing in Theodotion's Gk. version; cf. Jos. *Ant.* 10.11.3). However, the interpretation given in Dan. 5:27–28 presupposes the MT (so Otto Eissfeldt in *ZAW 63* [1951]: 105). Most revocalizations of the text and discussions—as that which considers that the second *mene* has been added to bring a parallel with the four kingdoms of Dan. 2 and 7—are in effect questions of interpretation.

**II. The reading.** The fact that the king was disturbed as the hand wrote across the wall was almost certainly due to the unique manner and timing, which would remind a Babylonian of the so-called *šiḫir šame* or "writing of heaven," considered an augury. That the leading scholars of Babylon failed to read and interpret was not due to its illegibility or to the use of an unknown or esoteric script or language, since DANIEL made an interpretation on the basis of Aramaic. The problem was one of both reading (vocalization) and interpretation, and in both of these many variations were possible.

The text could be understood as meaning, "Mina, mina, shekel, and half-shekels." This series of WEIGHTS was approximately equivalent to our "pound, pound, ounce, half-ounce" (though at that time the mina weighed 1 lb. 1 oz. = 60 shekels). Such a reading must have offered many speculative possibilities to the Babylonians versed in arithmetical, algebraic, and astronomical methods, especially as numbers or words were sometimes used as symbols in certain types of omen texts. The "Peres" (*pĕrēs,* Dan. 5:28) is attested as a "half-shekel" both at Babylon and in the ALALAKH tablets from SYRIA in the 14th cent. B.C. The form *parsîn* could be a plural (or even dual) referring to two half-shekels. (The *u*- represents the conjunction "and.")

Another reading would be, "Counted, counted, weighed, and assessed." These words might be a popular proverbial saying involving wordplay on the former reading or even a technical legal phrase

denoting the completion of a contract and the final demand for fulfilling its terms.

**III. Interpretation.** Daniel's successful interpretation accepted both ways of reading the words and the revocalization, *mĕnâ H10431,* "he numbered." He had already stated his belief that it was the Most High God who gives kingship (Dan. 5:18) and removes it (v. 19). God alone rules in the kingdom of men as of heaven and sets whom he will over earthly realms (v. 21). So Daniel interpreted *mĕnê* to include the numbering of the days of a reign and of life (Ps. 90:12) and thus the inevitable end of it. The term *tĕqēl* was taken by Daniel to mean, "you have been weighed," from the verb *tĕqal H10769;* the cognate verb in Akkadian (Babylonian) is used to denote what is owed, and must be paid, in a debt. Daniel then equated *pĕrēs* with the Akkadian verb *parāsu,* meaning to "divide" and thus "decide, pass judgment." So he sees the kingdom as about to be divided up and given to the combined Medes and Persians; the latter term (*pāras H10594)* is a wordplay on *pĕrēs.* Daniel's interpretation followed common Jewish exegetical practice and won immediate acceptance as credible. The advance of the combined Medo-Persian army was already common knowledge, since at least two weeks earlier they had breached the Babylonian defenses at Opis. See MEDIA; PERSIA.

Daniel's interpretation demands that the kingdom found wanting and to be superseded by the Medes and Persians was the Chaldean Dynasty founded by NABOPOLASSAR in 626 B.C., of which the last ruler was NABONIDUS with his son and coregent Belshazzar. A number of interpreters since C. Clermont-Ganneau (*Journale asiatique* ser. 8, no. 7 [1886]: 36–67) have therefore sought to equate each of the words in the writing with kings of this dynasty. Thus "mina, [mina,] shekel, and half-shekel" is interpreted by Clairmont-Ganneau as Nebuchadnezzar / – / Belshazzar / Medes-Persians; by E. G. Kraeling (in *JBL* 63 [1944]: 11–14) as Evil-Merodach / Neriglissar / Labashi-Marduk / Nabonidus + Belshazzar; by D. N. Freedman (in *BASOR* 145 [Feb. 1957]: 31–32) as Nebuchadnezzar / – / Evil-Merodach / Belshazzar. It would be equally possible to consider the two great rulers of the dynasty Nabopolassar and NEBUCHADNEZZAR II as the minas and Nabonidus as the shekel, with Belshazzar, who only had part of the royal powers, as the "half-shekel." The important aspect of the interpretation must remain Daniel's insistence on the termination of the power of Babylon at the hands of the Medo-Persians. (See further J. J. Collins, *Daniel,* Hermeneia [1993], 250–52.)

D. J. WISEMAN

**Menelaus** men'uh-lay'uhs (Μενέλαος). A brother of Simon the Benjamite (2 Macc. 4:23) who usurped the high priesthood in the Maccabean era (JOSEPHUS, in *Ant.* 12.5.1, unreliably identifies Menelaus as brother of JASON and ONIAS III). In the reign of ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes, Menelaus was sent by the high priest Jason (who had himself undermined Onias) to ANTIOCH OF SYRIA (171 B.C.) to carry promised tribute to the king; instead of executing his commission, however, he offered a higher bid for the high priesthood and was authorized to supplant Jason (2 Macc. 4:23–24). See discussion under MACCABEE.

Upon Menelaus's return to Jerusalem, the high priest Jason fled (2 Macc. 4:25–26). But Menelaus, failing to pay Antiochus the money, was called to account (vv. 27–28). Reporting to Antioch, he did more bribing. The not altogether trustworthy Maccabean account states that Menelaus stole the temple vessels, which he offered to Antiochus's deputy, Andronicus, and then urged the latter to murder Onias, who had condemned and exposed Menelaus for his sacrilege (vv. 31–34). When details of the atrocity were reported to Antiochus, Andronicus was executed; but Menelaus came through unscathed (vv. 35–38).

Menelaus had left his brother LYSIMACHUS as deputy in Jerusalem (2 Macc. 4:29). The latter's actions brought on a bloody riot in which he was mobbed and killed (vv. 39–42). The news reached Antiochus when he was at TYRE; and the wily Menelaus bribed Ptolemy, an influential courtier, to gain favor for him with the king, the result being acquittal for Menelaus and execution for his accusers (2 Macc. 4:43–50).

The reported death of Antiochus in Egypt brought back the fugitive Jason with allies who forced Menelaus to flee. When the king returned, he massacred Jerusalem's citizens and plundered the temple with the aid of the scoundrel Menelaus (2 Macc. 5:5 –23). Menelaus is later mentioned in a letter from Antiochus's son and successor, Eupator (11:29, 32). In 162 B.C., apparently no longer high priest, he was condemned by Eupator. The death of Menelaus was as unique as his career was notorious: he was flung from the top of a tower into some ashes below (13:1–7). (See *HJP*, rev. ed. [1973–87], 1:148–51; J. C. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas: High Priests after the Exile* [2004], 203–26.)

R. F. GRIBBLE

**Menestheus** mi-nes'thee-uhs (Μενεσθεύς). The father of Apollonius; the latter governed COELE-SYRIA and PHOENICIA under ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes (2 Macc. 4:4 [by emendation from the Latin] and 21). Some think this Apollonius may be the same as an official of SELEUCUS IV mentioned by Polybius (*Hist.* 31.13.2–3).

**Meni** muh-nee' (מְנִי *H4972,* from מָנָה *H4948,* "to count, consign"). The name of a pagan deity mentioned in Isa. 65:11, "But as for you who forsake the LORD / and forget my holy mountain, / who spread a table for Fortune [Gad] / and fill bowls of mixed wine for Destiny [Meni]." (The KJV renders the names as common nouns, respectively "troop" and "number.") See GAD (DEITY). In the rites referred to in this verse a table was spread, furnished with food as a meal for the gods. With a wordplay, the next verse says, "I will destine [Heb. *mānîtî]* you for the sword." Gad and Meni were worshiped by apostate Jews. It is possible that they were Babylonian deities, but the evidence points to W Asia as the natural environment of this cult. (See DDD, 566–68.)

S. BARABAS

**Menna** men'uh (Μεννά *G3527*). Son of Mattatha, included in Luke's GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Lk. 3:31; KJV, "Menan").

**menorah** muh-nor'uh. See CANDLESTICK, GOLDEN.

**Menuchah, Menuhah** min-y*oo*'hah. See NOHAH #2.

**Menuhoth** min-y*oo*'hoth (מְנֻחוֹת, "resting places"). A clan descended from CALEB through HUR (1 Chr. 2:52 NRSV). The name is probably a variant of MANAHATHITES (v. 54; see *ABD,* 4:695–96).

**Meonenim, plain of** mee-on'uh-nim (מְעוֹנְנִים, from עָנַן *H6726,* "to practice soothsaying"). A place mentioned once in the KJV (Jdg. 9:37). However, the reference is probably to a tree. See DIVINERS' OAK.

**Meonothai** mee-on'oh-th*i* (מְעוֹנֹתַי *H5065,* "my dwellings"). Son of OTHNIEL, nephew of CALEB, descendant of JUDAH, and father of OPHRAH (1 Chr. 4:13–14).The MT lacks the name Meonothai in v. 13, but the context seems to require it, and most versions supply it on the basis of the Lucianic recension of the SEPTUAGINT as well as the VULGATE.

**Mephaath** mi-fay'ath (מֵיפַעַת *H4789,* possibly "shining, radiant"). A town within the tribal territory of REUBEN, listed between KEDEMOTH and KIRIATHAIM (Josh. 13:18); it became a Levitical city assigned to the descendants of MERAR (Josh. 21:37; 1 Chr. 6:79). Apparently it was later conquered by MOAB (Jer. 48:21). The location of Mephaath is uncertain. Proposed identifications include modern Tell Jawah (c. 6 mi. S of Amman), Khirbet Nefaʿah (c. 5 mi. S of Amman), and Umm er-Rasas (c. 18 mi. SE of MEDEBA). A medieval church in the latter site contains a Mosaic with the name Kastron Mefaa (*see ABD,* 4:696).

**Mephibosheth** mi-fib'oh-sheth (מְפִיבֹשֶׁת *H5136,* "from the mouth of shame"; apparently a deliberate scribal distortion of מְרִיב בַּעַל *H5311* [1 Chr. 8:34; 9:40]; see MERIB-BAAL). (1) Son of SAUL by his concubine RIZPAH (2 Sam. 21:8). Saul had tried to exterminate the Gibeonites (21:2), who had tricked JOSHUA into a pledge of protection when Israel had invaded Palestine (Josh. 9; see GIBEON). In answer to DAVID's offer to atone for Saul's bloody deed in order to secure the Gibeonites' blessing on Israel, they demanded the hanging of seven of Saul's sons (2 Sam. 21:3–6). This Mephibosheth was one of the seven (21:8). Possibly his original name was Mephibaal; see #2 below.

(2) Son of JONATHAN and grandson of Saul (2 Sam. 4:4). In the Chronicler's genealogies he is called MERIB-BAAL (1 Chr. 8:34; 9:40), probably his original name (and perhaps also the original name of #1 above). When the name BAAL (meaning "lord") took on pagan associations, the scribes apparently substituted it with the word *bōšet H1425,* meaning "shame" (see ISH-BOSHETH). Why the first element of the name was also changed (from "Merib" to "Mephi") is unexplained; some attribute it to a confusion with the name of Saul's son, which may have originally been "Mephibaal."

When Mephibosheth was five years old, both his father and grandfather were killed at GILBOA (2 Sam. 1:4; 1 Chr. 10). His nurse, hearing of the defeat and fearful of the advancing PHILISTINES, fled with the boy in such haste as to occasion a crippling fall, leaving him lame in both feet. This began a train of sorrows to which the young prince was heir during his melancholy life.

In GILEAD, at LO DEBAR, Mephibosheth found refuge with MAKIR (2 Sam. 9:4). Through ZIBA, a prosperous former steward in Saul's house, David learned that a son of Jonathan was living (v. 3). Summoned to Jerusalem by David, Mephibosheth (with his son Mica) ate at the king's table continually (v. 12). Saul's estate was given to Mephibosheth; and Ziba and his household were made steward and servants to him.

When, on the occasion of ABSALOM's rebellion, David fled from his capital (2 Sam. 15), Ziba met his company at the MOUNT OF OLIVES with provisions (16:1). Ziba reported that Mephibosheth had remained in Jerusalem in hope of kingship. David seems to have been dubious; but he forthwith consigned Mephibosheth's property to the informant (16:1–4). After Absalom's rebellion was quashed, David challenged Mephibosheth's loyalty, but the latter alleged that Ziba had slandered him. And his sincere grief, as shown in his unkempt appearance since David's flight, lent credence to his good faith (see 19:24–30). David cut the knot by dividing the land between Mephibosheth and Ziba (19:29). Later he spared Mephibosheth's life (21:7).

R. F. GRIBBLE

**Merab** mee'rab (מֵרַב *H5266,* possibly "abundance" or "chief"). Older daughter of king SAUL (1 Sam. 14:49). Merab was promised to DAVID (18:17), but when the time came for David to marry the girl, for some unknown reason she was given to ADRIEL the Meholathite (v. 19). It seems likely that the reason lay in Saul's neurotic behavior in all his dealings with his rival David. Merab bore five sons to Adriel (2 Sam. 21:8, where the MT, surely by mistake, has MICHAL, the name of Saul's younger daughter; most modern versions read Merab, following some Heb. and Gk. MSS).

E. B. SMICK

**Meraiah** mi-ray'yuh (מְרָיָה *H5316,* perhaps short form of אֲמַרְיָה *H618,* "Yahweh has said" [see AMA-RIAH], or derived from מָרָה *H5286,* "to be stubborn" [see MERAIOTH]). The head of the priestly family of Seraiah in the time of the high priest JOIAKIM (Neh. 12:12). EZRA belonged to the same family (Ezra 7:1).

**Meraimoth** mi-ray'moth (Lat. *Marimoth*). Son of Arna and ancestor of ZADOK and EZRA (2 Esd. 1:2; KJV, "Marimoth"; RSV, "Meraioth"). See MERAIOTH.

**Meraioth** mi-ray'yoth (מְרָיוֹת *H5318;* possibly "obstinate"). (1) Son of Zerahiah, descendant of LEVI through ELEAZAR, and ancestor of ZADOK and EZRA (1 Chr. 6:6–7, 52; Ezra 7:3; cf 2 Esd. 1:2 RSV [KJV, "Marimoth"; NRSV, "Meraimoth"]).

(2) Son of AHITUB and ancestor of Azariah and Seraiah; the latter two had supervisory responsibilities in "the house of God" (1 Chr. 9:11; Neh. 11:11).

(3) A priestly family in the days of the high priest JOIAKIM (Neh. 12:15 KJV and other versions, following MT; the NIV, on the basis of some Gk. MSS, reads MEREMOTH, as in v. 3).

**Meran** mer'uhn KJV Apoc. form of MERRAN (Bar. 3:23).

**Merari** mi-rah'r*i* (מְרָרִי *H5356,* "bitter" or "strong" or "blessing"; see C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* [1965], no. 1556, and L. Kutler in *UF* 16 [1984]: 111–18; the same form [מְרָרִי *H5357]* is used as a gentilic, "Merarite," in Num. 26:57 and perhaps elsewhere). (1) Third son of LEVI and eponymous ancestor of the Merarites, an important Levitical family (Gen. 46:11; Exod. 6:16; 1 Chr. 6:16). He had two sons, MAHLI and MUSHI (Exod. 6:19; 1 Chr. 6:19; 23:21). The clans of the Mahlites and Mushites (Num. 3:20, 33; 26:58) were charged with carrying the frames, the bars, pillars, bases, and accessories of the TABERNACLE (3:36–37; 4:31–33; 7:8; 10:17; Josh. 21:7, 34, 40). After the conquest, the Merarites were allotted twelve Levitical towns from the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Zebulun (Josh. 21:7, 34–40; 1 Chr. 6:63, 77–81). Numerous references to Merari's family in the Chronicles show their importance as workers in the TEMPLE in late OT times (1 Chr. 6; 9; 15; 23; 24; 26; 2 Chr. 29; 34; cf. also Ezra 8:19).

(2) Son of Ox and father of JUDITH (Jdt. 8:1; 16:6).

E. B. SMICK

**Merathaim** mer'uh-thay'im (מְרָתַיִם *H5361,* dual [emphatic?] form derived from מָרָה *H5286,* "to be obstinate"). A symbolic name for BABYLON in Jer. 50:21. Meaning something like "doubly bitter" or

"twice rebellious," the name appears to be a wordplay on *nār marratum* ("bitter river"), a large lagoon or marshy area formed by the convergence of the TIGRIS and EUPHRATES in S Babylonia. See also PEKOD.

**merchandise.** The goods or wares that are bought and sold in business. This term is used variously in the English versions to render a variety of terms, such as Hebrew *meker H4836* (Neh. 13:16) and *ʿcizbônîm H6442* (Ezek. 27:12 and several other times in this chapter, along with its synonym *maʿărāb H5114,* "goods for barter," rendered "wares" by NIV but "merchandise" by NRSV, v. 13 et al.). The KJV uses the term a few times in the NT to render, for example, Greek *emporia G1865,* "business" (Matt. 22:5) and *gomos G1203,* "cargo" (Rev. 18:11–12). See also MERCHANT; TRADE, COMMERCE, AND BUSINESS.

**merchant.** A trader; someone who buys and sells commodities for profit. The participle of the Hebrew verb *sāṭar H6086* is used fifteen times, chiefly of international merchants (e.g., Gen. 37:28; Prov. 31:14), whereas the participle *of rākal H8217,* which occurs with similar frequency, seems to be a more general term (Neh. 3:31; Ezek. 17:4; Nah. 3:16). The term *kĕnaʿănî H4050* means "Canaanite," but a different word with the same form (*kĕnaʿănî H4051)* clearly refers to traders in at least two passages (Job 41:6; Prov. 31:24; possibly also Zech. 14:21); note also *kĕnaʿan H4047* (Ezek. 16:29; 17:4; Hos. 12:7; Zeph. 1:11) and *kirʿān H4048* (Isa. 23:8). The Canaanites, and in particular the Phoenicians, were so famous for their trading that the name for the inhabitants of Canaan took on this additional meaning (see CANAAN; PHOENICIA).

In NEHEMIAH's time different classes of merchants had their own quarters in Jerusalem. Thus

In NT times, merchandise shipped into Palestine was temporarily stored in vaults like these at Caesarea.

goldsmiths and grocers had one location, and fishmongers another (Neh. 3:32; 13:16). The NT makes reference to merchants (Gk. *emporos G1867)* in a parable of Jesus and several times in Revelation (Matt. 13:45; Rev. 18:3 et al.). See also TRADE, COMMERCE, AND BUSINESS.

J. L. KELSO

**Mercurius** muhr-kyoor'ee-uhs. That is, Mercury. KJV rendering of Greek *Hermēs G2259* (Acts 14:12). See HERMES (DEITY).

Statuette of Mercury, the messenger god.

**mercy.** Compassion or leniency shown to another, especially an offender.

**I. Definition.** Present usage identifies mercy with COMPASSION, in the sense of a willingness to forgive an offender or adversary and, more generally, a disposition to spare or help another. This disposition, although inwardly felt, manifests itself outwardly in some kind of action. It is evident that mercy combines a strong emotional element, usually identified as pity, compassion, or LOVE, with some practical demonstration of KINDNESS in response to the condition or needs of the object of mercy. In defining the word *mercy,* as employed by various English versions, one must consider a variety of Hebrew and Greek terms. Such a consideration will not only illuminate the richness of mercy vocabulary, but will also demonstrate something of the difficulty experienced by translations in past attempts at uniformity in handling the subject.

**II. Mercy in the OT.** The most common Hebrew words expressing the idea of mercy are the verb *rāḥam H8163,* "to show mercy, have compassion" (1 Ki. 8:50 et al.) and the noun *raḥămîm H8171,* an intensive plural form meaning "love, compassion" (Gen. 43:14 et al.). These terms are apparently derived from the noun *reḥem H8167,* "womb" (e.g., Gen. 49:25), which probably could be used metaphorically in a sense approaching that of "heart" (cf. Job 24:20). Thus the term *raḥămîm* could be used with the verb *kāmar H4023* (niphal), "to be agitated, stirred" (possibly "to become warm, tender") to indicate the arousal of the feelings of the heart (Gen. 43:30 [KJV, "his bowels did yearn"]; 1 Ki. 3:26; Hos. 11:8).

As a denominative piel verb, *rāḥam* can describe the attitude of God in response to the misery of his people (2 Ki. 13:23, where it is based both on their condition and on God's remembrance of his covenant), or simply the sovereign attitude of God in response to his will (Exod. 33:19, with which cf. Rom. 9:15). When a person is the subject, this physically felt emotion most naturally expresses itself in the context of family or fraternal ties. It is the expected reaction of a mother toward her sucking child (Isa. 49:15), of a father toward his dear son (Jer. 31:20), of a lover toward his betrothed (Hos. 2:23 [MT v. 25]). Where no such tie exists, as in the case of a conqueror who shows compassion toward the conquered, the Bible uniformly attributes the real motivation to God, whose action behind the scenes creates compassion in an otherwise uncompassionate individual (cf. Isa. 13:18; Jer. 6:23; 21:7; cf. 1 Ki. 8:50; Jer. 42:12).

The noun *raḥămîm* indicates that emotion of pity, compassion, or love which is activated in each of the relationships noted above. It is a quality extended to the redeemed as one of Yahweh's benefits (Ps. 103:4), as well as a characteristic of God in light of which the rebellious may make their plea (Dan. 9:9). It is mercy that gives a covenant-believer hope for continued relationship with his God, and, in fact, it is this quality which the believer is commanded to exemplify in his relationships with others, particularly those in special need (Zech. 7:9–10). This latter prophetic commandment points back to the true cause of mercy, that is, the pitiable condition of the one in need.

A second Hebrew word, *ḥesed H2876,* is consistently rendered "mercy" by the KJV, but seldom by modern versions. The NRSV uses the phrase "steadfast love," a change reflecting widespread acceptance of the work of Nelson Glueck, whose 1927 dissertation argued that the Hebrew term was connected with COVENANT terminology (English trans., *Ḥesed in the Bible* [1967]; for a contrary view, see S. Romerowski in *VT* 60 [1990]: 89–103). Glueck sought to show that it included, at least in earlier material, the element of loyalty, devotion, or faithfulness to the demands of a covenant (Exod. 20:6; Josh. 2:12–14). In the later writings, however, it moves beyond this sense of obligation and is charged with an indefinable but clearly emotional content. This manifestation of kindness and

goodness, compassion and sympathy, both as demonstrated by God (Jer. 3:13) and as required of human beings (Zech. 7:9), makes *ḥesed* almost indistinguishable from *raḥămîm* (in the last reference mentioned, they occur in parallel). See also LOVINGKINDNESS.

A third shade of meaning connected with the concept of mercy is seen in the Hebrew verb *ḥānan H2858,* "to be gracious, show mercy" (Pss. 57:1; 123:2–3; et al.). The root idea is found in the frequently used noun *ḥēn H2834,* "favor, grace, acceptance," often in the expression "find favor in the eyes of" (Gen. 6:8 et al.). Although it is still the condition of the suppliant to which appeal is made (cf. Job 19:21, where *ḥānan* is translated "Have pity on me"), the emphasis is on the success granted to the one in need. That such response is not limited to God is shown by biblical exhortations to show favor or be kind to the poor, the needy, widows, and orphans (Pss. 37:21, 26; 112:5; Prov. 14:21, 31; 19:17; 28:8, all in wisdom context). The sense of pitying or sparing is even more explicit in Deut. 7:2, where the Israelites are commanded, "Make no treaty covenant with them, and show them no mercy." See also GRACE.

Other Hebrew terms expressing the idea of mercy or compassion include the verbs *ḥûs H2571* and *hāmal H2798* (e.g., Jer. 13:14, where both occur in conjunction with *rāḥam).* (See further W. F. Loft-house in *ZAW 41* [1933]: 29–35; N. H. Snaith, *The Distinctive Ideas in the Old Testament* [1944], 95; W. L. Reed in J*BL* 73 [1954]: 36–41; A. R. Johnson in *Interpretationes ad Vetus Testamentum pertinentes Sigmundo Mowinckel* [1955], 100–112; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament* [1961], 1:232–39; *NIDOTTE,* 2:50–52, 174–75, 203–6, 211–18; 3:1093–95.)

**III. Mercy in the NT.** The common Greek term for "mercy," *eleos G1799,* is consistently used by the SEPTUAGINT to render Hebrew *ḥesed* (e.g., Gen. 24:12); its cognate verb, *eleeō G1796,* translates mainly *ḥānan* (Gen. 33:5), although in the prophets it is usually the rendering of *rāḥam* (piel, Hos. 1:6). Both of these Greek terms stand normally in the Gospels for compassion in a sense similar to that of *raḥămîm.* Matthew and Luke, in particular, present several kinds of human need, each with appeals to Jesus based on his mercy. Blind men cry for sight (Matt. 9:27; 20:30–31; Mk. 10:47–48; Lk. 18:38–39); a Canaanite woman appeals on behalf of her daughter (Matt. 15:22); a father seeks peace for his possessed son (Matt. 17:15); and ten lepers plead for their cleansing (Lk. 17:13). It is to the mercy, or compassion, of Abraham, that the rich man appeals (16:24), and it is that same attribute in the Good Samaritan which Jesus commends (10:37). It is perhaps this same kind of compassion for the needy that Jesus listed as one of "the more important matters of the law" so neglected by some PHARISEES (Matt. 23:23). By contrast, to be "merciful" (*eleēmōn G1798)* was to be a mark of the subject of Jesus' kingdom, as shown in the familiar BEATITUDE (5:7).

Mercy in the sense of *ḥesed* (insofar as this term may indicate the covenant faithfulness owed to one another in mutual relationships) is also found in the Gospels, especially in the uses of *eleos* employed in Mary's MAGNIFICAT (Lk. 1:50, 54) and in Zechariah's BENEDICTUS (1:72, 78). Such usage, however, is never seen as mere legal obligation. Rather, it is an internalizing of the obligations of the covenant, so strongly proclaimed in the prophetic KERYGMA (Hos. 6:6), that Jesus urged on the covenant people of his day (Matt. 9:13; 12:7). It was only as the Pharisees learned the true meaning of *ḥesed,* a meaning intimately connected with *raḥămîm,* that they could accept the meeting of human need and a redemptive ministry to sinful human beings as the true fulfillment of covenant obligation.

In the Epistles, *eleos* has come to have almost the same meaning as *charis G5921,* "grace" (cf. the salutations, such as 1 Tim. 1:2; 2 Jn. 3; Jude 2). If there is a difference, it is probably that suggested by R. C. Trench *(Synonyms of the New Testament,* 9th ed. [1880], 163–64): the latter term is God's free grace extended to sinners as they are guilty, whereas *eleos* is God's love extended to

them as they are miserable. Further, *eleos* is the active agent of God's love (Eph. 2:4); it reaches out to the disobedient (Rom. 11:32, but note the covenant context both here and in Rom. 9:15–16, 18, 23); it is the basis of special ministries or abilities (2 Cor. 4:1); and it enables the sinner to become a trusted saint (1 Cor. 7:25). Finally, mercy is that indispensable gift which is required on the final day for a person who must stand before a holy God (2 Tim. 1:18).

A less frequent word, *oiktirmos G3880,* is normally the LXX rendering of *raḥămîm* and conveys the same sense. Under the influence of the Hebrew term, the Greek almost always occurs in the plural both in the LXX and in the NT (e.g., referring to God's concerns, Rom. 12:1; 2 Cor. 1:3). The verbal form *oiktirō G3882* is used in the NT only once and as part of an OT quotation, where it is obviously parallel to *eleeō* (Rom. 9:15, citing Exod. 3:19). When applied to human emotions, the plural *oiktirmoi* clearly shows the same physical seat of deep concern that was noted earlier in *raḥămîm,* a thought especially evident in its relationship to *splanchna* (pl. of *splanchnon G5073),* meaning "the inward parts" (KJV, BOWELS) as the seat of the affections (Col. 3:12; Phil. 2:1; in the latter passage the two terms probably form a hendiadys and thus the construction corresponds to that of the Colossians passage). It should be added that in the NT the notion of divine mercy is often expressed by other concepts, such as ATONEMENT and FORGIVENESS. (See further C. H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks* [1954], 55–69; *TDNT,* 2:477–87; 5:159–61; *NIDNTT,* 2:593–601.)

**IV. Summary.** Mercy in biblical usage, therefore, is many-faceted. Basic to the concept is God's care for human beings in their wretchedness and creatureliness. This emotionally based response manifests itself in his redemptive acts. The person responding to God sees in himself one who has received mercy; therefore he in turn must show mercy to others.

C. E. ARMERDING

**mercy seat.** Traditional rendering of Hebrew *kappōret H4114* (from the verb *kāpar H4105* piel, "to cover [sin], make atonement, effect reconciliation"). Specifically the term refers to the lid or gold plate measuring 2.5 by 1.5 cubits (approx. 3.75 x 2.25 ft.) covering the ARK OF THE COVENANT. Resting on top of this plate were two CHERUBIM placed facing each other with outspread wings (Exod. 25:17, 22). The Hebrew word is best rendered "propitiatory." The paraphrase "mercy seat" by Tyndale was adopted from Luther's rendering *(Gnadenstuhl,* apparently on the basis of the Gk. and Lat. versions; see Martin Noth, *Das Zweite Buch Moses in das Alte Testament Deutsch* [1959], 164–67; cf. English trans., *Exodus* [1962], 204). Even though the word refers to a lid, it is quite apparent from the Levitical ritual on the Day of Atonement that its meaning preserves the idea of PROPITIATION (cf. also the LXX rendering *hilastērion G2663,* also used

Model showing the position of the mercy seat in the tabernacle.

in Heb. 9:5). The NIV appropriately translates "atonement cover." See also ATONEMENT; ATONEMENT, DAY OF.

The mercy seat seems to be the nearest approximation of the presence of God among the Israelites. They were not permitted to make a material representation of God. The pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night, which represented God's presence among them, hovered over the mercy seat where the high priest sprinkled the blood for the congregation of Israel on the Day of Atonement (see PILLAR OF FIRE AND CLOUD). Apparently it was not the lid or the cherubim but the space between the cherubim that represented God's presence among them. This space could not be confined nor controlled by man. In this manner the mercy seat conveyed to the Israelites, without a material representation, the idea that God was in their midst.

S. J. SCHULTZ

**Mered** mee'rid (מֶרֶד *H5279,* "rebellious" or "daring"). Son of Ezrah, included in the genealogy of JUDAH (1 Chr. 4:17–18). Mered had two wives, one of them an unnamed Judean woman, and the other an Egyptian named BITHIAH, who is described as "Pharaoh's daughter." Each of his wives bore him three children.

**Meremoth** mer'uh-moth (מְרֵמוֹת *H5329,* derivation uncertain). (1) Son of Uriah; he was a priest commissioned to handle "the silver and gold and the sacred articles" that EZRA brought to Jerusalem (Ezra 8:33; 1 Esd. 8:62 [KJV, "Marmoth"]). He may be the same Meremoth—also described as son of Uriah (and grandson of Hakkoz), but not called a priest—who repaired a section of the wall adjacent to the house of Eliashib and a section next to the Fish Gate (Neh. 3:4, 21). This identification, however, seems to be at odds with the information that the descendants of Hakkoz were unable to find their names in the genealogical records and thus were excluded from the priesthood (Ezra 2:61–62; Neh. 7:63–64). Such an identification, moreover, may indicate that the chronological order of Ezra and NEHEMIAH should be reversed. Some scholars thus argue that the Meremoth who helped repair the wall was a different person, possibly a layman. (See E. Yamauchi in *EBC,* 4:584; cf. also the discussion by R. H. Shearer in *ABD,* 4:699–700.)

(2) A priest (or priestly family) who returned from Babylon with ZERUBBABEL (Neh. 12:3). Later, in the days of the high priest JOIAKIM, the head of Meremoth's family was Helkai (v. 15 NIV, following some Gk. MSS; the MT has MERAIOTH).

(3) One of the priests who sealed Nehemiah's covenant (Neh. 10:5); he is probably to be identified with #1 or #2 above.

(4) One of the descendants of Bani who agreed to put away their foreign wives (Ezra 10:36).

E. B. SMICK

**Merenptah** muhr'enp-tah'. Variant form of MERNEPTAH.

**Meres** mee'reez (מֶרֶס *H5332,* meaning uncertain). 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.

**Meribah** mer'i-bah (מְרִיבָה *H5313,* "contention"). A name applied to two different places where water was brought miraculously from rock to satisfy thirsty Israelites in the wilderness. The first place, which bears the double name "Massah and Meribah," was near REPHIDIM and Mount HOREB in the Desert of SINAI, and the incident took place when Israel was less than two months out of Egypt (Exod. 17:7; the names Massah ["testing"] and Meribah ["contention"] are used in parallelism in Deut. 33:8 and Ps. 95:8). Another incident took place in S Palestine at KADESH BARNEA nearly thirty-nine years later; this place is referred to as "the waters of Meribah" (Num. 20:13, 24; Pss. 81:7; 106:32) or "the waters of Meribah Kadesh" (Num. 27:14; Deut. 32:51; Ezek. 47:19; 48:28; NRSV, "Meribath-kadesh"). See discussion under MASSAH.

**Meribath-kadesh** mer'i-buhth-kay'dish. See MERIBAH.

**Merib-Baal** mer'ib-bay'uhl (מְרִיב בַּעַל *H5311* [also מְרִי־בַעַל, 1 Chr. 9:40b], possibly "Baal is [my] contender [*or* advocate]"; but see other suggestions in J. D. Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew* [1988], 61). Son of JONATHAN and grandson of SAUL (1 Chr. 8:34; 9:40). See MEPHI-BOSHETH #2.

**Merkabah mysticism** muhr'kuh-buh. Also Merkavah. A form of Jewish speculation that focused on God's throne as a chariot ascending into heaven (from Heb. *merkābă H5324,* "chariot"). It was in part derived from EZEKIEL's vision of the cloud of fire, the four living creatures, and the four wheels (Ezek. 1). Merkabah mysticism is the subject of various rabbinic esoteric writings, particularly the Hekhalot (heavenly palaces) literature, including *3 Enoch* (for the latter, see *OTP,* 1:229–53). It influenced the later Kabbalah, a medieval theosophy. (See D. J. Halperin, *The Merkabah in Rabbinic Literature* [1980]; H. L. Strack and G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* [1992], 374–82.)

**Merneptah** muhr'nep-tah. Also Merenptah (and other spellings). Son and successor of RAMSES II. Although not mentioned in the OT, Merneptah is of significance for biblical studies. He ascended the throne of EGYPT when he was around sixty years old, c. 1224 (or 1213) B.C., and ruled ten years. Accordingly, some scholars who adopt a very late date for the Israelite exodus have regarded Merneptah as the PHARAOH who ruled Egypt at the time of this event. See EXODUS, THE. His mortuary temple, on the W bank at THEBES, not far from the Rameseum, is in ruins, but W. M. F. Petrie recovered many artistic and structural elements of it. The most famous object found there is a large granite stela, originally of Amenhotep III but reused by Merneptah and dated to the latter's fifth year. This monument is often referred to as the Israel Stela because it mentions several victories in Canaan, including the claim: "Israel is laid waste; his seed is not" (*ANET,* 376–78; see G. Ahlström and D. Edelman in *JNES* 44 [1985]: 59–61; M. G. Hasel in *The Near East in the Southwest: Essays in Honor of William G. Dever,* ed. B. A. Nakhai, AASOR 58 [2003], 19–44). According to most scholars, this statement requires that the Israelites had occupied Palestine prior to the accession of Merneptah. During his reign, Merneptah faced and repelled a Libyan invasion. His mummy, which has been


The Merneptah Stela, also known as the "Israel Stela" (from Thebes, c. 1230 B.C.). The inscription is a poetic eulogy of Merneptah's victories and includes the statement, "Israel is laid waste; his seed is not."

recovered, shows that he had been in very poor health during the last years of his life (see J. Harris and *K. Weeks, X-Raying the Pharaohs* [1973], 157).

C. E. DeVries

**Merodach** mi-roh'dak (מְרֹדַךְ *H5281).* Hebrew form of Akkadian Marduk, the Babylonian god (Jer. 50:2 KJV and other versions). Merodach is the divine element in the names Evil-Merodach (2 Ki. 25:27; Jer. 52:31), Merodach-Baladan (2 Ki. 20:12; Isa. 39:1), and possibly Mordecai (Ezra 2:2 et al.).

**Merodach-Baladan** mi-roh'dak-bal'uh-duhn (מְרֹדַךְ־בַּלְאָדָן *H5282* [בְּרֹאדַךְ בַּלְאָדָן in 2 Ki. 20:12], from Akk. *Marduk-apla-iddin[na],* "Marduk has given a son," the name also of a 12th-cent. B.C. Kassite king). TNIV Marduk-Baladan. A Babylonian king at the time of King Hezekiah of Judah (2 Ki. 20:12 [KJV, "Berodach-baladan"]; Isa. 39:1). According to the biblical record, Merodach-Baladan sent an embassy to Hezekiah when the latter was sick, although probably his real motive was to encourage revolt against Assyria. The prophet Isaiah opposed and frustrated this plan, and the Babylonians themselves forestalled the plot by setting up Marduk-zākiršumi as king in 703 B.C.

Merodach-Baladan claimed descent from Eriba-Marduk, king of Babylon c. 800 B.C., and was first mentioned in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III, king of Assyria. When the latter entered Babylon in 731, Merodach-Baladan brought gifts to him and supported the Assyrians. In 721, under the rule of another Assyrian king, Sargon II, Merodach-Baladan usurped the Babylonian throne. Although the Assyrians reacted, Merodach-Baladan stayed on the throne until 710, when Sargon entered Babylon unopposed. Even then, he remained as local ruler and did not oppose Sargon during

the rest of his reign.

After the death of Sargon, Merodach-Baladan again revolted and ruled for a short period in 703, but when SENNACHERIB seized Babylon, he retreated to his homeland. Sennacherib defeated the rebels and entered Babylon, where he placed Bel-ibni on the throne. Eventually this throne was occupied by Sennacherib's son, Ashur-nadin-shumi. When Sennacherib attacked the coastal cities of ELAM, where Merodach-Baladan had fled, no mention was made of him, but his son Nabushumishkun was taken prisoner by Sennacherib in the battle of Halulē. Merodach-Baladan died in Elam before Sennacherib entered the area in 694. This Babylonian king is remembered as a clever and ambitious ruler who bitterly opposed the influence of Assyria in Babylon. (See J. A. Brinkman in *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim,* ed. R. D. Biggs and J. A. Brinkman [1964], 6–53; G. Roux, *Ancient Iraq* [1964], 258–66; J. A. Brinkman in *CAH* 3/2, 2nd ed. [1991], 1–70, esp. 15–35.)

L. WALKER

**Merom, Waters of** mee'rom (מֵרוֹם *H5295,* "high place"). A place near which the Israelites defeated the combined forces of the kings of GALILEE (Josh. 11:5, 7). Merom was most certainly a town in Upper Galilee, as evidenced by the ancient extrabiblical sources. THUTMOSE III's list of Galilean towns included *mrmʾim* (no. 85). In a series of reliefs from the eighth year of RAMSES II, *mrm* is associated with the mountain of BETH ANATH and KANAH (of Asher), all of which are in Upper Galilee. During his campaign in the same region TIGLATH-PILESER II (733 B.C.) conquered a place called Marum *(ANET,* 283b).

EUSEBIUS seems unaware of the real location for Merom. His allusion *(Onom. 128.4–6,* 12–13) to a village called *Merrous* 12 Rom. mi. from Sebaste (SAMARIA) near Dothaim (DOTHAN) probably is nothing but a remark made in passing. The view of H. Reland *(Palaestine ex monumentis veteribus illustrata* [1714], 261–64) that the Waters of Merom are to be identified with Lake Hula has nothing to commend it. This lake was known in Roman times as *Semechōnitis* (Jos. *War* 3.10.7 §515 et al.; cf. *smkw, y. Kil.* 9:32c [bottom], and *sybky, y. B. Bat.* 5:15a). It was renowned as one of the seven lakes of the Holy Land and further identified as ymʾ *dḥwltʾ,* "The Lake of Ḥulta" *(y. Kil.* 9:32), after the valley region to the N of the lake. This latter was called *Oulatha* by Josephus *(Ant.* 15.10.3 §360), and the name was preserved until modern times in the Arabic, Baheiret el-Ḥuleh.

The generally accepted identification of Merom with the village of Meirun at the foot of the Jebel Jarmaq also has its problems. The place was an important center in NT times, and later, under the name *myrwn,* was well known for its excellent olive oil *(y. Šebiʿit* 9:38b [bottom]). Josephus claims to have fortified it against the impending Roman attack on Galilee (mentioned by him under various names, e.g. *Amrōth, Life* 37 §188]; *Mērō, War* 2.20.6 §573). Elsewhere he reckoned it as the western limit of Upper Galilee *(Mērōth, War* 3.3.1 §40). It is possible that Josephus is referring to this same town when he places Joshua's victory at *Bērōthē,* "a city of the upper Galilee, not far from Kadesh, another place in the Galilee region" *(Ant.* 5.1.18 §63), but it is far from certain.

After the destruction of the temple in A.D. 70, Meirun (Meiron) became the home of priests from the course of JEHOIARIB (t. *Demai* 4:13; cf. 1 Chr. 24:7). The ruins of an ancient synagogue, various important rabbinic burials, and abundant Hellenistic-Roman pottery attest to the authenticity of Meirun as an important town of the early centuries of our era. M. Avi-Yonah, however, doubts that Josephus is referring to this Meirun; he now holds that the Meirun of Roman times was near Marun er-Ras (*The Holy Land* [1966], 133). If Josephus is excluded, then the earliest recorded suggestion to equate Meirun with the biblical Merom is evidently that of Rabbi Tanhum Yerushalmi in his 13th-

cent. commentary (see Josh. 11:5). W. F. Albright ( *BASOR* 35 [Oct. 1929]: 8) found Late Bronze and Early Iron sherds on the slopes below the synagogue ruins and thus accepted the identification of Meirun as Merom. But J. Garstang *(Joshua-Judges* [1931], 183–98) rightly observed that all roads leading into Upper Galilee met at Bint Umm el-Jebeil near the foot of Jebel Marun. On this mountain stands the village of Marun er-Ras.

Y. Aharoni *(The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], 225–26) has proposed to identify the biblical Merom with Tell el-Khirbeh, an impressive site S of Marun er-Ras on the Israel-Lebanon border. The Waters of Merom may be identified either with the perennial spring at the foot of the tell or, what is more likely, with the numerous wells in the several branches of the Wadi Far(ah.

One of the rulers called out to join the king of HAZOR was, according to the Hebrew text, the king of MADON (Josh. 11:1; 12:19). Scholars have usually identified that town with Khirbet Madin on the southern slope of Qarn Ḥaṭṭin (Horns of Hattin). However, the SEPTUAGINT reads *Marrōn* in 11:1, and it certainly would be strange if the king of Merom was not present at that battle. The name is missing in the LXX of 12:19, but cf. v. 20 and see SHIMRON (PLACE). Furthermore, B. Mazar (in *Yerushalayim* 4 [1952]: 13–20 [Heb.]) has presented arguments for identifying the impressive Bronze and Iron Age ruins on Qarn Ḥaṭṭin with the *šmš-)tm,* "Shemesh-Adam," of Amenhotep II's inscription. (Some identify Meron itself with Qarn Ḥaṭṭin.)

The fixing of Merom in the vicinity of Jebel Marun harmonizes nicely with all of the sources in which the city is mentioned and provides a reasonable topographical explanation for Joshua's battle. First of all, Merom is situated on the main road from Acco, via GATH (perhaps Thutmose II's no. 93 and/or the "Gath-asher" of two topographical lists from the time of Ramses II) and Tell er-Ruweisa (possibly BETH SHEMESH of Naphtali, Josh. 19:38; Jdg. 1:33), to KADESH of Galilee. The respective columns of Ramses II and Tiglath-Pileser would have passed this way, the former going N, the latter S. The king of ACSHAPH must certainly have come up this way from the plain of Acco to Merom.

It also is understandable why the Canaanites fled after their defeat, not toward Acco but rather to MISREPHOTH MAIM. The Israelites had cut off the route between Merom and the southern portion of the plain of Acco when they came up to make their attack; therefore, the Canaanites were forced to retreat due westward by way of Iqrit and Abdon to the coast. Apparently, the Israelites also had blocked the northeasterly route to Kadesh and thence to Hazor, so that some of the defeated enemies had to retreat due N. These latter fugitives split up near BETH ANATH, part of them going NE to the MIZPAH Valley and the rest turning NW toward TYRE and SIDON. Tell el-Khirbeh was a strong Canaanite fort on the S boundary of Canaanite Galilee. It was the logical point at which to assemble if one wanted to curb the Israelite advance northward. It also was a natural meeting place for the allies coming from the plain of Acco and from Hazor.

As a result of Joshua's victory, the Israelites were able to conquer the cities whose kings fell at Merom, and none of these towns appears in the list of unconquered towns in Jdg. 1. All of them except Merom appear among the towns assigned to the northern tribes in the book of Joshua. (See further A. Neubauer, *La géographie du Talmud* [1868], 228–30; W. Oehlers in *ZDPV* 28 [1905]: 49–74; G. Dalman in *ZDPV* 29 [1906]: 195–99; S. Klein, *Beiträge zur Geographie und Geschichte Galiläas* [1909], 23–25; G. A. Smith, *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land,* 25th ed. [1931], 425, 480 n. 5.)

A. F. RAINEY

**Meron** mee'ron. See SHIMRON.

**Meronoth** mi-ron'oth. See MERONOTHITE.

**Meronothite** mi-ron'oh-th*i*t (מְרֹנֹתִי *H5331,* gentilic of the unattested name מְרֹנֹת). The designation of two men in the OT: JEHDEIAH, a member of DAVID's household (1 Chr. 27:30), and JADON, who helped NEHEMIAH repair the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. 3:7; NIV, "of Meronoth"). The latter passage suggests that Meronoth was near GIBEON and that it was closely connected with (or perhaps even an alternate name for) MIZPAH, but the exact location is unconfirmed.

**Meroz** mee'roz (מֵרוֹז *H5292,* derivation uncertain). A place in or near the Valley of ESDRAELON. DEBORAH in her song of victory called a curse upon the town of Meroz for not sending help in the battle against SISERA (Jdg. 5:23). E. G. Kraeling suggests that Meroz was not Israelite but rather a "Canaanite city in a covenant obligation with a Hebrew tribe, probably that of Manasseh" *(Rand McNally Bible Atlas,* 2nd ed. [1962], 154). A Hebrew city would probably not have been cursed, since that implies extermination; but a Canaanite city would have had a problem fighting Canaanites. Although several identifications have been proposed, the location of Meroz is unknown; however, it must have been very near the scene of battle by the KISHON River.

E. B. SMICK

**Merran** mer'uhn (Μερραν). A place whose merchants are mentioned alongside those of TEMAN as people who "have not learned the way to wisdom" (Bar. 3:23; KJV "Meran"). Many scholars believe that the original Hebrew had *mdyn* (MIDIAN) and that the Greek translator misread the *d* as *r*.

**Meruth** mee'ruhth. KJV Apoc. variant of IMMER (1 Esd. 5:24).

**Mesaloth** mes'uh-loth (Μαισαλωθ). A town in ARBELA captured by BACCHIDES and ALCIMUS in their march on Judah (1 Macc. 9:2; KJV, "Masaloth"). The site is unknown.

**Mesech** mee'sik. KJV alternate form of MESHECH (only Ps. 120:5).

**Mesha** mee'shuh (מֵשָׁא *H5392* [Gen. 10:30] and מִישָׁא *H4791* [1 Chr. 8:9], derivation uncertain; מֵישַׁע *H4795 [2* Ki. 3:4] and מֵישָׁע *H4796* [1 Chr. 2:42], "helper, savior"). (1) A place "in the east country" (prob. ARABIA) that, along with SEPHAR, served to delimit the territory occupied by the sons of JOKTAN, a descendant of SHEM through EBER (Gen. 10:30). Some have identified it with the MASSA of the Ishmaelite group (25:14).

(2) Firstborn son of CALEB and descendant of JUDAH (1 Chr. 2:42). The Hebrew text is difficult. See MARESHAH (PERSON).

(3) Son of SHAHARAIM and descendant of BENJAMIN; a family head (1 Chr. 8:9). Mesha was one of seven children that were born to Shaharaim in MOAB by his wife HODESH after he had divorced Hushim and Baara (v. 8).

(4) King of MOAB during the days of AHAB and his sons (2 Ki. 3:4, which also describes Mesha as a sheep breeder). In the famous MOABITE STONE, Mesha identifies himself as a Dibonite (see DIBON) and as the son of Chemosh[-yat], and says that his father had reigned thirty years before him

(*ANET,* 320; the component *–yat* is restored from a fragmentary inscription found in KERAK). See CHEMOSH.

From the time of DAVID (2 Sam. 8:2), Moab was subject to Israel until the divided kingdom, when several peoples including Moab rebelled. But the mighty OMRI of the N kingdom brought Moab again into subjection. After the country had been tributary to Israel for some forty years, the forceful King Mesha sought independence. The biblical record indicates that the tribute laid upon Mesha's people was exorbitant—an annual levy of 100,000 lambs and the wool of 100,000 rams (2 Ki. 3:4). The date of the successful coup presents some difficulties to the present-day reader. It is clear that Mesha's rebellion occurred after Ahab died. JOSEPHUS *(Ant.* 9.2.1) locates it "in the second year of Ahaziah," which could be correct.

According to Mesha's record on the Moabite Stone, it was after forty years of subjection to Israel, in the middle of the reign of Omri's son (Ahab), that deliverance was effected. According to biblical chronology, Ahab and Omri together reigned only thirty-four years. The forty years may be a magnification of Mesha's glory as deliverer; or it may be thought a round number; or Omri's "son" may have been his grandson, either AHAZIAH or Joram (see JEHORAM). Whatever the exact date of Mesha's rebellion, it was during the reign of Ahab's second son, Joram, that the attempt was made to recover Moab to Israel (see 2 Ki. 1:17; 3:5–6). (See further M. Noth, *History of Israel* [1960], 157, 244–45; M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings,* AB 11 [1988], 50–52.)

Joram secured the aid of JEHOSHAPHAT of Judah, who shortly before had suffered damage from Moab (2 Chr. 20). The king of EDOM joined the two (2 Ki. 3:9). In a roundabout march below the DDEAD SEA, the host, suffering from lack of water, appealed to ELISHA, who promised relief and victory (2 Ki. 3:10–19). The Moabites, mistaking the sun's red reflection (on the supernaturally provided water) for the blood of internal strife, rushed to battle, but were repulsed with heavy loss, and took refuge in the strong city of KIR HARESETH. In desperate extremity, Mesha, having failed to break through the besiegers' lines, sacrificed his firstborn son. For an unrevealed reason, perhaps fearful for having occasioned human sacrifice, the allies retired, losing the fruits of victory (3:20–27).

R. F. GRIBBLE

**Meshach** mee'shak (מֵישַׁךְ *H4794* [Aram. *H10415],* derivation uncertain). One of DANIEL's companions (Dan. 1:7 et al.). See SHADRACH, MESHACH, ABEDNEGO.

**Meshech** mee'shek (מֶשֶׁךְ *H5434,* meaning unknown; cf. Akk. *Mušku*). TNIV Meshek. (1) Son of JAPHETH and grandson of NOAH, included in the Table of NATIONS (Gen. 10:2; 1 Chr. 1:5); he became the eponymous ancestor of a people group in ASIA MINOR (Ps. 120:5; Ezek. 27:13; 32:26; 38:2-3; 39:1). Meshech is listed as the sixth son of Japheth, after TUBAL, and he is always associated with the latter in the book of EZEKIEL. The descendants of Meshech are identified with the *Muškaya* mentioned in Assyrian records (sometimes in association with the *Tabalu)* and with the *Moschoi* of the Greek tradition (e.g., Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.98 [with *Tibarēsoi];* 7.78). They lived for several centuries in central Asia Minor, but were eventually pushed by their enemies into the mountainous area SE of the Black Sea.

In Ezekiel, Meshech and Tubal are listed (along with JAVAN) as nations who exchange slaves and vessels of bronze for the merchandise of the city of TYRE (Ezek. 27:13). Later, in an oracle against Egypt, Ezekiel declares that part of Egypt's condemnation will be to dwell in SHEOL with

other uncircumcised barbarians like the men of Meshech and Tubal (32:26). Meshech and Tubal are included among those nations who once made the earth tremble by their might, but who have now become nothing but helpless "shades" in Sheol. In Ezek. 38 and 39 the references to Meshech are especially interesting. Meshech and Tubal, now one people whose chief prince is GOG, seem to serve as some sort of symbol. As the dominant provinces in the land of MAGOG, they represent all the anti-God forces in the world who are maliciously bent on destroying God's people. In apocalyptic fashion Ezekiel seems to be describing something that is to take place in the end time (Rev. 20:8). The only reference to Meshech in the book of Psalms is likewise used in symbolic fashion; Meshech and KEDAR represent "the evil society" in which the psalmist lives (Ps. 120:5; some scholars emend this text to MASSA because the latter is mentioned along with KEDAR, cf. Gen. 25:13–14).

The people of Meshech first appear in secular history in the Prism Inscriptions of TIGLATH-PILESER I, king of Assyria, around 1100 B.C. The Assyrian king tells of fighting five kings of the Mushki, and although he claimed success, it is evident that he felt the tremendous force of their arms. The Mushki appear in the records of other kings of Assyria, but most often in the Annals and Pavement Inscriptions of SARGON II (722–705). In these records a certain Mita, king of the Mushki, is a very formidable adversary of Sargon. The Assyrians tell of military alliances being formed, and strategic border fortresses being erected, in order to punish the impudence of these warlike people. After long years and many battles, Mita is forced to submit and pay tribute to Assyria.

Many scholars are convinced that the Mita mentioned above is none other than the famous King Midas of the Greek writings. There is a problem however; in the Greek tradition Midas is king of the Phrygians, not the Mushki (see PHRYGIA). On the other hand, it is possible that the kingdom of Midas (Mita) included a mixture of many different peoples. The Greeks identified the king with the people of the western part of the kingdom, the Phrygians (and the Moschoi were only an insignificant tribe of distant people), while the Assyrians identified the king with the Mushki who occupied that part of the kingdom (the eastern) which impinged on the Assyrian empire. It is likely that both Phrygians and Mushki were strong elements in Mita's kingdom. The Assyrians defeated Mita's armies a number of times, but were never strong enough to take Gordion, the Phrygian capital. However, some decades later it was unable to withstand the shock of the CIMMERIAN invasion. Excavations at the site of Gordion in 1950 by the University of Pennsylvania indicate that the Mushki (Phrygians) carried on extensive commercial relations with the Urartu (see ARARAT), and the peoples of CILICIA and SYRIA. (See further D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* [1927], 1:221, 276, 318; 2:25, 27, 42, 43, 96, 97; T. B. Jones, *Ancient Civilization* [1960], 128, 141; E. M. Yamauchi, *Foes from the Northern Frontier: Invading Hordes from the Russian Steppes* [1982], ch. 1.)

(2) Son of ARAM and grandson of SHEM, included in the Table of Nations (Gen. 10:23 [so NIV, following LXX]; 1 Chr. 1:17). Many scholars, however, accept the MT reading *(maš)* in Genesis and emend 1 Chronicles accordingly. See MASH.

C. P. GRAY

**Meshek** mee'shek. TNIV form of MESHECH.

**Meshelemiah** mi-shel'uh-m*i*'uh (מְשֶׁלֶמְיָה *H5452,* "Yahweh repays [*or* replaces]"). Son of Kore, descendant of LEVI through KORAH and ASAPH, and head of a family of gatekeepers consisting of eighteen sons and relatives who are described as "able men" (1 Chr. 26:1–2, 9). Meshelemiah's firstborn, ZECHARIAH, had the distinction of being "the gatekeeper at the entrance to the Tent of Meeting" (9:21). Meshelemiah is elsewhere called SHELEMIAH (26:14) and probably also SHALLUM

(9:19, apparently to be distinguished from the Shallum in vv. 17 and 31).

**Meshezabeel** mi-shez'uh-bee-uhl. KJV form of MESHEZABEL.

**Meshezabel** mi-shez'uh-bel (מְשֵׁזַבְאֵל *H5430,* "God delivers"). KJV Meshezabeel. (1) Father of Berekiah and grandfather of Meshullam; the latter is listed among those who made repairs to the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. 3:4; cf. v. 30).

(2) One of the Israelite leaders who sealed the covenant with NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:21). He may be the same as #1 (note that the name of ZADOK is also mentioned in both passages).

(3) Descendant of JUDAH through ZERAH; his son Pethahiah "was the king's agent in all affairs relating to the people" in the days of Nehemiah (Neh. 11:24).

**Meshillemith, Meshillemoth** mi-shil'uh-mith, –moth (מְשֶׁלֶמִת *H5454* [1 Chr. 9:12], מְשֶׁלֶמוֹת *H5451 [2* Chr. 28:12; Neh. 11:13], "restitution"). (1) Son of IMMER and ancestor of MAASAI; the latter (apparently the same as AMASHSAI) was among the priests who resettled in Jerusalem after the EXILE (1 Chr. 9:12; Neh. 11:13).

(2) Father of BEREKIAH; the latter was a leader in EPHRAIM during the reign of PEKAH who opposed the bringing of Judahite captives into SAMARIA (2 Chr. 28:12).

**Meshobab** mi-shoh'bab (מְשׁוֹבָב *H5411,* prob. "brought back, restored"). A clan leader in the tribe of SIMEON (1 Chr. 4:34). He is listed first among those whose families increased greatly during the days of King HEZEKIAH and who dispossessed the Hamites and Meunites near GEDOR (vv. 38–41).

**Meshullam** mi-sh*oo*l'uhm (מְשֻׁלָּם *H5450,* "given as repayment" or "recompensed [by Yahweh]"). A very common name, especially after the EXILE. (1) Father of Azaliah and grandfather of SHAPHAN; the latter was secretary to King JOSIAH and brought to his attention the book of the law that HILKIAH the high priest had found in the temple (2 Ki. 22:3).

(2) Son of ZERUBBABEL and scion of the house of DAVID (1 Chr. 3:19).

(3) Son of Abihail; he was one of seven relatives from the tribe of GAD who occupied the region E of GILEAD (1 Chr. 5:13; cf. vv. 10, 14).

(4) Son of ELPAAL, included in the genealogy of BENJAMIN (1 Chr. 8:17).

(5) Son (or descendant) of Hodaviah and father of SALLU; the latter is mentioned in a list of Benjamites who resettled in Jerusalem after the EXILE (1 Chr. 9:7; but see KD, *Chronicles,* 153–55, for the view that these were former inhabitants). Elsewhere, in a similar list of Benjamites who apparently resettled in Jerusalem at a later time, Meshullam father of Sallu is identified as son (or descendant) of Joed (Neh. 11:7). Some scholars believe that one list or the other is in error. Given the genealogical and chronological discrepancies, it is possible that different people are meant. More likely, Sallu could be understood as an eponym or family name.

(6) Son of Shephatiah, listed among the Benja-mites who resettled in Jerusalem (1 Chr. 9:8).

(7) Son of ZADOK and grandfather of AZARIAH; the latter is listed among the priests who resettled in Jerusalem and is described as "the official in charge of the house of God" (1 Chr. 9:11; Neh. 11:11 [the latter has SERAIAH instead of Azariah]). This Meshullam is probably the same as SHULLAM in the parallel lists (1 Chr. 6:12–13; Ezra 7:2).

(8) Son of Meshillemith and ancestor of Maasai; the latter is listed among the priests who

resettled in Jerusalem (1 Chr. 9:12).

(9) A Levite descended from KOHATH who served as one of the overseers in repairing the house of the Lord during the reign of JOSIAH (2 Chr. 34:12).

(10) One of a group of leaders sent by EZRA to Iddo to get attendants for the house of God (Ezra 8:16; 1 Esd. 8:44 [KJV, "Mosollamon"]).

(11) One of the men who apparently challenged Ezra's instruction that those who had married foreign women should divorce them (Ezra 10:15; cf. 1 Esd. 9:14 [KJV, "Mosollam"]). The Hebrew text, however, can be understood differently. See discussion under JAHZEIAH.

(12) One of the descendants of Bani who agreed to put away their foreign wives (Ezra 10:29; called "Olamus" in the parallel passage, 1 Esd. 9:30).

(13) Son of Berekiah; he is mentioned as having made repairs to two sections of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. 3:4, 30). Meshullam's daughter was given in marriage to Jehohanan son of TOBIAH, NEHEMIAH's opponent (6:18).

(14) Son of Besodiah; he and JOIADA son of Paseah repaired the Jeshanah Gate (Neh. 3:6). See OLD GATE.

(15) One of the prominent men who stood near EZRA when the law was read at the great assembly (Neh. 8:4; not mentioned in the parallel, 1 Esd. 9:44).

(16–17) The name of one of the priests and of one of the lay Israelite leaders who signed the covenant of Nehemiah (Neh. 10:7,20). Perhaps either of these men should be identified with one of the individuals mentioned above.

(18–19) The name of two heads of priestly families (respectively the family of Ezra and the family of Ginnethon) in the time of the high priest JOIAKIM (Neh. 12:13,16).

Mesopotamia.

Aerial view of the northern Euphrates River (looking E).

(20) One of the Levitical "gatekeepers who guarded the storerooms at the gates" (Neh. 12:25).

(21) A leader of Judah who took part in the procession at the dedication of the wall (Neh. 12:34). Perhaps he should be identified with #17 above.

C. P. GRAY

**Meshullemeth** mi-sh*oo*l'uh-mith (מְשֻׁלֶּמֶת *H5455,* fem. of MESHULLAM). Daughter of HARUZ, from JOTBAH; she was married to King MANASSEH and gave birth to AMON (2 Ki. 21:19). If Jotbah was the town in GALILEE later known as Jotapata, the marriage may have been arranged to strengthen ties with the northern kingdom; others think Jotbah was the same as JOTBATHAH, near the Gulf of AQABAH (consistent with the possibility that Haruz was an Arabic name), which would suggest an alliance with Arabs or Edomites (cf. M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings,* AB 11 [1988], 275).

**Mesobaite** mi-soh'bay-*i*t. KJV form of MEZOBAITE.

**Mesopotamia** mes'uh-puh-tay'mee-uh (Μεσοποταμία *G3544,* "between rivers," used by the LXX to render אֲרַם נַהֲרַיִם *H808,* "Aram of the [two] rivers," and פַּדַּן אֲרָם *H7020,* possibly "open country of Aram"). The land around and between the TIGRIS and EUPHRATES Rivers. This term is used in most English versions to render the name ARAM NAHA-RAIM (Gen. 24:10; Deut. 23:4; Jdg. 3:8; 1 Chr. 19:6; Ps. 60 [title]). It occurs also in the KJV and RSV at Jdg. 3:10, where the Hebrew has only the name Aram; the context makes it clear, however, that this is the same place mentioned in v. 8. See ARAM (COUNTRY). Mesopotamia could refer to anything from modern Eastern Turkey to the Persian Gulf. When it is used in the Bible, usually the northern parts are understood.

According to Gen. 24:10, ABRAHAM's servant went to Mesopotamia to find a wife for ISAAC and came to the town of Nahor, a place mentioned in the MARI texts and located near the Balikh tributary of the Euphrates (see NAHOR #3). BALAAM's home town of PETHOR of Mesopotamia (Deut. 23:4) is in the same vicinity.

The judgeship of OTHNIEL was occasioned by the aggression and oppression of CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM, a king of Mesopotamia (Jdg. 3:8). The king's name has not yet been attested nor is any definition of his realm certain. Mesopotamia was the Ammonites' source of chariots and horsemen when they battled with DAVID (1 Chr. 19:6–7). The context of the name Aram Naharaim in the title of Ps. 60 connects this passage with 2 Sam. 8:5.

Mesopotamia has gone under various names throughout its long history. In the beginning it was mostly SUMER in the extreme S, AKKAD in the middle, and Subartu in the NW. In the 2nd millennium B.C., BABYLON was the power in the lower half and Mitanni in the N. With the turn of the millennium, ASSYRIA in the N gained control of the whole but lost it again to Neo-Babylonia in 587 B.C. This was followed by the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman rules. The Greek name occurs twice in the NT (Acts 2:9; 7:2). Today most of Mesopotamia is in Iraq, with small parts in Syria and Turkey.

(See further M. A. Beek, *Atlas of Mesopotamia* [1962]; A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia,* rev. ed. [1977]; G. Roux, *Ancient Iraq,* 3rd ed. [1992]; K. R. Nemet-Nejat, *Daily Life in Ancient Mesopotamia* [1998]; K. L. Younger, Jr., and M. W. Chavalas, eds., *Mesopotamia and the Bible: Comparative Explorations* [2002]; E. Ascalone, *Mesopotamia: Assyrians, Sumerians, Babylonians* [2007]; *ABD,* 4:714–77; *CANE, 2:807–979.)*

R. L. ALDEN

**messenger.** This English term is usually the rendering of Hebrew *mal)āk H4855* and Greek *angelos G34* or *apostolos G693* (see ANGEL; APOSTLE). It may refer to a bearer of news, as when JOB was told of the disasters that fell on his property and family (Job 1:13–19) or when DAVID was notified of ABSALOM's rebellion (2 Sam. 15:13). A messenger may be a bringer of requests, as from MOSES to the king of EDOM (Num. 20:14) or to SIHON (Num. 21:21; Deut. 2:26) to go through their country, or from David when his men asked toll from NABAL for having protected him (1 Sam. 25:14).

The messengers might be spies, as in JERICHO (Josh. 6:17, 25; cf. 2:1; Jas. 2:25); or they might summon, as when MICAIAH was ordered to appear before the kings (1 Ki. 22:13; 2 Chr. 18:12), or when men of war from several tribes were called to help GIDEON (Jdg. 6:35). Messengers also might be deputies, as from ELISHA to NAAMAN (2 Ki. 5:10), or from AHAB to kill Elisha (6:32). They might even be envoys, as from David to announce to the men of JABESH GILEAD his kingship (2 Sam. 2:5), or to threaten EILJAH (1 Ki. 19:2), or to TIGLATH-PILESER to ask help of the Assyrian monarch (2 Ki. 16:7) or to So of Egypt from HOSHEA (2 Ki. 17:4). Such envoys were important (cf. Nah. 2:13), and a good one was refreshing (Prov. 25:13; cf. 13:17).

A messenger of God might be a teaching priest (Mal. 2:7). He is synonymous with a prophet in the summary of the divine appeal (2 Chr. 6:15–16), as was JOHN THE BAPTIST (Mal. 3:1 quoted in Matt. 11:10), though Christ is the messenger of the covenant (Mal. 3:1). A messenger might be an appointee of the churches, as in the collection for the Jerusalem saints (2 Cor. 8:23) or a church gift to the apostle (Phil. 4:18).

Occasionally, the term *messenger* is used metaphorically: "A king's wrath is a messenger of death" (Prov. 16:14), and PAUL's ailment was a "messenger of Satan" (2 Cor. 12:7).

W. G. BROWN

**Messiah** muh-s*i*'uh (מָשִׁיחַ *H5431,* "anointed one," from מָשַׁח *H5417,* "to smear over, anoint"; almost always rendered by the LXX with χριστός *G5986,* a verbal adj. from χρίω *G5987,* "to rub, anoint"; the Gk. NT, in addition, uses twice the transliteration Μεσσίας *G3549* [Jn. 1:41; 4:25]). The KJV

uses this term in only one passage in the OT (Dan. 9:25–26), and the variant form "Messias" in two NT passages that have the Greek transliteration *Messias* (Jn. 1:41; 4:25); the RSV and the NIV use "Messiah" only in the two verses in John. By contrast, the NRSV and the TNIV use the term over sixty times in the NT to render Greek *Christos,* presumably when the translators believe that this Greek word functions as a title (e.g., Matt. 1:1; Mk. 14:61; Lk. 2:11; Jn. 1:20; Acts 2:31; Rom. 9:5; Rev. 11:15); the rendering "Christ" is then reserved for the many passages where it functions as a name. Some other modern versions follow the same approach, although it is admittedly difficult to draw the distinction in many instances. It is sometimes argued that even the combination JESUS CHRIST should be rendered "Jesus the Messiah." An understanding of the term Messiah/Christ requires an appreciation for the cultic use of OIL in the ANE. See also ANOINT.

1. The practice of anointing outside Israel
2. The practice of anointing in Israel
3. The anointing of priests
4. The anointing of kings
5. Charismatic kingship
6. The ideal king
7. Messianic texts
8. The extracanonical literature
9. Christ in the NT
    1. Son of Man
    2. Son of God
    3. Kyrios
    4. Jesus—Savior

**I. The practice of anointing outside Israel.** Oil played an important part in the ancient world. It was used for lighting, cooking, washing (as a substitute for soap), for cosmetic purposes; it could also serve as an expression of joy. Plato describes it as "beneficial to human hair and to the human body generally" *(Protagoras* 334 b-c). Oil also was used as a medicine and in religious rites. Sacred anointing was practiced on people as well as on objects: "To oil a cult object is one of the commonest acts of worship" *(OCD* [1949], 619; cf. J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough, Part 4: Adonis, Attis, Osiris,* 2nd ed. [1907], 31–32). The anointing of the statues of the gods was a common practice in Egypt, Babylon, Rome, and elsewhere. Such cultic acts served the purpose of cleansing, consecration, and veneration at the same time.

From the TELL EL-AMARNA tablets it would appear that PHARAOHS' viceroys received anointing on taking office (cf. tablet 51). Whether this applied to the pharaohs themselves cannot be established with any degree of certainty. That the pharaohs were anointed at certain solemn occasions is suggested by tablet 34: "I have sent…good oil, to pour upon thy (head) whilst thou sittest upon the throne of thy kingdom." There is some indication that kings received anointing in their capacity as priests. J. G. Frazer has shown that priests used to be anointed at an installation ceremony *(The Golden Bough, Part 2: Taboo and the Perils of the Soul [1911],* 14–15). Thus the ancient Hebrew custom of the use of oil for purposes of consecration is a practice which has many analogies outside Israel.

**II. The practice of anointing in Israel.** The OT makes frequent reference to the cosmetic value of oil

(cf. Ezek. 16:9; Ruth 3:3; Cant. 1:3; 4:10). It also knows of oil as a medicine (cf. Isa. 1:6; 2 Chr. 28:15). That oil enhances joy and happiness appears to be an accepted view (cf. Ps. 45:7; Eccl. 9:8; Isa. 61:3). To refrain from the use of oil was an indication of mourning (cf. 2 Sam. 14:2; Dan. 10:3). Oil was used widely in cultic rites for the anointing of objects and persons. When JACOB poured oil upon the stone at BETHEL (Gen. 28:18), this act was later explained as a sacral act (cf. 31:13).

The book of Exodus provides a prescription for the ingredients of the oil of anointing: liquid myrrh, cinnamon, aromatic cane, cassia, and olive oil (Exod. 30:23–25). These substances were blended skillfully with the art of the "perfumer." The act of consecration required the anointing of every object appertaining to worship: "the Tent of Meeting, the ark of the Testimony, the table and all its articles, the lampstand and its accessories, the altar of incense, the altar of burnt offering and all its utensils, and the basin with its stand." All these items acquired a special sanctity by reason of anointing, so that "whatever touches them will be holy" (vv. 26–29). What applied to objects applied also to persons: AARON and his sons were to be consecrated to the priesthood by means of anointing (vv. 30–31). The recipe prescribed for cultic purposes was not to be repeated for any other use and was not to be "poured upon the bodies of ordinary men" (30:32 RSV).

**III. The anointing of priests.** The anointing to the priesthood extended to all descendants of the house of Aaron (Exod. 30:30). The consecration ceremony was performed by MOSES. According to another tradition Moses consecrated Aaron and his sons with the oil of anointing and the blood of sacrifice (Lev. 8:30). The question whether the rite of anointing to the priesthood was practiced from generation to generation and whether it applied to all priests cannot be answered with any certainty.

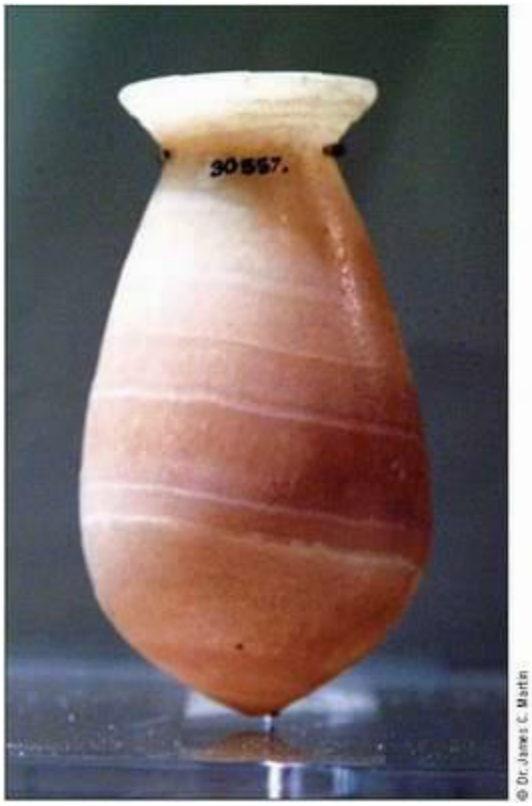
According to rabbinic tradition only the high priest or the son of a high priest was anointed with the oil of unction (cf. Maimonides, *Sefer Abodah* 1.7). This custom persisted only until the time of Josiah. After that time appointment to the high priesthood was by investiture of the appropriate garments: eight pieces for the high priest and four in the case of the common priests (cf. *m. Yoma* 7:5). The MISHNAH seems to distinguish between the ordinary priests and the anointed priest (i.e., the high priest; cf. *m. Šebuʿot* 1:7; *m. Megillah* 1:9; *m. Horayot* 3:4). There may be a reliable tradition behind these views, though this has sometimes been contradicted by Christian scholars (cf. David Jennings, *Jewish Antiquities* [1837], 125–26). Maimonides, on the basis of Jewish tradition, makes the definitive statement: "In the days of the Second Temple, when there was no anointing with oil, the High Priest would be consecrated only by putting on of vestments" (*Sefer Abodah* 1.8). It was also the custom to anoint a priest who would lead into battle (cf. *m. Soṭah* 8:1; *m. Makkot* 2:6).

It is difficult to ascertain the historical accuracy of the tradition. It may have been an exegetical conclusion based on Deut. 20:2–4, which provides for a speech by a priest on the eve of war. Shields used to be anointed in preparation for war (cf. 2 Sam. 1:21; Isa. 21:5). The practice may be taken either as a cultic act or a warrior's device to make the metal slippery or, if leather, more resistant. It is evident that the act of anointing was an ancient custom and carried definite cultic and sacral meaning. A person thus anointed was set apart and was consecrated for a special task, usually a sacred task. In the case of the priesthood such anointing carried perpetual validity (Exod. 40:15).

**IV. The anointing of kings.** For the rite of anointing of kings there is ample OT evidence. SAUL, DAVID, SOLOMON, JOASH, and others were consecrated to the kingship by anointing with oil. For this reason "the anointed of the LORD" (1 Sam. 24:6; cf. 12:3, 5, et al.) was a phrase synonymous with "the king." Anointing conveyed sanctity to the person who now stood under the special protection of the God of Israel (cf. 24:5–6). This rite of commissioning to high office was not only symbolic of the

gifts requisite for that office but was regarded as a charismatic bestowal of such gifts (cf. 1 Sam. 16:13; Isa. 61:1).

There appears to have been a rival claim to the prerogative of performing the rite between prophet and priest. In the case of Saul and David it was SAMUEL the prophet who performed the act of anointing (1 Sam. 10:1; 16:13). In the case of Solomon it was ZADOK the priest who performed the rite, while NATHAN was only one of the witnesses (cf. 1 Ki. 1:39). In the case of JEHU it was




An alabaster oil jar for holding special ointments of the Egyptian 18th dynasty (c. 1500 B.C.). Refined oil was used to anoint leaders set aside for special assignments.

a young prophet who acted on behalf of ELISHA (2 Ki. 9:1–10). This was clearly a case of emergency necessitated by the conspiracy against the house of AHAB. The circumstances of the crowning of Joash are equally complex. In this case it is again JEHOIADA the priest who performs the rite (2 Ki. 11:12). It would seem that with the establishment of the national cult the privilege of anointing became vested in the priesthood.

According to the rabbis only kings descended from the house of David received anointing. Even this practice was limited to an heir who was not in the direct line. "A king whose father had been a king was not anointed, for the kingdom was always his as an heir" (Maimonides, *Sefer Abodah* 1.11). According to the same authority, anointing took place when there was a dispute concerning the legitimate heir in order to end the quarrel. It is always difficult to assess the historic value of rabbinic tradition but it frequently transmits data otherwise unknown. The rabbis have also preserved the tradition concerning the manner of anointing: kings were anointed by pouring oil upon the head in a circle to form a crown. By contrast, the high priest was anointed by pouring oil upon his head and rubbing it upon his forehead crosswise like the Greek letter X (ibid. 1.9). Originally this sign would have been a cross (Ezek. 9:4, 6, where the MARK stands for the last letter in the ancient Hebrew ALPHABET). (See also *NIDOTTE*, 2:1123 –27.)

**V. Charismatic kingship.** Some scholars work on the principle of direct correspondence between ancient Israel and the adjacent cultures. Canaanite culture especially is regarded as the formative principle in the social and religious makeup of the Hebrews. There is no denying that the invading tribes assimilated some pagan features peculiar to the indigenous population. To assume complete similarity, however, is to deny the peculiar genius of the Hebrew people. For example, it is more than doubtful whether the position of kings in the ANE was at any time acceptable among Israelites. In Egypt kings were regarded as divine incarnations and were worshiped as gods. In Babylon kings were divinized and thus constituted the link between the gods and ordinary mortals. In Canaan there was a close connection between the kings and the FERTILITY CULTS. There is no evidence for anything like it in Israel.

Even a radical scholar like S. Mowinckel *(He That Cometh* [1956], ch. 3) admits that under the influence of Yahweh worship "the king-ideology" of the ANE underwent important modifications. It is evident that the desert tradition of the BEDOUIN chieftain persisted long after settlement in the land of Canaan. There is no trace of direct evidence that Israelite kings ever claimed or were ever accorded divine honors. Even Mowinckel concedes that the Hebrew king was *primus inter pares.* The fact that the Israelite king was an ordinary mortal and chosen from among his brethren did not preclude special charismatic gifts requisite to his office. As the anointed of the Lord, he was looked upon as endowed with the Spirit of Yahweh (cf. 1 Sam. 10:1–13; 11:6; 16:13). David is credited with the charisma of leadership (cf. Ps. 89:20–29); Solomon is regarded as specially equipped with the gift of wisdom (cf. 1 Ki. 3:10–14). This is in accordance with the biblical view that God equips those whom he calls to his service.

In the last resort, all human wisdom and all skill derives from Yahweh, who is the source of all knowledge. Thus BEZALEL, the son of Uri, was filled with the Spirit of God to work in every craft (Exod. 31:3–5); by the Spirit of God the judges led and ruled over his people (Jdg. 3:10; 6:34; 11:29; et al.). Even a foreign king like CYRUS acts by the influence of the Spirit of the Lord (Ezra 1:1). In this sense the king is not an ordinary mortal. Being the consecrated and anointed servant of Yahweh, he acts as divine plenipotentiary and is therefore God's viceroy. At the same time, he is never without supervision—the prophet's eye is upon him most of the time (cf. 2 Sam. 12:1–12; 1 Ki. 21:18–19; 22:13; 2 Ki. 19:20–31). Mowinckel exaggerates the importance and the "sacrosanct" position of the Israelite kings. H. Frankfort's view *(Kingship and the Gods* [1948], 337ff.) is more true to fact: Hebrew kingship "lacks sanctity." He holds that the relation between the Hebrew monarch and his people "was as nearly secular as is possible in a society wherein religion is a living force."

**VI. The ideal king.** Ideally speaking, Israel's kings were meant to be true shepherds of their people and to act in God's stead (cf. Jer. 23:2, 5, with Isa. 40:11). In history, ideals never quite materialize. The warning contained in Deut. 17:16–20 served only too often as a reminder of the true state of affairs; kings who multiplied horses and wives entered into selfish alliances with former enemies, lifted themselves above their brethren, and turned aside from God's commandments.

The messianic hope was born from the recognition that no human king is able to fulfill the high ideal. The ideal king must be more than an ordinary mortal. Together with the eschatological hope there was the historic association with the covenantal promises made to David (cf. 1 Sam. 7:1–17). The COVENANT relationship and the promises that go with it make the messianic hope a sheer necessity. If God's purpose is not to be defeated, the true Messiah (= King) as God's authentic Servant is the only answer. The remedy is centered upon a person and not upon an abstract doctrine or an ideal system. There can be no messianic kingdom without God's anointed King.

At this point HISTORY and ESCHATOLOGY become strangely intertwined: the Messiah's pedigree goes back to the promises to David. The ideal King has his roots in history, hence the reference to "the Root of Jesse" (Isa. 11:10). His name "Branch" carries the same Davidic connotation (cf. Jer. 23:5; 33:15; Zech. 3:8; 6:12). At the same time he is endowed with "names" (= functions) that place him beyond ordinary mortals (Isa. 9:6). Mowinckel holds that these extraordinary names can be illustrated from Egyptian sources and represent nothing more than the coronation ritual. He believes that at this point the Messiah is not yet a supernatural being. He does not yet come from above, but is an ordinary man endowed with power to restore the Davidic kingdom. His endowment with divine strength is only because the Spirit of Yahweh rests upon him. The question why the prophet should use such names in contexts that have nothing to do with the coronation ritual is not answered by this interpretation. More conservative scholars will be quick to reject Mowinckel's arguments.

**VII. Messianic texts.** That the OT contains messianic passages is accepted by most scholars. They differ, however, regarding their age and significance. Mowinckel would allow only two texts as preexilic (Isa. 7:10–17; 9:1–6). All other texts he puts down as belonging to a later time. Messianism is for him a purely national and political phenomenon, so that all these texts are concerned with the restoration of the Davidic line. The Scandinavian school makes much of the "royal psalms," which are used in support of the theory that kingship and divinity were closely related and that the king occupied a central position in the cult. The annual enthronement of the king as the viceroy of God was allegedly the main cultic festival and was closely connected with the fertility rites of the ANE. Three passages (2 Sam. 21:1–14; Pss. 45; 72) are singled out as chief evidence for a New Year enthronement festival in which the king took the place of Yahweh.

Some allowance has already been made for the influence of pagan customs upon the religious life of ancient Israel. The OT provides all the evidence for this fact: AHAZ, king of Judah, burned his son as an offering (2 Ki. 16:3); MANASSEH, another Judean king, practiced all the abominations of the pagan cults and built altars to BAAL and ASHERAH (21:3, 6–7). The question one must ask is this: do these practices constitute Israel's faith or are these aberrations? The answer is obvious; the Pentateuch, the Prophets, the Historical Books, the HAGI-OGRAPHA, all unanimously condemn, deplore, and execrate these lapses into paganism. This struggle between paganism and Yahweh worship dominates the OT and constitutes a recurring theme. One must therefore work on the principle that whatever ancient material was used by the OT writers, their main concern was to put every document to the service of Yahweh worship. At least some of the messianic texts come from preexilic times and point to the fact that the messianic hope is older than the fall of the Davidic dynasty. This is an important point that must be given full weight.

OT messianism is the logical result of the claim that Yahweh is Lord of heaven and earth. Political and social distress were contributing factors, but the main reason for the messianic hope derives from faith in Yahweh as the covenant-keeping God. The tension between historic experience and faith in the omnipotence of the benevolent God of the patriarchs can find no solution except in messianic fulfillment. There is certainly an unevenness in the messianic vision: sometimes the Messiah is seen as the Prince of Peace (Isa. 9:6), at other times he is described as the slayer of the wicked (11:4), but at all times he is the One who acts in the power and under the guidance of the God of Israel.

There are occasions when the ideal King of the house of David recedes in the background and his place is taken by a supernatural being entering history from another realm (cf. Dan. 7:13–14). The church has inherited from Hebrew tradition the messianic interpretation of most texts. A case in point

is the reference to SHILOH in Gen. 49:10 (KJV, NIV mg.), a name that the TARGUMS and other rabbinic sources identify with the Messiah. The twelve tribes of Israel are described as gathering around the golden bed of the dying patriarch Jacob who, with his last breath, prophesied the messianic end. This is how *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* renders the text: "Kings shall not cease, nor rulers from the house of Judah…till the time that the King, the Messiah, shall come, the youngest of his sons; and on account of him shall the nations flow together. How beautiful is the King, the Messiah, who will arise from the house of Judah!" The messianic exegesis of this text and endowment of the Messiah with the name of Shiloh as his *nomen proprium* (cf. Str-B, 1:65) must be much older than the church, for the rabbis were not likely to play into the hands of the Christians.

The words of Gen. 49:10 have been used by the church as an example of fulfilled prophecy. Luther called it the "golden text" and chides the rabbis for failing to see its fulfillment in the person of Jesus Christ. Some scholars, however, understand the words as no more than a *vaticinium ex eventu* in reference to King David. Another text, Gen. 3:15, traditionally known as the *protevangelium* (initial proclamation of the gospel), was described by Luther as the first comfort, the source of all mercy, and the fountainhead of all promises. This passage can be read on two levels: as the natural enmity between man and the serpent, or else typologically as Christ's ultimate victory over evil; it depends on the perspective of the reader. A similar situation arises in respect to the translation of the word *ʿalmâ H6625* as "virgin" (Isa. 7:14; cf. Matt. 1:23).

Dealing with messianic passages, one must keep in mind the difference in the historic perspective, the context of the original text, and the typological use in the NT (see TYPOLOGY). "The identity of prophecy and fulfilment is not direct but an indirect one" (G. F. Oehler, *Theology of the Old Testament* [1883], 491). NT writers see the OT from the perspective of the messianic event, they thus see, in Woollcombe's words, a pattern "converging on a central motif"; it is in the light of this fact that "the evidence of God's consistent purpose in history" can be seen (G. W. H. Lampe and K. J. Woollcombe, *Essays in Typology* [1957], 68).

Other passages carry indisputable messianic import: Isa. 4:2, the branch of the LORD; 7:10–17, the promise of Immanuel; 9:1–7, the birth of the son; 11:1–10, the great messianic vision; 32:1–8, the righteous king; 55:3–4, the everlasting covenant with David; Jer. 23:5–6, the Lord our righteousness (cf. 33:14–16; 30:9, 21–22); 31:31–34, the new covenant; Ezek. 34:23–24, the shepherd of

Egyptian scepter or ruler's staff (from Saqqara). "The scepter will not depart from Judah, / nor the ruler's staff from between his feet, / until he comes to whom it belongs / and the obedience of the nations is his" (Gen. 49:10).

Israel; 37:20–28, the everlasting covenant (Mowinckel includes Ezek. 17:22–24 in the messianic passages as a reference to the house of David); Hos. 3:4–5, Israel's return in the latter days; Amos 9:11, the raising of the fallen booth of David; Mic. 5:1–4, Bethlehem Ephratha (Mowinckel regards

Mic. 4:8 as a messianic reference); Zech. 9:9–10, the triumphant entry of the messianic king.

There are numerous other passages that are capable of messianic interpretation and are used in the NT in connection with messianic fulfillment: Deut. 18:18–19 (Acts 3:22–23; 7:37); Ps. 2:1–2 (Acts 4:25–26; cf. 13:33; Matt. 3:17; Acts 13:33; Heb. 1:5; 5:5; 2 Pet. 1:17; et al.); Ps. 110:1, 4 (Matt. 22:44 and parallels; Acts 2:34; Heb. 5:6, 10; 6:20; 7:11, 15, 21); Ps. 118:22–23 (Matt. 21:42; Acts 4:11; 1 Pet. 2:7). The PSALMS are important for an understanding of the messianic pattern, and not a few of them are cited in the NT in connection with the life of the Messiah: Pss. 8; 22; 34:21; 41:10; 45; 69; 72 (cf. also Isa. 28:16, cited in Rom. 9:33; 10:11; 1 Pet. 2:4). In addition are to be noted the great SERVANT OF THE LORD passages in Isaiah: Isa. 42:1–4; 49:1–6; 50:4–9; 52:13—53:12. The latter section plays an especially important part both in the NT and in the history of Christian theology.

Even these by no means exhaust the messianic pattern provided by the OT. Many other passages, such as Joel 2:28–29, used by PETER in his first sermon at PENTECOST (Acts 2:17–21), and the great chapters of the latter part of Isaiah (e.g., Isa. 61:1–2; cf. Lk. 4:18–19; 7:22), are part of the OT heritage bequeathed to the NT. PAUL uses Isa. 25:8 in his great chapter on the RESURRECTION (1 Cor. 15:54). The Gospels apply Mal. 3:1 to the preparatory work of JOHN THE BAPTIST (Matt. 11:10; Mk. 1:2; Lk. 1:17; 7:27). To these one must add the endless allusions to OT texts that are built into the messianic story of the NT. See QUOTATIONS IN THE NT.

The two Testaments are interdependent and the one cannot be understood without the other. At the same time one must not seek a detailed blueprint in the OT that would preempt the messianic event. The relation is rather between expectancy and fulfillment.

**VIII. The extracanonical literature.** The APOCRYPHA and PSEUDEPIGRAPHA fill the gap of the intertestamental period. The contribution of this literature to the messianic expectation may be variously assessed. Some scholars stress the APOCALYPTIC features in the NT and see a close relationship between it and the Pseudepigrapha; others hold that both depend upon OT material. Frequently the choice lies between the book of DANIEL and *1–3 Enoch* (see ENOCH, BOOKS OF), especially with regard to the SON OF MAN concept.

The Apocrypha do not seem to show the same intense interest in the messianic hope as do the Pseudepigrapha. It is widely held that certain turns of phrase in the NT reveal familiarity with some of the apocryphal books (such as Tobit, Sirach, and Wisdom of Solomon). The case with the Pseudepigrapha is different. Messianic concepts are highly developed and play a vital part in the message these books try to convey. Especially *1 Enoch* is infused with a great messianic hope. It spells out judgment over Israel's enemies; it foretells the founding of the new Jerusalem; it envisions the conversion of the Gentiles; it tells of the resurrection of the righteous, climaxing its vision with the advent of the Messiah. R. H. Charles regards this work as the most important pseudepigraphic writing in the history of theological development during the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. (*APOT,* 2:163). It depicts the Messiah as a Lamb with horns on its head over whom the Lord of the sheep rejoices *(1 En.* 90.38). The titles given to the Messiah in this book are noteworthy, for these bring one close to NT nomenclature: the Anointed One (48.10; 52.4); the Righteous One (38.2; 46.3; 53.6; cf. Acts 3:14; 7:52; 22:14; 1 Jn. 2:1); the Elect One *(1 En.* 40.5; 45.3–4; 49.2, 4; 51.3, 5; cf. Lk. 23:35; 1 Pet. 2:4); the Son of Man *(1 En.* 46.3–4; 48.2; 62.9, 14; 63.11; 69.26–27; 70.1; 71.1).

Functions assigned to the Messiah are even more striking than the titles. The Messiah is described as the judge of the world, as the revealer of all things, and as the champion and ruler of the righteous. Part of the Messiah's task is to raise the righteous from the dead (cf. *1 En.* 51.1; 61.5). For

the first time in Jewish literature the Son of Man is spoken of with the demonstrative "this," which Charles regards as significant for the messianic title. Scholars regard the book as composite in nature, and Klausner has shown how the material and spiritual understanding of the messianic age are here placed side by side without any effort at reconciliation. The same observation applies to the person of the Messiah: sometimes he is presented as one among equals; at other times he is placed in a position of preeminence. Klausner's assessment of *1 Enoch* matches that by Charles: "the messianic book par *excellence* of Judaism in the period of the Second Temple" (J. Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel* [1956], 301).

Other books of the Pseudepigrapha are also important. The TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS show remarkable universalist tendencies; *2 Baruch* (see BARUCH, APOCALYPSE OF (SYRIAC)) points to the messianic kingdom and stresses the RESURRECTION of the body; *4 Ezra* (see ESDRAS, SECOND) envisions Messiah's triumph over his enemies. That there is a connection between this literature and the NT cannot be denied, but the connection seems to be more ideological than literary. The question of whether there was direct borrowing has been widely discussed. In spite of certain philological affinities, the connection seems to be mainly of a theological nature peculiar to certain circles in Judaism.

From the testimony of SUETONIUS about Jewish messianic hopes (*The Life of Vespasian* 4) and JOSEPHUS's veiled reference to the defenders of Jerusalem (*War* 6.5.2) one can gauge the deep-rooted messianic expectations that inspired the nation. This finds corroboration in the Qumran documents, though the messianic doctrine of the desert sect is not quite clear (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS). We do not know the relationship of the two Messiahs of Aaron and Israel to each other (cf. 1QS IX,11), nor do we know the messianic significance of the Teacher of Righteousness. There are other messianic allusions in the texts: some have surmised, for example, that the "man" in 1QS IV, 18 is identical with the "prophet" in IX, 11. G. Vermès *(Discovery in the Judean Desert* [1956], 221) identifies the "man" with two passages in *T. 12 Pat.* and with Zech. 12:7 and Lam. 3:1. A similar reference to the "man" occurs in the Thanksgiving Hymns in an unmistakable messianic context where he is described as "a Marvellous Mighty Counsellor" (G. Vermès, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* [1968], 157; 1QH$^a$ III, 4 [Sukenik] = XI, 10).

Another hymn, with its reference to the "bud," the "shoot," and the "everlasting Plant" that "shall cover the whole [earth] with its shadow" (Vermès, *Dead Sea Scrolls in English,* 171; 1QH$^a$ VI, 15 [Sukenik] = XIV, 15), is equally suggestive of messianic hope derived from the OT. Vermès *(Discovery,* 222) points to the prophetic, sacerdotal, and royal qualities of the Messiah that are exhibited in the Qumran scrolls, bringing them close to the Jewish and Christian cycle of ideas. This proves the pervasive messianic hopes in ancient Israel. The NT was written in an atmosphere of widespread messianic expectation, not only in Judaism but outside Israel as well. Klausner holds that Virgil's fourth *Eclogue,* which speaks of the birth of the child who would bring peace to the world, was written under the influence of the Jewish Sibyl and reflects the influence of Hebrew messianism upon non-Jews. The question is not who borrowed from whom, but in what way did the diverse messianic ideas influence the central Personality of the NT, namely Jesus Christ himself?

**IX. Christ in the NT.** *1 Enoch* concludes with the promise of God: "For I and my son will unite with them for ever in the paths of righteousness in their lives; and ye shall have peace: rejoice ye children of uprightness. Amen" (105.2). This sounds remarkably like NT theology, yet it is not. *1 Enoch's* message is salvation for the righteous, whereas Jesus addressed himself to sinners (cf. Matt. 9:13). Further, the reference to the "Son" is only an echo of Ps. 2 (cf. 4 Ezra 7:28; 13:32, 37, 52; 14:9).

Above all, the Messiah in *1 Enoch* knows no suffering: he occupies God's throne (51.3), executes judgment in heaven, and triumphs upon earth. One may conclude that the NT owes to the intertestamental literature some of the messianic imagery and phraseology, but not the central Christological features. These were formed upon reflection on the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth in conjunction with his teaching.

***A. Son Of Man.*** Scholars tend to regard the frequent references to the SON OF MAN in the Gospels as an honorific title that the early church gave to the Messiah. For the origin they go to the Pseudepigrapha or to the book of Daniel (Dan. 7:13). This title for the Messiah is peculiar to the Gospels, where it occurs eighty-one times, and only four times in the rest of the NT (Acts 7:56; Heb. 2:6; Rev. 1:13; 14:14).

It is noted that in the Gospels this title is never used except by Jesus himself, and always as a self-designation. There is therefore no need to ascribe the title to the early church except on the supposition of some radical scholars (Bousset, Bultmann, and others) who deny to Jesus a messianic consciousness. These scholars point to Mk. 8:38 and Lk. 12:8 as evidence that Jesus did not identify himself with the Son of Man but looked upon himself as his messenger, with the task of announcing the closeness of his coming. They therefore maintain that the identification of Jesus with the Son of Man took place at a later stage as a result of the Easter experience. It is difficult to see why the Gospels, which on their own premise are typical church documents, should leave such a glaring discrepancy out of sheer reverence for an unwritten tradition, while at the same time distorting the facts of history. It is much more natural to accept the Son of Man title as the peculiar self-description on the part of Jesus as presented by the Gospels (cf. Matt. 8:20; Mk. 2:10, 28).

The question arises, what did Jesus mean by this description? Some scholars hold that the Son of Man passages resulted from a misunderstanding of the Aramaic idiom, which uses the corresponding expression *br nš* (or *br nš)* with the meaning "man" pure and simple. Only later, when the phrase had to be rendered in Greek, was it translated literally as *ho huios tou anthrōpou* instead of simply *anthrōpos*. In this way Son of Man became a messianic title. Another suggestion that amounts to the same thing is that Jesus used the phrase as a substitute for "I" and that therefore it carried no special significance.

This view would exclude any identification with the apocalyptic Son of Man idea one meets in the Pseudepigrapha and in the book of Daniel. The corollary would seem to be that Jesus made no claim to messiahship at all. This is supposedly corroborated from Jewish sources, which blame Jesus for all sorts of crimes but never for claiming to be the Messiah (W. Kramer, *Christ, Lord, Son of God* [1966]). But this contention rests upon a misunderstanding, for claim to messiahship was never regarded a crime. That this is the case can be seen from the rabbinic attitude to Simeon surnamed BAR KOKHBA ("Son of a Star"): after the failure of his revolt against Rome, he was nicknamed Bar Koziba, "the Son of Lies" (a title that sounded like his own patronymic, Bar Kosiba, discovered in the Qumran documents). He became a "false messiah" only after he had failed.

Jesus' conflict with the PHARISEES was not because of the messianic overtones in his message but because of his attitude to the law: a messiah who appeared to treat the law lightly could be only a false messiah. The question raised by some concerning the reason for Jesus' concealment behind a pseudonym raises no real difficulty. Messiahship was too explosive a concept to be bandied about freely. M. de Jonge's contention that the term "anointed" had yet no fixed meaning and simply denoted divine appointment is contradicted by the documents already cited.

***B. Son Of God.*** In the OT Israel is described as God's firstborn (Exod. 4:22) and is called his son (Hos. 11:1). There is therefore precedent for calling the Messiah "Son of God" (cf. Ps. 2), for he is Israel's representative *par excellence.* In Jn. 10:34–36, Jesus argues on the principle of *argumentum a minori ad majus:* if Israel's judges and kings were called "gods" and sons of the Most High (cf. Ps. 82:6), how much more does this term apply to him whom the Father has set apart (the verb *hagiazō G39* may be an intended reference to "anointing") and sent into the world. Only in the fourth gospel does Jesus appear to call himself by the title "Son of God" (Jn. 10:36; 11:4; cf. 5:25; 8:36; et al.). In the synoptics the phrase is applied to Jesus indirectly. He is called Son of God by the demoniacs (Mk. 3:11; 5:7); by the centurion at the cross (15:39); by Peter according to the Matthean version (Matt. 16:16; cf. Mk. 8:29; Lk. 9:20).

The question regarding the Messiah's pedigree was obviously a matter of theological discussion: according to Mk. 12:35–37, Jesus raises the question with the scribes; according to Matt. 22:41 –46 and Lk. 20:41–44, the discussion is with the Pharisees. The reference to Ps. 110:1 is intended to indicate that the Messiah's descent exceeds the dynastic claim. Christ is more than the Son of David.

It has been noticed that Paul uses the title Son of God infrequently, but that he does so in crucial contexts. The appellation he more frequently uses is Jesus Christ or Christ Jesus. Werner Kramer observes that the sonship of the Messiah occurs in texts where reference is made to God the Father; the Father sends his Son (Rom. 8:3); the Son's Spirit in our hearts cries, "Abba, Father" (Gal. 4:6; cf. Phil. 4:4–6). The gospel of God is the gospel concerning his Son, who was descended from David according to the flesh and designated Son of God according to the Spirit of holiness (Rom. 1:1–4). For Paul, Son of God is essentially a Christological description expressing "the Son's solidarity with God." The other passages convey the same conception. The Father spared not his Son but gave him up for us (8:32). It is thanks to the Son that one can call God Father (8:15). Only because Jesus as Son is heir are believers made sons by ADOPTION (Gal. 4:1–7). The heathen through the preaching of the gospel have turned from idols to serve the true and living God, and are now waiting for his Son from heaven who is none other than Jesus raised from the dead (1 Thess. 1:9–10).

In the Johannine literature the title Son of God is widely used. In the first epistle it recurs with frequent regularity and dominates the Christological perspective; to be a Christian means to have fellowship with the Father and his Son Jesus Christ (1 Jn. 1:3). To deny that Jesus is the Christ is tantamount to denying both Father and Son (2:22–23). To confess that Jesus is the Son of God is to abide in God (4:15). The last chapter of the first epistle makes every possible emphasis upon the principle that Sonship is the mark of messiahship. The same is the case with the fourth gospel, where Son of God is synonymous with Messiah and occurs more frequently than any other title. E. Haenchen maintains that the same equation, Messiah=Son of Man=Son of God, applies to Mark's gospel *(Der Weg Jesu* [1966], 36, 133, 498). The same may be said of the rest of the NT. There is, however, a difference in the distribution of the use of the title determined by Christological emphasis.

It is a mistake to seek the origin of the title Son of God in pagan religions. G. Dalman *(The Words of Jesus* [1902], 276–80) suggests an easy transition from the Servant passages in Isaiah via the SEPTUAGINT. This is corroborated by other scholars: the LXX translates *ʿebed H6269* with *pais G4090,* a fact which Georg Bertram regards as a *praeparatio evangelica* (*VT 7* [1957]: 232–33). The Targum translates Hebrew *ʿebed* into the Aramaic *ʿbdy mšyḥ,* "my servant Messiah" (Isa. 42:1; 43:10; 52:13; Zech. 3:8). From the LXX the NT inherited the tradition of using *Greek pais,* which may mean either "child" or "servant" (cf. Acts 3:13, 26; 4:25–26, 30; cf. also Matt. 8:6, 8, 13; 12:18; 14:2; Mk. 14:54, 65; Jn. 18:36). In Wisdom of Solomon pais stands for *huios* (cf. Wisd. 2:13, 16).

The ambiguity that arises from this double meaning is not sufficient to explain the phrase "Son of God" as used in the NT.

This point is illustrated by the parable of the vineyard, where *ho huios agapētos* ("the beloved son") as heir is not just one among other servants; he is not *even primus inter pares* but rather stands in a unique position (cf. Mk. 12:6; cf. Matt. 3:17). The uniqueness is not vested in function but in status. He is the Son whom the tenants are expected to revere. At the same time the Son of God does not exist in isolation; he is the firstborn among many brethren (Rom. 8:29). This twofold connection—the *prōtotokos G4758,* "firstborn," of Mary (Lk. 2:7) and the *monogenēs G3666,* "only [begotten]," of God (Jn. 3:16; 1 Jn. 4:9)—expresses the Messiah's position. He is the link between heaven and earth. His preeminence in Pauline terms lies in the fact that he is both *the prōtotokos* of all creation and the *prōtotokos* from the dead (Col. 1:15, 18). He is thus the Head of the body, the church, and the *prōtotokos* of those who are enrolled in heaven (Heb. 12:23).

Closeness to the Father is the basic meaning of Son of God. It is for this reason that the Son is able to reveal the Father (Matt. 11:27; cf. Lk. 10:32). Our Lord's characteristic use of such phrases as "your Father," "our Father," "my Father," is behind the title Son of God. This close relationship to his Father in heaven is even more pronounced in the fourth gospel. The phrase "the Father and I" expresses the intimacy of the relationship (cf. Jn. 5:43; 8:38, 40; 10:32; 12:49; 15:15; et al.). In the Johannine gospel Jesus is both the son of Joseph (1:45) and the Son of God (1:34, 49). There appears to be no discrepancy in these two statements. It is obvious that sonship must not be understood in a crude pagan way. This bears out Dalman's contention that the Hebrew concept of "son" does not "denote an extensive circle of relationships" *(Words of Jesus,* 288; cf. also W. Grundmann in *NTS* 1 [1965]: 42ff.). It is rather the *intensive* relationship between Jesus and his Father in heaven which marks him as *the* Son.

***C. Kyrios.*** The most characteristic title ascribed to the Messiah in the NT is *kyrios G3261,* meaning LORD. It carries a certain ambiguity, for it is both an address to men and to God. For this reason there is a division of opinion as to the original meaning of the term. In the Gospels it seems to be treated as equivalent to *didaskalos G1437* ("teacher"), *epistatēs G2181* ("master"), and *rhabbi G4806* (Matt. 8:25 = Mk. 4:38 = Lk. 8:24; Matt. 17:4 = Lk. 9:33 = Mk. 9:5). Some therefore argue that *kyrios* is a translation either of Hebrew *rabbî* or Aramaic *marî* (both meaning "my master") and is meant to be taken as an address of respect, but that *kyrios* acquired a different meaning in Greek-speaking communities acquainted with Hellenistic cults and EMPEROR WORSHIP.

These scholars maintain that the deification of Jesus as the supernatural Messiah could have taken place only outside Israel, that is, in a Hellenistic environment (W. Bousset, R. Bultmann, W. Kramer). At the same time it is admitted that there are traces of a pre-Pauline use of the term *kyrios,* and this in a liturgical context, chiefly in connection with the LORD'S SUPPER (W. Kramer). This fact would seem to contradict a Hellenistic origin. Oscar Cullmann has shown beyond contradiction that *mar,* not as a courtesy title, but as a Christological confession, derives from the most primitive time of the church while still upon Jewish soil (see *The Christology of the New Testament* [1959], part 3). The phrase MARANATHA has come down untranslated from a time when ARAMAIC was still the mother tongue of the church (1 Cor. 16:22). The fact that the phrase belongs to a liturgical setting (cf. *Didache* 10.6) shows that *māran* ("our Lord") was used in a Christological sense. The question as to whether the phrase should be read *māran )ātā)* ("our Lord comes/has come") or *māranā) tā)* ("our Lord, come!") is solved in favor of the latter by the NT itself, for Rev. 22:20 provides the Greek translation *erchou, kyrie Iēsou,* "Come, Lord Jesus!"—*maranatha* is in the form of a prayer.

Some have argued that this liturgical phrase does not necessarily prove Palestinian origin, but this position cannot be taken seriously. There is early proof for a Christological meaning of the title *kyrios*. Furthermore, there are good grounds for believing that Phil. 2:6–11 is a Christological hymn going back to an Aramaic source (E. Lohmeyer). If this is the case, there is added reason to accept a high pre-Pauline Christology. That the Messiah was given "the name that is above every name" (v. 9) brings him close to the *Tetragrammaton* (YHWH). This connection can be seen from what follows: "that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow…and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father" (vv. 10–11). What Isaiah says of Yahweh (Isa. 45:23) is said of the Messiah.

There is therefore no need to take seriously the contention that the *kyrios* concept entered the NT from the outside. In fact, the Kyrios-cult of Hellenism and Caesar worship was challenged by the proclamation that Jesus is Lord. The Lordship of Jesus the Messiah was the essential KERYGMA of the church. The root for this claim stemmed from the authority Jesus exercised during his ministry. His authority was confirmed by the fact of the resurrection. That the Messiah is the legitimate king of Israel is an ancient Jewish tradition (cf. Str-B, 3:146–47, 472; G. Dalman, *Jesus-Jeshua* [1929], 198). Cullmann draws attention to the importance attached to Ps. 110 in the NT. It is quoted or alluded to some twenty times (Matt. 22:44; 26:64; Mk. 12:36; 14:62; 16:19; Lk. 20:42–43; 22:69; Acts 2:34–35; 5:31; 7:55; Rom. 8:34; 1 Cor. 15:25; Col. 3:11; Eph. 1:20; Heb. 1:3; 8:1; 10:12–13; 1 Pet. 3:22; Rev. 3:21) and is used to prove the absolute authority of the Messiah.

Cullmann regards the confession that Jesus is Lord as the most ancient Christian statement of faith. That God has made Jesus both "Lord and Christ" (Acts 2:36) was a challenge not only to the Jewish people but to the whole order of the ancient world. Accordingly, the purpose of the book of Revelation is to challenge all other authority with the proclamation that Jesus Christ as the firstborn of the dead is the only ruler of the kings on earth (Rev. 1:5).

The *kyriotēs G3262* ("lordship, dominion, authority") of Jesus as Messiah is all-embracing: all authority is given to him (*exousia G2026,* Matt. 28:18). It exceeds Christ's lordship upon earth and assumes cosmic significance (cf. Col. 1:16–20).This is at the heart of PAULINE THEOLOGY: Christ is not only the Lord of the church but also the Head of all rule and authority *(hē kephalē pasēs archēs kai exousias,* Col. 2:10). This fact may not be immediately apparent by reason of the interval between his exaltation and his PAROUSIA (Rom. 8:19, 23; 1 Cor. 1:7; Gal. 5:5; cf. Heb. 2:8; 10:13), but because the Messiah is already at the right hand of God, he will in the end assert his dominion over all creation (Rom. 8:34; Col. 3:1). Not only will the rulers of the earth ultimately surrender, but even death itself, the last enemy, will be vanquished (1 Cor. 15:25). The fact that the Messiah is at the right hand of God is a source of endless comfort to the embattled church and gives it the courage to acclaim him Lord (cf. Acts 7:56; Heb. 1:3, 13; 8:1; 10:12; 12:2).

The Messiah's lordship is not a matter of impersonal and autocratic rule to which the believer submits under duress. Jesus did not impose his lordship; he came not to rule but to serve and to give his life for others (Matt. 20:28). His obedience to death, even the death on a cross (Phil. 2:8), marks him as the Servant first and foremost. That the Son of God should die for sinners is the startling discovery underlying the gospel (cf. Rom. 5:6–11; Heb. 12:1–2). The profession that Jesus is Lord is the disciples' response to God's love in Christ. The Pauline letters are dominated by the phrases "in the Lord" and "in Christ (Jesus)." To be *in* Christ means first the willing and joyful acceptance of his lordship over the totality of one's own life: "I no longer live, but Christ lives in me;…who loved me and gave himself for me" (Gal. 2:20). The test of discipleship is in the possessive pronoun: Jesus Christ my Lord (Phil. 3:8).

***D. Jesus—Savior.*** Compared with the ascription *kyrios,* the title *sōtēr G5400* occurs only infrequently. This comes as a surprise, for Savior has a long-standing OT tradition and best describes the messianic function. It is to be noted that *sōtēr* as a messianic title occurs mainly in the later NT writings. Cullmann (*Christology,* 241) concludes that Jesus never called himself, nor did any one else call him, by this address during his ministry. He admits, however, a pre-Pauline tradition (Phil. 3:20).

There is a linguistic reason for the lack of evidence in the earliest sources of the NT: the expression "Jesus Savior" is possible in Greek (cf. Acts 13:23, as well as the cryptogram ΙΧΘΥΣ, "fish," representing *Iēsous Christos Theou Huios Sōtēr),* but in Hebrew it would create a tautology. The name JESUS is the Greek equivalent of the later Hebrew form of JOSHUA, *yēšûaʿ H3800,* from the verb *yāšaʿ H3828,* "to save." Thus "Jesus Savior" in Hebrew is *yēšûaʿ môšîaʿ,* which might be perceived as a linguistic infelicity (although Aramaic would use a different root for "save").

The name Yeshua/Jesus is not peculiarly messianic but it is emphatically Yahwistic: it is an abbreviated form of *yĕhôšuaʿ H3397,* "Yahweh is salvation," a name well known in the OT (in addition to Joshua ben Nun, cf. Ezra 3:2; Neh. 8:17; Hag. 1:1; Zech. 3:1; et al.) and common in NT times (cf. Col. 4:11; Josephus records a number of men with the name). But for the Aramaic-speaking church the name Yeshua given to the Messiah carried special significance. Its etymological meaning is noted in Matt. 1:21: "you are to give him the name Jesus *[yēšûaʿ]* because he will save *[yôšîaʿ]* his people from their sins." Other NT writers are equally aware that the name means Savior or Salvation (cf. Jn. 1:29; Acts 13:23; in Heb. 4:8 and possibly in Acts 7:45, an allusive comparison is made between Jesus and Joshua).

The title *sōtēr* most frequently occurs in conjunction with the saving acts of God through the Messiah, as Cullmann observes (cf. Acts 5:31; 13:23; 1 Tim. 1:1; 2:3–4; 4:10; Tit. 1:3–4; 3:4–5; 1 Jn. 4:14; Jude 25). The OT regards saviorhood as God's divine prerogative (cf. Isa. 43:3, 11; 45:15, 21; Jer. 14:8; Hos. 13:4; et al.). But God performs his saving acts by sending saviors to act as his plenipotentiaries (cf. 2 Ki. 13:5; Neh. 9:27; Isa. 19:20; Obad. 21). In this sense Cyrus, though a pagan king, is understood to be God's shepherd (Isa. 44:28) and his anointed (45:1). The Messiah as *sōtēr* therefore stands in the line of a long tradition, but with a difference: in the NT the distinction

Catholic priests in Jerusalem celebrating Palm Sunday, when the Messiah entered Jerusalem triumphantly.

between God and Messiah disappears (cf. Tit. 1:3, God our Savior; v. 4, Christ Jesus our Savior). The identification is so close that in some passages it is a matter of guessing whether God or Jesus Christ is meant (cf. Tit. 3:4, 6; 2 Pet. 1:1).

A. T. Hanson allows that both STEPHEN and the author of Hebrews appear to identify Jesus with the theophanies of the OT *(Jesus Christ in the Old Testament* [1965], 164). The same would apply to John and Paul, who see the eternal LOGOS operative in OT history. There can be no doubt that the preexistence of the Messiah is an established NT doctrine (cf. Jn. 1:1–14; Col. 1:15–20; Heb. 1:3).

Some of the *egō eimi* ("I am") passages, particularly Jn. 8:58, appear to be a deliberate allusion to the name of Yahweh. This conclusion is corroborated by a rabbinic practice of circumlocution for the Tetragrammaton: the imprecation *)ānnā) yhwh* (Ps. 118:25) was paraphrased as *)ănî wĕhû),* meaning literally "I and he" or "I, like him" *(m. Sukkah* 4:5; cf. also C. G. Montefiore and H. Loewe, *A Rabbinic Anthology* [1938], 13, 279). John's gospel seems to be aware of the tradition and uses the phrase in order to indicate the Messiah's intimacy with Yahweh (cf. C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* [1953], 93–96).

One is led to conclude that a high CHRISTOLOGY is deeply embedded in the NT tradition and that titles like Son of Man, Son of God, and Savior are intended to emphasize Messiah's unique and representative position both with regard to mankind and to God. In the last resort, this is the messianic secret: Jesus is the Christ (Mk. 8:27–30), but for the earliest believers this was tantamount to a position extraordinary in relation to God (cf. Matt. 16:16).

It must be admitted that in the popular sense, as conceived by Jewish tradition, Jesus is not the Messiah. The unique position accorded to him in the NT is contrary to all Jewish views. Son of God, says Dalman, "was not a common Messianic title" *(Words of Jesus,* 272). Though Christ was the Son of David (Rom. 1:3), the Fulfiller of prophecy (Jn. 1:45), the Redeemer of Israel (Lk. 1:68–69), yet he did not easily fit into Jewish preconceived messianic expectations. In this one respect E. Stauffer is right: Jesus is a different Messiah than expected by Jewry *(Nov T* 1 [1956]: 102). To start with, he had no official standing; he was never anointed, except by the Holy Spirit (cf. Mk. 1:9–11; Lk. 4:16–21; Isa. 61:1 –2). It is part of the revolutionary effect of the gospel that messiahship was transformed

under the impact of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. This transformation took place in two directions: in respect to the Gentiles and in respect to God. Jesus is not only the Messiah of Israel, but also the Savior of the world (Jn. 4:42; 1 Jn. 4:14); he is not only the Son of David, but also the Son of God (Mk. 12:35–37).

(In addition to the works mentioned in the body of this article, see E. G. Jay, *Son of Man—Son of God* [1965]; S. H. Levey, *The Messiah: An Aramaic Interpretation* [1974]; T. N. D. Mettinger, *King and Messiah: The Civil and Sacral Legitimation of the Israelite Kings* [1976]; H. Cazelles, *Le Messie de la Bible: Christologie de l'Ancien Testament* [1978]; J. Neusner, *Messiah in Context: Israel's History and Destiny in Formative Judaism* [1984]; M. de J*onge, Jesus, the Servant-Messiah* [1992]; M. Bockmuehl, *This Jesus: Martyr, Lord, Messiah* [1994]; W. C. Kaiser, Jr., *The Messiah in the Old Testament* [1995]; R. S. Hess and M. D. Carroll R., eds., *Israel's Messiah in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls* [2003]; A. Chester, *Messiah and Exaltation: Jewish Messianic and Visionary Traditions and New Testament Christology* [2007].)

J. JOCZ

**Messianic Banquet.** A term used sometimes to refer to "the wedding supper of the Lamb" (Rev. 19:9) or more generally to the festivities of the end time, which are often symbolized by means of a meal. In the ANE, it was not uncommon for kings to celebrate a military victory by providing a great banquet (cf. 1 Chr. 12:38–40; 3 Macc. 6:30–41), and this notion was transferred to the gods in some myths (e.g., *ANET,* 69a). It was only natural that the symbol should be used to depict Yahweh's eschatological celebration. Thus Isaiah promises that "the LORD Almighty will prepare / a feast of rich food for all peoples, / a banquet of aged wine—/ the best of meats and the finest of wines," at which times he "will wipe away the tears from all faces" (Isa. 25:6, 8; cf. Rev. 21:4).

The theme becomes prominent in APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE and is picked up in the NT. Jesus promises that those "who hunger now…will be satisfied" (Lk. 6:21); he also compares the kingdom of heaven to "a king who prepared a wedding banquet for his son" (Matt. 22:1; cf. Lk. 14:16). The imagery is especially prominent in the book of Revelation. After the destruction of BABYLON (Rev. 18), John heard a sound "like the roar of rushing waters and like loud peals of thunder, shouting: 'Hallelujah! / For our Lord God Almighty reigns. / Let us rejoice and be glad / and give him glory! / For the wedding of the Lamb has come, / and his bride has made herself ready" (19:6–7). (Cf. *ABD,* 4:788–91.) See CHURCH I.G; ESCHATOLOGY; SECOND COMING.

**messianic secret.** A term used in biblical scholarship to refer to those passages in the Gospels where Jesus tells his followers not to publicize his miracles (or other extraordinary details). This feature is especially prominent in Mark (e.g., Mk. 1:43–44; 5:43; 7:36; 8:30; 9:9), and it has led to considerable debate regarding its significance.

In 1901, Wilhelm Wrede devoted a monograph to this topic, arguing that Jesus did not in fact issue such prohibitions *(Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien: Zugleich ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des Markusevangeliums;* English trans., *The Messianic Secret* [1971]). In Wrede's view, (1) the earliest Christians believed that Jesus had become the MESSIAH at the time of the resurrection; (2) only later was messiaship thought to apply to Jesus' earthly life; (3) but the church was not aware that Jesus had made any messianic claims during his life; (4) therefore, the element of secrecy was invented and added to the tradition in order to account for the lack of evidence that Jesus had proclaimed himself as the Messiah. (Mark found this feature in the tradition and incorporated it in his gospel.)

Wrede's theory, though generally rejected in its original form, has exerted profound influence in NT scholarship, mainly because it showed that the secrecy motif required some kind of theological explanation. Most scholars accept (though usually in modified form) one or another feature of Wrede's explanation, but no clear consensus has emerged (see, e.g., C. M. Tuckett, ed., *The Messianic Secret* [1983]; H. Räisänen, *The "Messianic Secret" in Mark* [1990]). The basic historicity of the Markan account is defended by some prominent writers (see esp. the able treatment by N. B. Stone-house, *The Witness of Matthew and Mark to Christ* [1944], ch. 3; and cf. the brief discussion by V. Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark,* 2nd ed. [1966], 122–24).

**Messias** muh-s*i*'uhs. KJV NT form of MESSIAH.

**Messos, Apocalypse of.** See ALLOGENES SUPREME.

**metals and metallurgy.** Metals comprise a large group of chemical elements that are distinguished from nonmetallic substances by their high conductivity for electricity and heat, properties resulting from the presence of "conduction" electrons that are free to move about within a metal, not being bound by specific atoms. Metals are also characterized by their high reflectivity for light. A polished sheet of metal, called a *speculum,* was used in ancient times as a mirror (cf. 1 Cor. 13:12). However, the widespread use of metals in ancient times, and to a considerable extent today, is dependent upon other properties that permit them to be shaped by hammering, melted and cast into molds, and alloyed with other metals. Alloying is carried out to increase strength and improve other properties.

The metals used in prebiblical and biblical times were almost entirely COPPER, GOLD, IRON, LEAD, TIN, and SILVER, although mercury and zinc also were used. Some of the properties of these metals are:

| Metal | Chemical Symbol | Density | Melting Point |
|---|---|---|---|
| Copper | Cu | 8.9 | 1083°C |
| Gold | Au | 19.3 | 1063 |
| Iron | Fe | 7.9 | 1540 |
| Lead | Pb | 11.3 | 327 |
| Mercury | Hg | 13.6 | –39 |
| Silver | Ag | 10.5 | 961 |
| Tin | Sn | 7.3 | 232 |
| Zinc | Zn | 7.1 | 420 |

Of these metals, copper and gold commonly occur in the native state, with gold almost certainly the first metal known to and used by man. It is too soft to be used for weapons or tools, but much used for jewelry and decorative purposes. Native copper is also soft, but it was found that it hardened

appreciably when hammered and so was used for making weapons such as daggers and tools such as sickles. The common use of copper c. 4500 heralded the Chalcolithic age (copper-stone age). Although iron is the most abundant metal on earth, it is rarely found in its elemental (free) state, and the technology needed to remove its impurities was not fully developed until late in the 2nd millennium. However, the majority of meteorites, which are extraterrestrial bodies, are mainly iron with some nickel, and this material was used before 4000 B.C., as were gold and copper.

Silver also is found in the native state, and its use by man for jewelry and decorative purposes began c. 4000. The use of lead, tin, mercury, and zinc was dependent upon metallurgical discoveries relating to their smelting, refining, alloying, and working, as was the extension of the use of copper as the copper-tin alloy, BRONZE. This was also the case much later for BRASS, a copper-zinc alloy, and for the common use of iron.

*Metallurgy* is the science and technology of metals. It covers the processes of producing metals by extracting them from their ores, the refining and

Entrances to horizontal mineshafts in Timnah. Copper was mined from these hills in the Desert of Paran.

purification of these ores, and the working of them mechanically or alloying them to adapt them for various uses. The development of metallurgy during the pre-Christian era can be summarized as follows (all dates are B.C.):

Before 4000: native gold, copper, and meteoric iron hammered into shape, with the copper and iron hardened; melting, casting, and annealing of copper.

4000–3000: native silver hammered into shape; reduction of oxidized ores of copper (e.g. MALACHITE) and lead; smelting of natural mixed ores to produce copper alloys, including bronze; melting and casting of copper alloys; accidental reduction of oxidized ores of iron.

3000–2000: smelting of copper sulphides and tin oxides with metallic tin becoming an important item of trade; production of sponge iron; extraction of silver by cupellation with lead; making of gold leaf and metal wire.

2000–1000: bellows used in furnaces; iron reduced from ore and forged without melting to produce wrought iron—important by the year 1600; steel made by carburization in a hearth and by 1200 hardened by quenching; brass made from copper and zinc ores c. 1500 (not important until about 200); high-tin bronze (speculum) for mirrors.

1000 to the Christian era: vast expansion in production of metals, particularly iron; iron and

steel welded into composite tools and weapons; mercury distilled from ores; separation of gold by amalgamation with mercury; stamping of coins (c. 700); more general use of bronze.

Much of this progressive development of metallurgy took place in the E Mediterranean and ANE region. However, a great deal of it was unknown to the slaves who escaped from Egypt under the leadership of MOSES (Exod. 12:51) during the 13th cent. At this time the production of iron was widespread in regions to the N, such as Anatolia (see ASIA MINOR), with the beginning of the Iron Age generally being placed c. 1200. That a group with such little knowledge of the science and technology of metals should have developed into the nation of Israel by the early part of the 10th cent. under DAVID, and subsequently become skilled in metal craft under SOLOMON (1 Ki. 10:16–23), is remarkable.

Two contributing factors were the recognition, by David, of the importance of metalliferous ore deposits as a basis for national prosperity and strength, as shown by his conquest of EDOM with its deposits of iron and copper (2 Sam. 8:14), and the recognition, by Solomon, that experts had to be brought in from other more advanced cultures (1 Ki. 7:13–14). Assimilation of other cultures and expertise may have taken place by intermarriage, although this was contrary to instruction (Deut. 7:3). Unfortunately Solomon was not wise in the use of his power, and his expenditure was far too great in relation to the relatively limited, if important, natural resources at his disposal. This led to a dissipation of much of what David had gained, and was a primary cause leading to the breakup of the kingdom under his successor.

*Metallurgy of gold.* The gold of the ANE occurs in the native state, with that used by early humans recovered from stream sands and gravels where the gold is present as small flakes, or sometimes as nuggets. This gold was recovered by washing away the other mineral grains of the sand, which have a density about one sixth that of gold. Washing also was used to separate gold mined from veins, after the ore had been ground to a small size (see MINES, MINING).

The washing of gold ores is depicted on Egyptian monuments of the 1st dynasty (c. 2900). The simplest and earliest means of washing was by hand, in pans. Other means used included washing the stream sand or crushed ore over a sloping table or by sending the material down an inclined sluice with transverse ripple bars behind which the gold collected. The legend of the Golden Fleece was based on an expedition (c. 1200) to ARMENIA to obtain alluvial gold by washing gold-bearing sands over sheepskins.

By Roman times native gold (as well as silver) was extracted from ore by means of mercury, the process being called amalgamation. The ores are crushed in water and mixed with mercury while being agitated. The metallic gold (or silver) adheres to the mercury (quicksilver) and particles of the amalgam adhere to one another. These aggregates become large enough and heavy enough to sink in running water, which washes away the other mineral particles. This is much more efficient than just washing gold-bearing material with water. The amalgam is separated by heating in retorts. The mercury is driven off as a vapor, condensed, and reused, while the gold is melted and cast.

Whatever means of separation used, the gold generally contains other metallic elements. An

The upper register of this tomb painting from Egypt shows men smelting metal during the New Kingdom period (Tomb of Rekhmine near the Valley of the Kings, c. 1500 B.C.).

early method of refining was heating the gold with lead, salt, and barley bran, which act respectively as scorifier, flux, and reducing agent. This was done in an airtight clay crucible that remained in a hot fire for five days. By this time only the gold remained, with the other components of the charge absorbed by the clay of the crucible. Sometimes tin was added to the charge to harden the gold. The separation of base metals, such as copper and tin, also was carried out from a very early time by the method of cupellation. The gold to be purified is melted with lead, which is oxidized by the oxygen of the air. The molten lead oxide forms a slag into which the base metals go and with which they are separated off from the refined gold (cf. 1 Chr. 28:18; Mal. 3:3). However, any silver remained. From c. 600 onward this silver was separated from the gold by heating in a crucible with salt. The silver is converted to silver chloride, which passes into the molten slag, leaving the gold.

Methods of working gold were developed in ancient times. Soldering with gold-copper alloys was known before 3000, and before 2500 most jewelry techniques, such as inlay, stamping, repousse, and granulation, were known. Gold was hammered into thin gold leaf and wire made by cutting sheet. These various techniques were used more than 1,000 years later by the children of Israel (e.g. Exod. 25:31; 39:3).

*Metallurgy of copper.* Native copper often occurs as large lumps. Though soft, it is hardened appreciably when hammered, and the first fabricated metallic articles used for other than adornment (prob. as early as 8000 B.C.) were made of copper. More than 2,000 years later it was found that copper could be melted (at 1083°C) and cast into desired shapes.

The reduction of copper ores to metallic copper in a red-hot charcoal fire was, almost certainly, a repeated campfire accident, possibly where brightly colored oxidized minerals of copper (turquoise, malachite) were being mined for ornamental and decorative purposes. The next step was to make a hole in the hearth to collect the molten metal and to line this with clay, a material that pottery manufacture had demonstrated to be fire-resistant. Subsequently rudimentary furnaces, enclosed by stones, evolved.

The copper ore initially smelted was the weathered, oxidized portion of the lode that cropped out at the surface and could be mined using wooden shovels, antler picks, and flint hammers. The copper produced from such weathered surface outcrops in the ANE before 2500 contained only 0.5 percent impurities. Subsequently the realization that there was copper in the deeper, unweathered parts of the

A smelting furnace at Timnah that was used to change copper ore into usable metal.

rock mass led to the mining of less pure ore and the production of copper with 2–3 percent impurities. However, this metal was both harder and much easier to cast than the purer metal. Its production was the first step toward the deliberate mixing of ores and the production of various alloys of copper, of which bronze was the most important.

Bronze was made by smelting copper and tin ores together with charcoal, using a forced draught. This was created, before 1800, with the lungs; later bellows were used. The draught was through a nonflammable clay nozzle, with the molten metal collected in a clay crucible and then cast into ingots, or directly into molds. Later bronze was made from copper and tin previously reduced from their ores. The copper-zinc alloy, brass, was initially produced by heating copper with charcoal and smithsonite, the naturally occurring zinc carbonate. Later it was made from copper and zinc, both previously reduced from their ores.

*Metallurgy of lead.* Lead is reduced easily from its ores, particularly the oxidized ores such as lead carbonate (cerussite). The earliest method of smelting, which may have been the first metallurgical process used, was to place the ore with wood in a hole in the ground and fire it. The lead that was produced then ran along a gutter to a second hole, where it was collected. In the case of the chief lead ore, galena (lead sulphide), roasting is carried out in an oxidizing atmosphere. At a moderate temperature lead oxide and lead sulphate are formed from the lead sulphide. With increased temperature, and assisted by the addition of a small amount of flux (e.g., quicklime), the remaining lead sulphide reacts with the two oxidized products to produce lead and the gas sulphur dioxide. Any copper, antimony, or bismuth are oxidized and form a scum on the surface, mixed with a little lead oxide (litharge). This is taken off. The metal is desilvered by cupellation.

*Metallurgy of silver.* The earliest source of silver was native silver, which occurs mainly in an upper, secondarily enriched zone of silver lodes, as at Laurion, Greece. Subsequently silver was extracted from its ores by smelting with lead in a simple furnace, often following a preparatory roasting in the open air. The resultant lead-silver alloy is melted on a flat dish (cupel) of bone ash or marl. The lead, together with any other base metal impurities, is oxidized by an air blast directed at the surface of the molten metal. The impurities are skimmed off (DROSS, Ezek. 22:18) and the last portions of the oxidized impurities are absorbed by the porous cupel. Only the silver, free from base metals, but containing any gold or platinum that may have been present, remains. This process of cupellation is thought to have been used by the Babylonians.

*Metallurgy of tin.* Almost the sole ore of tin is cassiterite (tin oxide). This is an uncommon

mineral in the ANE, but a metal in which PHOENICIA traded (cf. Ezek. 27:12), particularly with Cornwall, England. Cassiterite was smelted in a hole in the ground by means of a charcoal fire and a forced draught. The tin oxide reacts with the carbon of the charcoal, producing tin and carbon monoxide gas. To assist in obtaining the temperature needed, the furnace probably had alternate small amounts of ore and burning charcoal added while the forced draught was in operation.

*Metallurgy of iron.* The earliest metallurgical working of iron was cold hammering of meteoric iron with flint tools. Ornaments were fabricated and weapons and tools made. Native iron probably was first reduced from its ores in large camp fires adjacent to rocks containing the oxides of ironmagnetite, haematite, and limonite. This accidentally smelted product would have been a dark spongy mass, not at first recognized as a metal, while remnants of unreduced ore would have rendered the mass non-malleable, and so useless. Only when air was excluded during cooling, following a sufficiently high fire temperature (800-900°C), would a coherent lump of metal have been produced. Hammering, aided by heat, welded such small pieces of sponge iron into larger pieces and hardening took place if heating was followed by sudden quenching in water.

The slowness of the ancients to make this discovery, which cleared the way for the massive use of iron and opened the door to the Iron Age, probably resulted from their experience with copper, a metal that softened when heated and was unaffected by quenching. However, once the secret of producing hard wrought iron was discovered, it was jealously guarded, in turn by the HITTITES of Asia Minor, and then by their conquerors, the PHILISTINES (cf. 1 Sam. 13:19–20). The method involved using forced draught in pits or primitive furnaces in which the iron ore was reduced to metallic iron by charcoal. Then the glowing ball was pulled out of the furnace (cf. Deut. 4:20; 1 Ki. 8:51; Jer. 11:4) and while still white hot hammered vigorously (forged), both to expel slag and to weld the hot metal into a coherent mass. The iron was not melted, and the product was wrought iron.

Accidentally, and later by design, ordinary iron was subjected to carburization when it was reheated in a charcoal forge. In this way additional carbon was absorbed with the resultant product being steel. These methods used by the ancients, with modifications and improvements of equipment and technique, produced all the iron up to the 14th cent. Only then was liquid pig iron (requiring temperatures in excess of 1500°C) and cast iron produced.

*Metallurgy of zinc.* The preparation of the metal zinc referred to as mock silver, by heating the oxide with coal, was described about 7 B.C. However, the zinc of brass almost certainly came from smelting smithsonite (zinc carbonate) with charcoal and with copper. Smithsonite was known from the silver mines of Laurion, Greece.

*Metallurgy of mercury.* The mercury used for separation of gold from its gangue was made, as at present, by roasting cinnabar, the naturally occurring mercury sulphide, in a current of air. The mercury vapor is carried on with the air and the liberated sulphur dioxide and is condensed by cooling. The cinnabar would have been obtained from Spain or Italy.

(See further T. A. Richard, *Man and Metals: A History of Mining in Relation to the Development of Civilization, 2* vols. [1932]; J. R. Partington, A *Textbook of Inorganic Chemistry,* 6th ed. [1950], 776 – 80, 786 – 89; R. F. Tylecote, *A History of Metallurgy,* 2nd ed. [1992]; R. W. Cahn and P. Haasen, eds., *Physical Metallurgy,* 4th ed., 3 vols. [1996]; A. Hauptmann et al., *The Beginnings of Metallurgy* [1999].)

D. R. BOWES

**Meterus** muh-tee'ruhs. KJV form of BAITERUS (1 Esd. 5:17).

**Metheg Ammah** mee'thig-am'uh (מֶתֶג הָאַמָּה *H5497,* "bridle of the forearm [*or* cubit]" or "bridle of the canal" or, less likely, "bridle *[i.e.,* jurisdiction] of the mother [city]"). Also Metheg-ammah. An otherwise unknown town that DAVID took from the control of the PHILISTINES (2 Sam. 8:1). Instead of this name, the parallel passage has "Gath and its surrounding villages" (1 Chr. 18:1), leading some to speculate that GATH was considered the "mother city" of the Philistines (cf. ASV and see 2 Sam. 20:19, which has the usual word for "mother," ʾēm *H562;* the form ʾ*ammâ,* however, never means "mother" in the OT). Some argue that the words should be translated as common nouns, referring to one cubit's length of a bridle and symbolizing either friendship or surrender (cf. LXX, *tēn aphōrismenēn,* "what was marked off," perhaps a reference to tribute, leading to the Vulgate's *rendering frenum tributi,* "bridle of tribute"; *see ABD,* 4:800).

S. WOUDSTRA

**Methusael** mi-th*oo*'say-uhl. KJV form of METH-USHAEL.

**Methuselah** mi-th*oo*'suh-luh (מְתוּשֶׁלַח *H5500,* possibly "man of the javelin" or "man of [the god] Shalach" [see *ABD,* 4:800–801]; Μαθουσαλά *G3417).* Son of ENOCH, descendant of SETH, and grandfather of NOAH (Gen. 5:21 –22, 25 –27; 1 Chr. 1:3; included in Luke's GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST, Lk. 3:37). In the antedeluvian age of unusual longevity, Methuselah lived 969 years, longer than any other (Gen. 5:27). Some have thought his name ("man of the javelin") implies that he was a violent man, suggesting the wickedness of the generations just before the flood, but such a name would equally fit a hunter. Still others feel the element *šela*ḥ is a divine proper name indicating idolatry. The name Methuselah in the line of Seth seems to correspond to METHU-SHAEL in the line of CAIN, but the connection, if any, is difficult to ascertain. In later APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, Methuselah plays an important role (e.g., *1 Enoch* 81–85).

E. B. SMICK

**Methushael** mi-th*oo*'shay-uhl (מְתוּשָׁאֵל *H5499,* possibly "man of God *[or* of request *or* of SHEOL]"; see *ABD,* 4: 801). KJV Methusael. Son of MEHU-JAEL, descendant of CAIN, and father of LAMECH (Gen. 4:18). Some have speculated that Methushael and METHUSELAH represent different traditions arising from the same name.

**Meunim** mi-y*oo*'nim (מְעוּנִים *H5064,* apparently the gentilic plural of a name such as מָעוֹן *H5062;* see MAON). In the NIV, the Hebrew term is rendered "Meunim" only twice, namely, in parallel passages that list the descendants of temple servants (NETHINIM) who returned from the EXILE (Ezra 2:50 [KJV, "Mehunim"]; Neh. 7:52; cf. 1 Esd. 5:31 [NRSV, "Maani"; KJV, "Meani"]). Apparently, the NIV regards Meunim here as a personal name referring to the ancestor of that family. It is possible, however, that in these passages, as elsewhere, the name is that of a non-Israelite people group. See MEUNITES.

**Meunites** mi-y*oo*'nz'ts (מְעוּנִים *H5064,* apparently the gentilic plural of a name such as מָעוֹן *H5062;* see MAON). Also MEUNIM (for no obvious reason, the NRSV has "Meunim" in 1 Chr. 4:41, but "Meunites" in 2 Chr. 20:1; 26:7). A minor desert tribe of uncertain origin. This people group occupied an area SE of the DEAD SEA on the eastern border of EDOM whose chief city was Maʿan

(about 12 mi. SE of PETRA). The Meunites were not Edomites, but apparently had such close relations with the people of Mount SEIR that they were in danger of being identified with them. It is possible, but disputed by some, that the Meunites were the same as the MAONITES who oppressed the Israelites in the time of the judges (Jdg. 10:12).

The Simeonites seem to have dispossessed one group of the Meunites and occupied their territory (1 Chr. 4:41; the KJV here understands the name as a common noun, *hammĕʿônîm,* "the habitations"). On another occasion some of the Meunites joined forces with the Moabites and Ammonites to attack Judah (2 Chr. 20:1, where the MT reads "Ammonites" [cf. KJV], which seems redundant in context; most scholars emend to "Meunites" on the basis of the LXX and of 26:7 [KJV, "Mehunims"]). The combined armies moved around the S end of the Dead Sea and had gotten as far as EN GEDI before word reached the ears of the king of Judah. JEHOSHAPHAT was quite disturbed, but gathered an army and met them at the Pass of ZIz. The battle, however, never took place, for the invading army practically annihilated itself because of internal dissension. All that the men of Judah had to do was gather up the spoil. The mention of Mount Seir in this passage does not refer to the Edomites (they did not participate in this invasion), but rather to the direction from which the coalition army came.

In the reign of King UZZIAH (c. 783–742 B.C.) the Meunites are mentioned, along with the PHILISTINES and ARABIANS, as being troublesome to Judah again (2 Chr. 26:7; in v. 8 some scholars emend "Ammonites" to "Meunites" on the basis of the LXX). The passage records that Uzziah was successful in his campaign against them, and it is thought that he may have taken a number of them prisoners and given them to the temple priests as servants (cf. Num. 31:30; Josh. 9:27; Ezra 8:20; and see NETHINIM). This assumption would help to explain the presence of descendants from the Meunites among the temple servants who returned after the EXILE (Ezra 2:50; Neh. 7:52), although some think that the reference here is to descendants of CALEB associated with the town of Maon. See MAON (PLACE). In these passages, however, the NIV and the NRSV have "Meunim," as though it were the name of an ancestor.

It should be added that in two occurrences (1 Chr. 4:41; Ezra 2:50), the Hebrew consonantal text (KETIB) reads *mĕʿînîm,* "Meinites"; moreover, in all the Chronicles passages the SEPTUAGINT has *Minaioi.* On this basis, it has been argued that two of the texts (1 Chr. 4:41 and 2 Chr. 26:7–8) refer to the MINEANS, a tribe from the S Arabian area of Maʿin that colonized some Mediterranean cities, such as GAZA, around 400 B.C. (E. A. Knauf in *ABD,* 4:801–2, s.v. "Meunim"); but such an identification would mean that the Chronicler transferred his own historical setting back to earlier times. Others have proposed that the Meunites should be identified with the Muʾnayya mentioned by TIGLATH-PILESER III (see I. Ephʿal, *The Ancient Arabs: Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent 9th-5th Centuries B.C.* [ 1982], 219 –20.)

C. P. GRAY

**Meuzal** mee-y*oo*'zuhl. KJV marginal reading for Hebrew *mĕʾûzāl,* a word of uncertain meaning (Ezek. 27:29). See UZAL.

**Me-Zahab** mee'zuh-hab (מֵי זָהָב *H4771,* "waters of gold"). Grandfather of MEHETABEL, who was the wife of Hadad (Hadar) king of EDOM (Gen. 36:39; 1 Chr. 1:50). See HADAD (PERSON). The name, however, would seem to refer to a place. The description of MATRED as the daughter of Me-Zahab might mean that the latter was Matred's native city *(cf. ABD,* 4:804–5).

**Mezobaite** mi-zoh'bay-it (מִצֹּבָיִה *H5168,* derivation uncertain). KJV Mesobaite. A descriptive title identifying JAAZIEL, one of David's mighty warriors (1 Chr. 11:47). If the adjective is a gentilic of *ṣôbâ H7420,* the form is anomalous, so many scholars conjecture that the original was *miṣṣōbah,* "from Zobah" (cf. 2 Sam. 23:36). Several of David's warriors in the latter part of the list seem to have come from TRANSJORDAN, SO it is indeed possible that Jaaziel was an Aramean from the kingdom of ZOBAH.

**mezuzah** muh-*zoo'*zuh. Plural *mezuzot.* This term does not occur in English versions of the Bible. It is a transliteration of Hebrew *mĕzûzâ H4647* ("doorpost"), used, for example, for the doorframes of ordinary houses where the blood of the PASSOVER sacrifice was sprinkled (Exod. 12:7, 22–23),

Mezuzah fixed to the door frame of a modern home.

or where the law was to be written (Deut. 6:9; 11:20; cf. Prov. 8:34; Ezek. 43:12). The doorposts of a building, like the THRESHOLD, evidently had a special significance, bordering on sacredness. In the course of time the term *mezuzah* came to mean the small container of portions of Scripture which orthodox Jews still attach to the doorposts of their home (Deut. 6:9; 11:20).

J. ARTHUR THOMPSON

**Miamin** m*i*'uh-min. KJV alternate form of MIJAMIN.

**Mibhar** mib'hahr (מִבְחָר *H4437,* "choice, special"). Son of Hagri; he is included in the list of DAVID's mighty warriors (1 Chr. 11:38). The name does not appear in the parallel passage (2 Sam. 23:36); see discussion under HAGRI.

**Mibsam** mib'sam (מִבְשָׂם *H4452,* "fragrant"; cf. BASEMATH, IBSAM). (1) Son of ISHMAEL and grandson of ABRAHAM (Gen. 25:13; 1 Chr. 1:29). The twelve sons of Ishmael became the eponymous ancestors of tribes in N ARABIA (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. 193–96). See also below, #2.

(2) Son of SHAUL or, more likely, of SHALLUM; included in the genealogy of SIMEON (1 Chr. 4:25). Because the name MISHMA occurs in connection with both this Mibsam and #1 above, some scholars speculate that #1 and #2 refer to the same clan. According to this view, the Ishmaelite or Arabian clans of Mibsam and Mishma inhabited the NEGEV; when the tribe of Simeon occupied this region, these clans somehow became integrated into the Simeonite genealogy (cf. *ABD,* 4:805).

**Mibzar** mib'zahr (מִבְצָר *H4449*, possibly "fortress"). Descendant of ESAU, listed among the clan chiefs of EDOM (Gen. 36:42; 1 Chr. 1:53). His name may have been preserved in an ancient locality. EUSE-BIUS *(Onom.* 124.20–21) identifies it *with Mabsara,* a large village subject to PETRA and still in existence in his time. Others have suggested BOZRA.

**Mica** m*i*'kuh (מִיכָא *H4775,* short form of מִיכָיְהוּ *H4780,*"who is like Yahweh?"; cf. MICAH, MICAIAH, MICHAEL). KJV also Micha; TNIV Mika. (1) Son of MEPHIBOSHETH (2 Sam. 9:12). See MICAH #2.

(2) Son of Zicri (or Zabdi), descendant of ASAPH, and father of MATTANIAH; the latter is listed among the Levites who resettled in Jerusalem after the EXILE and is described as being responsible for leading in thanksgiving and prayer (1 Chr. 9:15 [KJV, "Micah"]; Neh. 11:17; in the latter reference, the name is spelled *mîkâ).* One of his descendants, UZZI son of Bani, became chief officer of the Levites (Neh. 11:22). This Mica is probably the same as MICAIAH son of Zaccur, whose descendant, ZECHARIAH son of Jonathan, participated in the procession at the dedication of the wall (12:35).

(3) A Levite who affixed his seal to the covenant of NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:11). Because of the chronological differences, this Mica cannot be the same as #2 above, but some have speculated that the list is not authentic, that it is composed of names from other records, and that therefore Mica #2 was wrongly incorporated into the list of signatories (cf. *ABD,* 4:806).

**Micah** m*i*'kuh (מִיכָה *H4777,* short form of מִיכָיְהוּ *H4780,* "who is like Yahweh?"; cf. MICA, MICAIAH, MICHAEL). KJV also Michah. (1) An Ephraimite who set up an idolatrous shrine, and whose idols were used by the Danites when they resettled in LAISH (Jdg. 17–18; the first two occurrences of his name are given in the full form, *mîkāyāhû* [17:1, 4], but elsewhere *mîkâ).* Micah had stolen 1,100 pieces of silver from his mother, who pronounced a curse on the thief. He then returned the money to her, and she used 200 pieces of the silver to make "a carved image and a cast idol" (17:3; NRSV, "an idol of cast metal"), which were put in Micah's house. Micah also made an EPHOD and some TERAPHIM, and even made one of his sons priest of this shrine. Some time later, a Levite from BETHLEHEM (prob. the one identified as JONATHAN son of GERSHOM in 18:30), who was searching for a new place to live, stopped in Micah's house. In return for a salary and provisions, the Levite became Micah's priest. When five Danites in search of a new home for their tribe obtained a favorable oracle from the Levite, they returned with 600 armed men and offered him employment as

priest in their new tribal territory. They took with them Micah's ephod, teraphim, and the carved image. Micah was helpless to prevent this action. He pursued after them, but was warned that interference would cost him his goods and his life. Micah's idols became a shrine in the city of Laish. See DAN (PERSON AND TRIBE); DAN (PLACE). The story of Micah serves as striking evidence of the truth repeated several times in the book of Judges: "In those days Israel had no king; everyone did as he saw fit" (17:6).

(2) Son of MERIB-BAAL (MEPHIBOSHETH) and descendant of King SAUL through JONATHAN; he had four sons (1 Chr. 8:34–35; 9:40–41). He is also called MICA (2 Sam. 9:12).

(3) Son of Shimei, descendant of REUBEN through Joel, and ancestor of Beerah; the latter was a Reubenite leader who was taken into exile by the Assyrians under TIGLATH-PILESER (1 Chr. 5:4–6).

(4) Son of Uzziel and descendant of LEVI; he served during the latter part of DAVID's reign (1 Chr. 23:20; 24:24 –25).

(5) Son of Imlah (2 Chr. 18:14 Heb.); see MICAIAH #2.

(6) Father of Abdon, who was one of JOSIAH's messengers to HULDAH (2 Chr. 34:20); also called MICAIAH (2 Ki. 22:12).

(7) Son of Zicri (or Zabdi) and father of Mattaniah (1 Chr. 9:15 KJV; Neh. 11:17 Heb.); see MICA #2.

(8) Micah the MORASTHITE, prophet (Jer. 26:18; Mic. 1:1). See MICAH, BOOK OF.

A. K. HELMBOLD

**Micah, Book of.** Sixth book of the Minor Prophets. It is mentioned by Ben Sirach in a way that attests its early acceptance as part of sacred Scripture (Sir. 48:10).

**I. Background.** The prophet Micah ministered during the reigns of JOTHAM (742–735 B.C.), AHAZ (735–715), and HEZEKIAH (715–687; cf. Jer. 26:18). Since Mic. 6 is addressed to "Israel" and ch. 1 speaks of the downfall of SAMARIA, Micah's career evidently began sometime before the year 722. The great world power and constant threat to the security of the Hebrews was ASSYRIA, ruled by TIGLATH-PILESER III (745–727), SHALMA-NESER V (727–722), SARGON II (722–705), and SENNACHERIB (705–681). During the early part of Micah's life, the Syro-Ephraimitic war between Judah on the one side and the coalition of Israel and SYRIA (ARAM) on the other was waged. Part of the reason for the war was the refusal of Ahaz to join the alliance against Tiglath-Pileser. Micah saw the defeat of the northern kingdom and fall of Samaria to Assyria in 722/721. The close of his ministry probably came before the invasion of Sennacherib (2 Ki. 18:13), who besieged JERUSALEM in 701, a siege which occasioned the construction of the SILOAM tunnel.

Micah lived in Moresheth (see below, section III) (Mic. 1:1; Jer. 26:18), on the border between Judah and a "no-man's land" contested by Egypt, Assyria, and the Philistines. The latter's uprisings against Assyria in the period 721–711 were in full view. The incursions of Sargon II into the area between 715 and 711 may be referred to in Mic. 1:10–16. By paying tribute to the Assyrians, Ahaz had maintained an uneasy peace. During UZZIAH's long reign (ending in 742) and following, there was a period of comparative economic prosperity, occasioned in part by Judean control of an overland trade route to the port of ELATH (cf. 2 Ki. 14:7). This prosperity concentrated wealth and its concomitant power in the hands of a few and brought with it social injustices that the prophet castigated. It seems likely that the religious reforms instituted by King Hezekiah must have taken place near the end of Micah's recorded ministry, or that the reforms affected only the cult and had little impact upon the personal and social lives of the Judeans.

**II. Unity.** One of the first scholars to question the unity of Micah was Bernhard Stade (in *ZAW* 1 [1881]: 161–72, and 4 [1884]: 291–97), who contended that nothing beyond Mic. 3 was written by the prophet. Most modern scholars believe that chs. 4–7 are two (or more) miscellaneous collections later added as supplements, and are probably postexilic. Many modern scholars think there are genuine Michaean elements in chs. 4–7, but disagree on their extent. For example, W. J. Harrelson thinks a "good part" comes from Micah *(Interpreting the Old Testament* [1964], 361). Contrary to common opinion, S. Sandmel says all of ch. 7 is from Micah, observing that the hopeful tone of vv. 7–20 is against a late date (*The Hebrew Scriptures: An Introduction to Their Literature and Religious Ideas* [1963], 103). However, most scholars think that 7:7–20 (or 7:8–20) is probably exilic or later. The lack of agreement among critical scholars leaves their conclusions open to question.

There are substantial arguments for the unity of the book: (1) Three separate oracles are introduced by the word "hear" (Mic. 1:2; 3:1; 6:1). (2) The shifts in subject matter—thought by the critical scholars to indicate composite authorship—are explainable on the basis of the book's being a collection of fragments of oracles of the prophet rather than records of extended discourse. (3) The same image of the shepherd is found throughout the book (2:12; 3:2–3; 4:6; 5:3–5; 7:14). (4) The literary device of "interruption-answer" is found in each section (2:5, 12; 3:1; 6:6–8; 7:14–15). (5) There are frequent historical allusions or references throughout. (6) At least twenty-four passages from the other 8th-cent. prophets, Hosea, Amos, and Isaiah, as well as two from Joel (who may also be 8th cent.), are paralleled in Mic. 4–7, arguing for its composition in that century. Arguments against Micah's unity based on the usage of Isa. 40–66 in Mic. 4–7 are dubious because they beg the question of the date of Isa. 40–66 (cf. J. H. Raven, *Old Testament Introduction* [1906], 229–30).

**III. Authorship.** The prophet Micah was a native of MORESHETH (Mic. 1:1; Jer. 26:18), perhaps identical with MORESHETH GATH, a dependency of GATH (Mic. 1:14; cf. LXX, *klēronomias Geth*). Some have equated it with the ancient Greek place name, Marisa. The site is located in the area about modern Beit Jibrin, some 25 mi. SW of Jerusalem. JEROME located it just E of Jibrin; others have located it at Tell el-Judeideh (cf. E. G. Kraeling, *Rand McNally Bible Atlas,* 2nd ed. [1962], 301), or at Tell el-Menshiyeh, 6.5 mi. W of Beit Jibrin (cf. E. A. Leslie in *IDB,* 3:369). Moresheth is mentioned in Josh. 15:44; 2 Chr. 11:8; 14:9, 10; 20:37. Its location made it a frontier outpost, with military movements easily observable in the area. The Assyrians marched through in 734, 711, and 701, and met the Egyptians at nearby RAPHIA in 719. Hence, Micah's outlook was not that of an isolationist, but of one vitally concerned about his nation's foreign affairs. As a native of the SHEP-HELAH, he felt keenly the plight of poor country people.

Micah was a man of courage, conviction, and rare personal faith. His attributes have been summed up as follows: "Strict morality, unbending devotion to justice both in law and in action, sympathy with the poor, these are Micah's characteristics" (W. Nowack, *Die kleinen Propheten* [1897], 254). His main concern was the social injustice prevalent in his day. Such injustice, however, could be removed only by a religious revival. If men do not return to the Lord, there will be a visitation of God's avengers. Final hope is offered in the coming of the Messiah from BETHLEHEM.

**IV. Date.** Scholars disagree as to the exact dates of Micah's ministry. According to Mic. 1:1, he prophesied "during the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah, kings of Judah." Other than this general information (which some hold to be a later addition by a postexilic editor), the evidence is scanty and inferential. The content of ch. 6 would seem to indicate a date before 722 for that oracle. Jeremiah's

quotation of Mic. 3 (Jer. 26:18–19) would date that section during Hezekiah's reign. Micah's description of the prevailing corruption and immorality would fit conditions in the reign of Ahaz (735–715). It seems likely that the bulk of his recorded prophetic oracles were uttered in the period 725–710. Unless Hezekiah's reforms left social conditions untouched, his ministry must be placed before that revival. He prophesied against both the northern and southern kingdoms, but was chiefly concerned with the latter.

**V. Occasion and purpose.** Stemming from the poorer class, Micah was acutely aware of the injustices and avarice of the rich. While he was interested in the political affairs of his nation, it was only as they were connected with the religious and moral situation that Micah spoke to them. His message can be epitomized in his own words: "But as for me, I am filled with power, with the Spirit of the LORD, and with justice and might, to declare

A general view of the region around Bethlehem, where Micah prophesied that Messiah would be born (Mic. 5:2).

to Jacob his transgression, to Israel his sin" (Mic. 3:8). It is because of the sins of his people that God sends the Assyrians as his scourge. God's punishment is to be followed by a period of unparalleled blessing connected with the coming of the MESSIAH. For Micah, faith in Yahweh must issue in social justice and personal holiness because Yahweh is righteous and sovereign. The refusal of Ahaz to seek a sign (Isa. 7:12) and Hezekiah's payment of tribute to Assyria (2 Ki. 18:14–16) are examples of the lack of faith in Yahweh's protection on the part of the kings, a lack also evident among the commoners. Micah set forth God's complaint against his people (cf. Mic. 6) and announced certain punishment. However, God's mercy will finally prevail (cf. ch. 7).

**VI. Text.** Much of the Hebrew text of Micah seems to be quite well preserved, and the antiquity of the textual form preserved in the Masoretic tradition is confirmed by the Minor Prophets Scroll discovered at Wadi Murabbaʿat (Mur 88=MurXII) and by the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll discovered at Naḥal Ḥever (8ḤevXIIgr). Nevertheless, some passages in the book present significant textual difficulties, and the ancient versions, especially the SEPTUAGINT, are helpful in reconstructing

the original text.

**VII. Special problems.** Three special problems stand out in the study of the book of Micah. First, because of the abrupt transition, many scholars think Mic. 2:12–13 is out of place or is an interpolation. Among the explanations offered are the following: (a) These are the words of false prophets of hope (Ibn Ezra, Michaelis), or they are a marginal note by Micah or someone else giving the teaching of the false prophets (Ewald), or an interruption of Micah by a false prophet (Van Orelli). However, it would seem unique for a false prophet to admit the exile—they were prophets of false hopes. (b) The passage is a late, postexilic composition (J. M. P. Smith). (c) The passage is genuine and belongs in the context. (d) It continues the threat of v. 10, that is, Jacob is assembled for punishment (Kimchi, Ephraem Syrus, Theodoret, Calvin, Van Hoonaker). (e) The passage is genuine but out of place (Van Ryssel, Koenig, Driver). The simplest explanation seems to be that the passage is Micah's quotation of a false prophet who may be speaking of the remnant left by the Assyrians after 722.

The second problem is that of the relationship of the oracle found in Mic. 4:1–3 to the identical passage in Isa. 2:2–4. Most older scholars felt that Micah had borrowed from Isaiah. There is enough difference in the context and in the extent of the oracle to argue that both prophets made use of a "floating oracle" by an earlier prophet of hope. In Micah the oracle fits the context better than in Isaiah.

The third problem is the occurrence of the word BABYLON in Mic. 4:10. Those who deny the predictive element in prophecy explain the passage either as coming from a late date (after 605, when NEBUCHADNEZZAR's power was evident), or as a metonymy (with "Babylon" standing for Assyria).

**VIII. Content and outline.** Most scholars divide Micah into three major sections:

1. Yahweh's judgment upon Israel and Judah (Mic. 1–3)
    1. Judgment upon Samaria and Judah (ch. 1)
    2. Woe pronounced upon oppressors (2:1–11)
    3. Mercy upon a remnant (2:12–13; perhaps an interruption?)
    4. Denunciation of the heads of Jacob (ch. 3)
2. The vision of a glorious future (chs. 4–5)
    1. The character of the messianic kingdom (4:1–5)
    2. The establishment of the kingdom (4:6—5:1)
    3. The coming of the Davidic ruler (5:2–4)
    4. Judah blessed and judged in the kingdom (5:5–15)
3. Yahweh's controversy with his people and the promise of future blessings (ch. 6–7)
    1. The requirements of Yahweh's covenant (6:1–8)
    2. The sins of Judah denounced (6:9–16)
    3. The prophet's lamentation over social sins (7:1–6)
    4. The prophet's faith expressed in a liturgy of confession and trust (7:7–20)

Micah singled out the leaders, the civil rulers, and the false prophets for special denunciation (Mic. 3:1–7). He was concerned with Samaria and Jerusalem, the capitals of the northern and southern kingdoms, for there power was centralized, and from these centers injustice flowed forth. Among the sins he castigated were the following: (a) Idolatry was to be destroyed (Mic. 1:1–7, cf. 2

Ki. 16:10–18). (b) The nobility were seizing the fields of the poor (Mic. 2:2). (c) They disregarded inheritance rights (Mic. 2:4–5; cf. Lev. 25:8–13; Num. 27:11; Deut. 27:17). (d) Even tourists were robbed (Mic. 2:8). (e) Widows were evicted (Mic. 2:9; cf. Exod. 22:22; Deut. 27:19; Isa. 1:17). (f) The ultimate in sin was the practice of human sacrifice (Mic. 6:7; cf. 2 Ki. 16:3–4). This rite was not unknown in the time of Ahaz, nor during the reign of MANASSEH, whose accession probably was after Micah's lifetime.

The preaching of AMOS, HOSEA, and ISAIAH is summarized in the famous saying of Mic. 6:8: "He has showed you, O man, what is good. And what does the LORD require of you? To act justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with your God." Amos was the prophet of justice (Amos 5:24), Hosea spoke of mercy (Hos. 6:6), while Isaiah called upon his people to live in communion with Yahweh (Isa. 6:5). Probably the most outstanding example of the so-called *rîb* or lawsuit oracle (from the Heb. verb *rîb H8189,* "to dispute, plead a case") is found in Mic. 6:1–8. The *rîb* pattern may be based on the formal features of human covenants. Heaven and earth are called to witness (Deut. 32:1, 5; Ps. 50:4; Isa. 1:2; Ezek. 6:2–3).

Among the predictive passages in the book are Mic. 1:3–5 and 3:12, both foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem, and 4:10, which promises the rescue of God's people from Babylon. The passage in 5:2 promising the ruler to come from BETHLEHEM should perhaps be interpreted as referring to the dynasty of DAVID rather than to a geographical location. One notable feature of the content of the book is the long passage in 1:10–16, which is replete with typical Hebrew paronamasia (for attempts at rendering these paronomasiae into English, see esp. F. W. Farrar, *The Minor Prophets* [1890]; J. Moffatt, *A New Translation of the Bible* [1930]; and L. Smith in *Int* 6 [1952]: 210–27).

(Important commentaries include J. Calvin, *Commentaries on the Twelve Minor Prophets,* 5 vols. [1846–49, orig. 1557], 149–409; G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets* [1896]; J. M. P. Smith, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Micah* [bound with other minor prophets], ICC [1911]; G. L. Robinson, *The Twelve Minor Prophets* [1926]; T. F. K. Laetsch, *The Minor Prophets* [1956]; L. C. Allen, *Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, and Micah,* NICOT [1976]; J. L. Mays, *Micah,* OTL [1976]; D. R. Hillers, *Micah,* Hermeneia [1984]; R. L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi,* WBC 32 [1984]; H. W. Wolff, *Micah: A Commentary* [1990]; T. J. Findley, *Joel, Obadiah, Micah* [1996]; B. K. Waltke in *The Minor Prophets: An Exegetical and Expository Commentary,* ed. T. McComiskey [1992–98], 2:591–764; R. Kessler, *Micha,* HTKAT [1999]; K. L. Barker and W. Bailey, *Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah,* NAC 20 [1998]; W. McKane, *The Book of Micah: Introduction and Commentary* [1998]; F. I. Andersen and D. N. Freedman, *Micah: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary,* AB 24E [2000]; B. K. Waltke, A *Commentary on Micah* [2007]. See also B. Renaud, *La formation du livre de Michée: tradition et actualisation* [1977]; D. G. Hagstrom, *The Coherence of the Book of Micah: A Literary Analysis* [1988]; C. S. Shaw, *The Speeches of Micah: A Rhetorical-Historical Analysis* [1993]; E. Ben Zvi, *Micah,* FOTL 21B [2000]; M. R. Jacobs, *The Conceptual Coherence of the Book of Micah* [2001]; J. A.Wagenaar, *Judgement and Salvation: The Composition and Redaction of Micah 2–5* [2001]; and the bibliography compiled by W. E. *Mills, Jonah-Micah* [2002].)

A. K. HELMBOLD

**Micaiah** mi-kay'yuh (מִיכָיָה *H4779* [2 Ki. 22:12; Neh. 12:35, 41], מִיכָיָהוּ *H4780* [2 Chr. 17:7], elsewhere מִיכָיְהוּ *H4781,* "who is like Yahweh?"; cf. MICA, MICAH, MICHAEL). KJV also Michaiah.

(1) An Ephraimite (Jdg. 17:1, 4, Heb.); see MICAH #1.

(2) Son of Imlah, prophet (1 Ki. 22:8–26; 2 Chr. 18:7–25 [in v. 14 the Heb. has the short form *mîkâ]).* This man performed a deed which took great courage and unwavering faith in the Lord as God. AHAB and his idolatrous wife JEZEBEL were determined to suppress those who called for the worship of Yahweh only. About this time Ahab sought to regain control of the frontier city R AMOTH GILEAD from his old enemy BEN-HADAD, the Aramean. For that purpose he sought and needed the assistance of JEHOSHAPHAT king of Judah. On the occasion of a formal state visit, Ahab put the question bluntly to the Judean king and was given an affirmative answer, but with the condition that they inquire of the Lord his will in the matter (1 Ki. 22:4–5).The king of Israel obligingly gathered 400 prophets, presumably prophets of the Lord (Yahweh) and asked, "Shall I go to war against Ramoth Gilead, or shall I refrain?" They all gave this wicked man the answer he wanted to hear, "Go…for the LORD will give it into the king's hand" (v. 6). One of them even acted out the victory with a set of iron horns (v. 11).

Jehoshaphat sensed their perfidy and asked for a true prophet of the Lord. Ahab responded, "There is still one man through whom we can inquire of the LORD, but I hate him because he never prophesies anything good about me, but always bad" (1 Ki. 22:8). Jehoshaphat insisted, so Micaiah was summoned. The messenger warned Micaiah to conform, but the prophet responded (as Luther would many centuries later at Worms), "As surely as the LORD lives, I can tell him only what the LORD tells me" (v. 14).

When questioned, this true prophet began by giving an affirmative answer in obvious contempt (1 Ki. 22:15). Ahab sensed that he was being mocked and called for the truth, whence Micaiah painted two word pictures in unmistakable clarity. The first showed Israel as a scattered flock without a shepherd, and the second depicted the council of heaven with the Lord seated on his throne and before all the host of heaven, one of whom volunteered to become a lying spirit in the mouth of Ahab's prophets. (The picture is similar to Job 1 –2, where Satan, the Accuser, stands before the Lord and presses for permission to attack JOB.) The prophecy had such forcefulness that the same false prophet who had demonstrated with iron horns, Zedekiah son of Kenaanah, smote Micaiah on the cheek and accused him of being the false one. Jehoshaphat, a good but weak man, said nothing; but Ahab had had enough and might well have taken the bold prophet's life if Jehoshaphat had not been present. Instead he returned Micaiah to prison to be fed on bread and water. As Micaiah was led away he drove his darts of truth in deeper by warning that if Ahab came back from the battle alive then the Lord had not spoken by him (v. 28).

Although Ahab had rejected Micaiah's words by declaring he would come again in peace (1 Ki. 22:27), yet the words so lingered in his mind that he disguised himself as he went into battle. The Scripture makes clear that wholly by the Lord these words were fulfilled. The Arameans could not find Ahab to kill him, but an archer simply shot an unaimed arrow into the air and when it descended it hit Ahab in a small unprotected spot between his scale armor and breastplate. The king fell mortally wounded, and Micaiah's prophecy was vindicated (cf. Deut. 18:22). (See E. J. Young, *My Servants the Prophets [1961], 136–42.)*

(3) Mother of King ABIJAH of Judah (2 Chr. 13:2 NRSV; KJV, "Michaiah"; NIV, "Maacah," following some versional evidence). See MAACAH #9.

(4) One of five officials sent by King JEHO-SHAPHAT "to teach in the towns of Judah" (2 Chr. 17:7).

(5) Son of Zaccur and father of Mattaniah; his descendant, ZECHARIAH son of Jonathan, participated in the procession at the dedication of the wall (Neh. 12:35). See MICA #2.

(6) A priest who played the trumpet at the dedication of the wall (Neh. 12:41).

(7) Father of Acbor; the latter was one of JOSIAH's messengers to HULDAH (2 Ki. 22:12); also called MICAH (2 Chr. 34:20).

(8) Son of GEMARIAH, grandson of SHAPHAN, and a contemporary of JEREMIAH (Jer. 36:11, 13). Micaiah carried Jeremiah's message to the princes gathered at the palace of King JEHOIAKIM. The princes then called for the sermon to be read to them. Some have proposed that this Micaiah is the same as #7 above (see the discussion in *ABD,* 4:810–11).

E. B. SMICK

**mice.** See MOUSE.

**Mkha** m*i*'kuh. KJV alternate form of MICAH.

**Michael** m*i*'kay-uhl, m*i*'kuhl (מִיכָאֵל *H4776,* "who is like God?" [cf. MICAIAH]; Μιχαήλ *G3640*). (1) Father of Sethur, who was one of the twelve spies sent out to reconnoiter the Promised Land; he represented the tribe of ASHER (Num. 13:13).

(2) Son of Abihail; he was one of seven relatives from the tribe of GAD who occupied the region E of GILEAD (1 Chr. 5:13; cf. vv. 10, 14).

(3) Son of Jeshishai and ancestor of #2 above (1 Chr. 5:14).

(4) Son of Baaseiah, descendant of LEVI through GERSHON, and great-grandfather of ASAPH the singer (1 Chr. 6:40).

(5) Son of Izrahiah and descendant of ISSACHAR; a military chief (1 Chr. 7:3).

(6) Son of Beriah and descendant of BENJAMIN, listed among the heads of families living in postexilic Jerusalem (1 Chr. 8:16; cf. v. 28). His father and uncle, however, are described as "heads of families of those living in Aijalon and who drove out the inhabitants of Gath" (v. 13).

(7) One of several warriors from the tribe of MANASSEH who joined DAVID at ZIKLAG; they are described as "leaders of units of a thousand" (1 Chr. 12:20).

(8) Father of Omri; the latter was an officer over the tribe of ISSACHAR during the reign of David (1 Chr. 27:18).

(9) Son of JEHOSHAPHAT, king of Judah (1 Chr. 21:2). He and his brothers received a very generous inheritance (v. 3). Jehoshaphat's firstborn, JEHORAM, killed all his brothers when he became king (v. 4).

(10) Descendant of Shephatiah; his son Zebadiah was one of the family heads who returned to Jerusalem with EZRA (Ezra 8:8; 1 Esd. 8:34).

(11) An angel. See MICHAEL THE ARCHANGEL.

J. E. ROSSCUP

**Michael the archangel** m*i*'kay-uhl, m*i*'kuhl (מִיכָאֵל *H4776,* "who is like God?" [cf. MICAIAH]; Μιχαήλ *G3640).* The book of DANIEL refers to Michael as a (great) prince (Dan. 10:13, 21; 12:1). The NT refers to him as "the archangel Michael" (Jude 9) and elsewhere speaks of "Michael and his angels" (Rev. 12:7). See ANGEL. Paul does not expressly mention Michael but makes reference to "the archangel" (1 Thess. 4:16; the Bible never uses the pl. "archangels"). The Bible also names GABRIEL as an important angel (Dan. 8:16; 9:21; Lk. 1:19, 26). The pseudepigraphic book of 1 *Enoch* names Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Uriel (9.1; 40.9), and numbers archangels at seven (20.1–7; cf. Tob. 12:15). Among the DEAD SEA SCROLLS, the *War Scroll gives* attention to Michael and other angels (e.g., 1QM IX, 15–16; for other extrabiblical references, see *ABD,* 4:811).

Daniel distinctly relates Michael to Israel as prince and guardian over the destinies of that nation (Dan. 10:21; 12:1). During Israel's unprecedented "time of distress" (12:1; cf. Jer. 30:7; Matt. 24:21), Michael will be active for her welfare when Satan is seeking to destroy her (Rev. 12:7–9). This seems to be at the outset of the last part of the tribulation period. J. A. Seiss likens Michael to a general who has his officers and soldiers, though all are under the king, who in this case is Christ *(The Apocalypse,* 15th ed. [n.d.], 305–7; there is no proof that Michael is Christ, as some contend).

Jude 9 speaks of Michael resisting the devil, but committing the judgment of him to the Lord. The dispute involved the body of MOSES. Specific background for this, nowhere mentioned in the OT, may have been known by 1st-cent. readers because of written or oral traditions. ORIGEN (*On First Principles* 3.2.1) supposed it was taken from a pseudepigraphical writing, "The Ascension of Moses" (see MOSES, ASSUMPTION OF). R. H. Charles lists other parallels between this work and Jude (*APOT,* 2:412–13). If Jude did use such a source, the Spirit enabled him to discern as fact what really was true in it. One explanation of Jude 9 is that the devil sought to deny honorable burial to Moses' body when he died (Deut. 34) on the ground that he was a murderer (Exod. 2), and that Michael contended for the body (see other traditions cited by R. Wolff, *The General Epistles of James and Jude* [1970]).

The Jehovah's Witnesses group claims that Christ is not God but only an exalted angel, namely Michael. E. W. Hengstenberg *(Christology of the Old Testament,* 2nd ed., 4 vols. [1858–68], 4:266–71) and some other Protestants have identified Michael with the glorious man dressed in linen (Dan. 10:5–6) and also with the "angel of the Lord" and then Christ. They, however, uphold the DEITY OF CHRIST. Hengstenberg distinguished the one who *appears* in linen (10:5) from the one who *speaks* to Daniel (10:10–14), equating the latter with Gabriel. C. F. Keil reasons—on what this writer considers better grounds—that the one in linen is more naturally also the one who speaks (KD, *Daniel,* 411–14). From this he goes on to view this one in linen, distinct from Michael (10:13, 21), as the angel of the Lord seen in other OT passages (Gen. 18:22; 19:1; Zech. 3:1–10; et al.). The

description here fits that of the Lord (Ezek. 1:26–28; Rev. 1:13–16). So to Keil and a host of others he is the preincarnate Christ, while Michael is a high angel. Another possibility, followed by O. Zöckler (in J. P. Lange, *A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures,* 25 vols. [1865 – 80], 7:232 – 33) and many scholars, is that the one in linen is an angel of high rank who cannot be identified by name —not the angel Michael and not Christ. (See further E. W. Hengstenberg, *Christology of the Old Testament* [1854–56], 4:266–271; *DDD,* 569–72.)

J. E. ROSSCUP

**Michah** m*i*'kuh. KJV alternate form of MICAH.

**Michaiah** m*i*-kay'yuh. KJV alternate form of MICAIAH.

**Michal** m*i*'kuhl (מִיכַל *H4783,* short form of מִיכָאֵל *H4776,* "who is like God?" [see MICHAEL]). Younger daughter of SAUL and wife of DAVID. After the slaying of GOLIATH, David's growing popularity with the people so angered Saul (1 Sam. 18:6–7) that the king began to seek ways of destroying him. Saul's scheming mind first hit upon the idea of offering him MERAB, his oldest daughter in marriage, hinting that all the dowry he would require would be his valor in fighting the PHILISTINES, but secretly hoping that David would fall by the hand of the enemy (18:17–18). David did not take the hint, but excused himself on the ground of his lack of wealth and his family status. The king did not press the matter and Merab was given to ADRIEL, but Saul continued to scheme.

Then one day, when the news came to him that Michal, his younger daughter, loved David, an idea took fire in his brain (1 Sam. 18:20–21). He offered Michal in marriage to him, stipulating that the requirement would be the foreskins of one hundred Philistines. Saul was confident that his rival would be slain, but instead, David killed two hundred Philistines. He merely gained greater popularity out of the affair, married Michal, and continued to annoy the king. The young couple seemed suited to each other, and when Saul conceived another dastardly plan to kill David, Michal shrewdly thwarted her father's scheme and saved David's life (19:10–17). When David finally was forced to flee for his life and became an outlaw with a price on his head, Saul gave Michal to PALTIEL, son of Laish (25:44).

Years later, when Saul was dead and David was negotiating with ABNER to obtain the entire kingdom, his first requirement was that Michal should be returned to him (2 Sam. 3:12–16). Abner complied with his request, and despite the grief of Paltiel, Michal again became the wife of David. It seemed that the old rapport between the two was gone. It is possible that to David, who was now a successful man with many wives and enormous responsibility, she was no longer attractive. It may be that the inevitable difference between the boy-husband of Michal's earlier years and the mature and occupied warrior of her later life was too much for her to take. Suffice it to say that her stinging criticism in the episode of moving the ARK OF THE COVENANT to Jerusalem (6:16, 20–23) destroyed what little regard he may have had left for her in his heart. Michal's romance with David, its bright beginning and its sorrowful ending, is a telling reflection of the fortunes of the house of Saul as found in 1 and 2 Samuel. In addition, she suffered the worst fate a Hebrew woman could sustain—she died childless. The only other mention of her name is probably the error of a scribe who mistakenly wrote Michal when he should have written Merab (21:8 KJV). (On the literary qualities of the story see R. Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* [1981], 118–26; J. P. Fokkelman, *Narrative Art and Poetry in the Books of Samuel, 4* vols. [1981–93], 2:209–47.)

C. P. GRAY

**Micheas** mik'ee-uhs. KJV Apoc. form of MICAH (2 Esd. 1:39).

**Michmas, Michmash** mik'mas, mik'mash. See MICMASH.

**Michmethah, Michmethath** mik'mu-thuh, –thath. See MICMETHATH.

**Michri** mik'r*i*. See MICRI.

**michtam** mik'tam. KJV form of MIKTAM.

**Micmash** mik'mash (מִכְמָס *H4820* [only Ezra 2:27; Neh.7:31] and מִכְמָשׂ *H4825*, possibly "hidden place"). TNIV Mikmash; other versions have Michmas or Michmash (the final consonant in both Hebrew forms is properly represented in English with *s* and not with *sh,* but the latter has become traditional). The name of a town and of a pass c. 6 mi. SE of BETHEL. The town apparently was not a large enough town to warrant mention in the list of Benjamite cities. Its only real claim to fame is in the battle that was fought there by SAUL and JONATHAN against the PHILISTINES (1 Sam. 13:1—14:35). The town does receive mention in the postexilic period. EZRA records that 122 men of Micmash returned from exile (Ezra 2:27; cf. Neh. 7:31; 11:31; the parallel in 1 Esd. 5:21 has *Makalōn,* "Macalon," perhaps through the misreading of a Gk. uncial M for ΑΛ). After the siege of BETHBASI, Jonathan MACCABEE settled in Micmash, which may have served as a competitor with JERUSALEM for the allegiance of the people (1 Macc. 9:73; cf. Jos. *Ant*. 13.1.6).

Biblical Micmash is modern Khirbet el-Hara el-Fawqa, just N of the Arab town of Mukhmas. It is reached by the road that goes E from the main highway at RAMAH. South of Mukhmas less than a mile is the narrow canyon of the Wadi es-Suweiniṭ, a deep ravine that joins the Wadi Qelt and empties into the Jordan near JERICHO. To the SW of Micmash is GEBA, situated on another hill.

A knowledge of this geography is helpful in understanding the battle of Micmash as recorded in 1 Sam. 13–14. Saul had been camped at Micmash with 2,000 soldiers while his son Jonathan was at GIBEAH (perhaps here one should read GEBA, less than 2 mi. SW of Micmash) with another 1,000. Jonathan had reached Geba after routing the Philistines. When they retaliated by rushing on Micmash, Saul fled eastward to GILGAL and his

Micmash.

Jonathan, creeping through the canyon of Wadi es-Suweiniṭ in the distance (view to the ESE), surprised the Philistine outpost at Micmash (foreground).

men scattered—some even across the Jordan. The Philistines did not pursue, but waited at the pass of Micmash, which was easily defended. At Gilgal, SAMUEL shamed Saul into going back and fighting. So with 600 men out of the original 2,000, Saul joined forces with Jonathan at Geba (13:15). The Philistines accepted the challenge and split into three companies, with a garrison guarding the pass at Micmash (13:17–23).

The weak character of Saul continues to show as he remains under the pomegranate tree (1 Sam. 14:2) while Jonathan plots to defeat the Philistines. Jonathan took his armor-bearer, made his way across the pass, and scaled the precipitous N wall in front of Micmash. The two of them made a surprise attack on the garrison and killed twenty men (14:14). This threw the whole Philistine army into panic and they raced westward to escape. It was then that Saul and his men joined in the chase and "the LORD rescued Israel that day, and the battle moved on beyond Beth Aven" (14:23). There were Philistine casualties all the way from Micmash to AIJALON (14:31). All the geographical details of the battle fit the area around Mukhmas; the land is rough and hilly, and the pass or canyon leading SE fits the description in the Bible, as well as that in JOSEPHUS (*Ant*. 6.6.2).

In a vivid account of an Assyrian or Syro-Ephraimitic attack on Jerusalem, Isaiah mentions Micmash. "They enter Aiath; / they pass through Migron; / they store supplies at Micmash. / They go over the pass, and say, / 'We will camp overnight at Geba.' / Ramah trembles; / Gibeah of Saul flees" (Isa. 10:28–29). Perhaps to facilitate mobility, the heavy noncombat equipment was stored some distance from the Assyrians' objective. (See E. Kraeling, *Bible Atlas* [1956], 180–82; P. K. McCarter, Jr., *I Samuel,* AB 8 [1980], 224–42, esp. map on 231; *ABD,* 4:814–15.)

R. L. ALDEN

**Micmethath** mik'muh-thath (מִכְמְתָת *H4826* [used with the definite article], meaning unknown). KJV Michmetha; NRSV Michmethath. A town or geographical feature that served to define the boundary between the tribes of EPHRAIM and MANASSEH (Josh. 16:6; 17:7). The latter passage locates Micmethath E of SHECHEM, but its location is uncertain. Proposals include Khirbet Makhneh el-Foqa (Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], 257; this site, however, is c. 2.5 mi. SSW of Shechem), Khirbet Juleijil (L. H. Grollenberg, *Atlas of the Bible*

[1965], 157 and map 11 on p. 59), and others (cf. Z. Kallai, *Historical Geography of the Bible* [1986], 150–51).

S. WOUDSTRA

**Micri** mik'r*i* (מִכְרִי *H4840,* perhaps "recompense"). Also Michri; TNIV Mikri. Descendant of BENJAMIN and grandfather (or more distant ancestor) of Elah; the latter is listed among the first Benjamites who resettled in Jerusalem (1 Chr. 9:8; LXX *Machir,* cf. MAKIR).

**Middin** mid'uhn (מִדִּין *H4516,* meaning unknown). A town allotted to the tribe of JUDAH in the desert (Josh. 15:61). It was apparently between BETH ARABAH and SECACAH, but its location is uncertain. Many identify it with modern Khirbet Abu Tabaq, some 10.5 mi. ESE of JERUSALEM, in el-Buqeʿah (the Valley of ACHOR). See SALT, CITY OF.

**Middle Gate.** A gate in JERUSALEM where the officials of NEBUCHADNEZZAR gathered after they had captured the city (Jer. 39:3; the LXX reads "Middle Gate" also in 2 Chr. 23:5, where the Heb. has FOUNDATION GATE). Nothing else is known about the Middle Gate, although its name possibly suggests that it was located at some point between the upper and lower sections of Jerusalem.

**Midian** mid'ee-uhn (מִדְיָן *H4518,* derivation unknown; gentilic מִדְיָנִי *H4520,* "Midianite"). Son of ABRAHAM and KETURAH, and eponymous ancestor of a people group that lived E and SE of CANAAN.

**I. The biblical record.** The name of the country and the people who comprised it come from a forefather named Midian. After SARAH and HAGAR, Abraham took another wife whose name was Keturah. She bore him Zimran, Jokshan, Medan, Midian, Ishbak, and Shuah (Gen. 25:1–2; 1 Chr. 1:32). The sons of Midian were Ephah, Epher, Hanoch, Abida, and Eldaah (Gen. 25:4, 1 Chr. 1:33). Abraham sent all his concubines' sons away "to the land of the east" (Gen. 25:6). Nothing else is known about the person Midian. See also MEDAN.

Midian as the name of a country or people occurs first in Gen. 36:35, which records that an Edomite king, Hadad son of Bedad, "defeated Midian in the country of Moab." We also read that the traders who took JOSEPH out of the pit and sold him to the Ishmaelites were Midianites (37:28, cf. v. 36, where the Heb. has *mĕdānîm,* "Medanites," probably an alternate form or a misspelling of *midyānîm).* The land of Midian played an important part in the life of MOSES, who fled there from PHARAOH (Exod. 2:15). He met and eventually was employed by Reuel (or JETHRO), a priest of Midian who had seven daughters (2:16–22). One of these Midianite women, ZIPPORAH, became his wife. It was while Moses was watching Jethro's flocks that he came to Horeb, the mountain of God (3:1; see SINAI, MOUNT).

Mention of Midian does not occur again until the wilderness wanderings, when the Israelites passed through MOAB, which bordered on Midian. To protect themselves, the elders of Moab and Midian hired BALAAM to pronounce a curse on Israel (Num. 22:4–7). Relations between Israel and Midian further deteriorated after a Hebrew man married a Midianite woman (25:6). This caused a plague which ceased only when the offenders were killed. The summary comment of Moses on Midian was, "Treat the Midianites as enemies and kill them, because they treated you as enemies when they deceived you in the affair of Peor and their sister Cozbi, the daughter of a Midianite leader, the woman who was killed when the plague came as a result of Peor" (25:17–18). The Lord

further instructed the Israelites to take vengeance on Midian (31:1–4). Even though five chapters of genealogy and legislation intervene between this and the previous episode, it seems to come as a result of that international marriage. Israel was victorious in the battle that God prompted them to begin. They slew every male and five Midianite kings, Evi, Rekem, Zur, Hur, and Reba (31:7–8; cf. Jdg. 13:21). They also killed Balaam. The people spared all the women, but Moses ordered that only the unmarried of them should live (Num. 31:14–18).

The Lord raised up GIDEON the judge in order to overthrow the Midianite yoke that had been on Israel for seven years (Jdg. 6:1). The Midianites clearly were waging an offensive war, for they had moved across to the W bank of the JORDAN and were encamped in the Valley of JEZREEL (6:33). It was in that valley that the Lord routed the enemy with Gideon and one hundred torch-bearing trumpeters (7:19–25). Two of the Midianite princes, ZEBAH AND ZALMUNNA, played a major role in the sequel to the battle in Jdg. 8. Oreb and Zeeb had been captured and killed, but these other two escaped to TRANSJORDAN. Gideon received no support nor encouragement from the towns of Succoth or Penuel and so cursed and punished them when he finally returned triumphantly (8:16–17). This victory over the Midianites at Jezreel was memorialized by the prophet Isaiah. "The LORD Almighty will lash them with a whip, / as when he struck down Midian at the rock of Oreb" (Isa. 10:26; cf. 9:4; Ps. 83:9; Hab. 3:7).

**II. The land of Midian.** The boundaries of the land of Midian are very indefinite. The general comment of Gen. 25:6 that it was simply to the E could mean anything or everything all the way from Mount HERMON to the EUPHRATES and S to the Arabian peninsula, and perhaps include the Sinai peninsula. All of this is rugged desert country. Most scholars limit the term *Midian* to N Hejaz, that part of ARABIA E of the Gulf of AQABAH. The ancient geographer Ptolemy knew of a *Madiana* (*Geogr.* 6.7.27), which is probably the *Madiam* mentioned by EUSEBIUS (*Onom.* 136.31). It may be the modern el-Bed, 26 mi. E of the Gulf of Aqabah. The city *Madianē* mentioned by JOSEPHUS was on the coast of this same gulf (part of the RED SEA, *Ant.* 2.11.1 §257).

**III. The people of Midian.** Although the Midianites were descendants of Abraham through his wife Keturah, they never were considered part of the COVENANT people of God. The hospitality of Jethro to Moses is commendable, but beyond that the Midianites were a people hostile to Israel.

Being desert people, their existence was nomadic. When some of them picked up Joseph, it was typical of their way of life—trading, traveling, and troubling others. Most BEDOUIN know no boundaries, and apparently these Midianites knew none either (although some scholars believe that the Midianite society was well organized and predated bedouin culture; cf. G. Mendenhall in *ABD,* 4:815–18). They were present as far N as Moab according to Gen. 36:35. If Horeb is in SINAI, then they were SW of ELATH (Num. 10:29). They were "beyond the Jordan" in the vicinity of the plains of Moab (Num. 25; 31). They could be found even in the area S of GALILEE in Cisjordan when Gideon routed them (Jdg. 6–8). Recent archaeological evidence, however, suggests that the Midianites built an impressive culture in the Hejaz beginning in the 13th cent. B.C. Surveys of the region have revealed numerous towns, including walled cities, painted pottery, irrigation systems, and mining. It is thought that the Midianites must have traded with Egypt, Asia Minor, and the Aegean.

Twice in the book of Judges, Moses' father-in-law is called a KENITE (Jdg. 1:16; 4:11). Viewpoints differ as to the relationship between Midianites and Kenites. Some say they are synonymous terms, others that the Kenites were a part or a clan of the Midianites (cf. Num. 24:21). The etymology or origin of the name *Kenite* is uncertain, although many think it means "smith." The

Kenites lasted much longer than the Midianites. They receive mention in the times of DAVID (1 Sam. 27:10; 30:29) and even into the times of JEREMIAH (Jer. 35; cf. 1 Chr. 2:55). There they are a religious order. On the other hand, Moses apparently made the Midianites

The general location of the Midianites.

extinct when he slaughtered all but the young girls (Num.31:13–20).

**IV. Archaeology and Midian.** Since nomads build no cities, and since no Midianite city name is even known, archaeologists have little with which to work. Surveys of N Arabia have been made, but

A worship site at the copper mines of Timnah dedicated to the Midianite and Egyptian deity Hathor.

nothing noteworthy has come to light. The only relationship one can draw is between the name of the Haiappu tribe in the lists of TIGLATH-PILESER III and EPHAH, one of the sons of Midian (Gen. 25:4). According to the Assyrian record, that tribe paid taxes in gold, silver, camels, and spices. Isaiah

connects the names Midian, Ephah, and SHEBA (Isa. 60:6); in the Assyrian record the Haiappu occur with the Sabeans (i.e., Sheba). (See further J. Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible* [1934]; H. H. Rowley, *From Joseph to Joshua* [1948], 152–53; J. F. A. Sawyer and D.J. A. Clines, eds., *Midian, Moab, and Edom: The History and Archaeology of Late Bronze and Iron Age Jordan and Northwest Arabia* [1983]; E. A. Knauf, *Midian: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Palästinas und Nordarabiens am Ende des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.* [1988].)

R. L. ALDEN

**midrash** mid'rash. Plural *midrashim*. The Hebrew term *midrāš H4535* ("study, writing, story," from the verb *dāraš H2011,* "to search, examine, inquire") occurs only twice in the OT. Reference is made to the midrash (NIV, "annotations") of the prophet IDDO for additional information concerning Abijah (2 Chr. 13:22; NRSV, "story") and to the midrash on "the book of the kings" (24:27; NRSV, "Commentary"). These midrashim may have been historical records themselves or commentaries on the historical narratives, but the precise meaning is debated (for the options, *see ABD,* 4:818–19).

The term is very common, however, in rabbinic literature, where it refers to the elucidation and exposition of the Bible. This type of exegesis is dated back to EZRA, who "had devoted himself to the study [*lidrôš*] and observance of the Law of the LORD, and to teaching its decrees and laws in Israel" (Ezra 7:10). When the exiles returned from Babylonia, they accepted the TORAH as their sole authority, and it became necessary to interpret the law in terms of the specifics of new situations. (The understanding of midrash as an attempt to actualize the biblical text and make it relevant is emphasized by R. Bloch in *DBSup* 5:1263–80. Various other definitions have been offered, and unfortunately the term is often used very loosely.) Furthermore, if the Torah alone was binding, all traditional customs and practices had to receive the sanction of the written law to have authority. Later, when the literalists (the SADDUCEES) sought to deny the validity of the oral law (see MISHNAH), those who sought justification for the oral law (the PHARISEES) did so through expositions (midrashim) of the written law.

The term *midrash* (esp. when capitalized) can also refer more specifically to a type of literature consisting of biblical exposition. Thus the Midrashim are rabbinic commentaries on the Bible. These works sometimes address detailed issues of exegesis, but their primary purpose is religious edification. There are two types of Midrashim: halakic (or halachic) and haggadic. The Hebrew noun *hălākâ* (lit., "walk") refers to "law, ruling, tradition" (see HALAKAH); thus the halakic Midrashim sought to explain more fully the biblical law, applying the principle of the biblical legislation to particulars, resolving apparent contradictions, and so on. The term *haggādâ* means "story, narration," and the haggadic Midrashim used a freer method of interpretation, focusing on ethics and devotion (see HAGGADAH). The latter is rather homiletical in that it seeks to exhort rather than legislate. It is important to note, however, that both halakic and haggadic material are found in almost all the Midrashim.

These expositions were transmitted orally for generations before they were written down. The earliest written halakic Midrashim can be dated to the second cent. A.D. The most important among them are the *Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael* (Aram. *měkiltă)* means "collection of [halakic] rules, treatise"), which deals with portions of Exodus; the *Sifra* (or *Sipra,* "book"), which comments on every verse of Leviticus; and the *Sifre* (or *Sipre,* "books"), two works that cover most of Numbers and Deuteronomy. The most important haggadic Midrashim are *Midrash Rabba* (a collection that includes expositions of the whole PENTATEUCH and the five MEGILLOTH: Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther); the *Tanḥuma* (homilies to the whole Pentateuch); and the *Pesikta*

*de Rab Kanana* (homilies concerning the holy days and other special occasions). These writings became source books of preaching for the rabbis.

(See further A. G. Wright, *The Literary Genre Midrash* [1967]; G. G. Porton, *Understanding Rabbinic Midrash: Text and Commentary* [1985]; H. L. Strack and G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* [1992], part 3; A. Yadin, *Scripture as Logos: Rabbi Ishmael and the Origins of Midrash* [2004]; J. Neusner and A. J. Avery-Peck, eds., *Encyclopaedia of Midrash: Biblical Interpretation in Formative Judaism, 2* vols. [2005].)

W. B. COKER

**midwife.** A woman who helps in childbirth (Heb. *měyalledet,* piel ptc. *of yālad H3528,* "to give birth"). A midwife may often have been an older relative or friend of the family. Some of her duties included cutting the umbilical cord, washing the baby with water, rubbing it with salt, and wrapping it in swaddling clothes (cf. Ezek. 16:4). A midwife was with RACHEL at the birth of BENJAMIN (Gen. 35:17–18). When twins were born to TAMAR, the midwife put a scarlet thread on the firstborn so that it might be known which was the older (38:28). The pharaoh of Egypt ordered the midwives, Shiphrah and Puah, to kill the Hebrew boy babies, but to let the girls live (Exod. 1:15–16). The midwives disobeyed the king, however, and when rebuked replied, "Hebrew women are not like Egyptian women; they are vigorous and give birth before the midwives arrive" (v. 19). The "birthstool" referred to in this passage is illustrated on the walls of the palace of Luxor, in Upper Egypt, where a painting shows Queen Mautmes sitting on a stool giving birth to a child while two midwives chafe her hands (however, see BIRTHSTOOL). Midwives probably are referred to also in 1 Sam. 4:20 and Ruth 4:14–15.

J. L. KELSO

**Migdal Eder** mig'duhl-ee'duhr. See EDER (PLACE) #1.

**Migdal El** mig'duhl-el' (מִגְדַּל־אֵל *H4466,* "tower of God"). Also Migdal-el. A fortified city within the tribal territory of NAPHTALI (Josh. 19:38). It was apparently in the vicinity of IRON in N GALILEE, but its precise location is unknown.

**Migdal Gad** mig'duhl-gad' (מִגְדַּל־גָּד *H4467,* "tower of Gad [fortune]"). A town in the SHEPHELAH, within the tribal territory of JUDAH (Josh. 15:37). It is tentatively identified with Khirbet el-Mejdeleh, about 4 mi. SE of LACHISCH.

**Migdol** mig'dol (מִגְדֹּל *H4465,* "tower, fort"). A place name in the NE part of the NILE delta. Twice in Jeremiah, Migdol heads a short list of places in Egypt where Jews sought refuge (Jer. 44:1; 46:14); and twice in Ezekiel, Migdol is the N or NE extremity of Egypt, while Aswan (SYENE) marks its S limit (Ezek. 29:10; 30:6; KJV, "tower of Syene"), true to conditions in the 26th dynasty. This Migdol is the Magdolo of the Antonine Itinerary, being generally identified with Tell el Ḥer, some 12.5 mi. NE of Qantara on the ancient road from Egypt to Palestine. In Egyptian sources, it is most probably the Migdol of Sethos I (Karnak war scenes) and of other sources (see A. H. Gardiner in *JEA* 6 [1920]: 107–10).

In the PENTATEUCH, however, we read that the Israelites, after turning back from the wilderness, encamped "between Migdol and the sea" (Exod. 14:2; cf. Num. 33:7), and then crossed the latter

from W to E into the wilderness again. This seems to require a Migdol differently sited from Tell el Ḣer (which is E of all likely candidates for the RED SEA or "Sea of Reeds"), especially as Lake Serbonis farther NE lies along the "way of the land of the Philistines" and so may be excluded. It is, therefore, probable that Migdol here is simply another fort—*migdāl H4463* is a common word—SE of Daphnai and W of the Sea of Reeds (Lake Ballaḥ region?). If so, it has not yet been identified in Egyptian sources, but could turn up in new documents. See also EXODUS, THE.

K. A. KITCHEN

**mighty men.** This expression is often used to render Hebrew *gibbōrîm* (pl. of *gibbôr H1475,* "strong, valiant; man, warrior, champion"). The word first appears in Gen. 6:4 with reference to the NEPH-ILIM (NIV and NRSV, "heroes"). It can be used of fighting men in general (e.g., 2 Sam. 10:7), but also more especially of warriors notable for their valor (17:8). The names and exploits of three such men and those of DAVID's "Thirty" are recorded in 2 Sam. 23:8–39 and 1 Chr. 11:10–47.

S. WOUDSTRA

**migration.** See BIRD MIGRATION.

**Migron** mig'ron (מִגְרוֹן *H4491,* prob. "threshing floor"). A locality in the outskirts of GIBEAH where SAUL at one time camped under a pomegranate tree (1 Sam. 14:2). The Gibeah referred to in this passage is either the modern Tell el-Full (3 mi. N of the temple terrace in JERUSALEM) or Jebaʿ (an additional 2 mi. NE). A place by the name of Migron is mentioned also in Isa. 10:28 as being in the line of march of the Assyrian army, suggesting it is N of MICMASH. An unresolved question is whether these two Migrons are the same place, for the one mentioned in Samuel is located S of the pass of Micmash. Both verses are ambiguous, however, and the likelihood is that they refer to the same place (the Migron mentioned in Isaiah does not necessarily have to be located N of the pass). In any case, the precise location of Migron is unknown. Tentative identifications include Tell Maryam (just SW of Micmash) and Wadi es-Suweiniṭ (for the latter, see P. M. Arnold in *ABD,* 4:822–23, who thinks the name comes from the verb *nāgar H5599,* niphal "gush forth").

S. WOUDSTRA

**Mijamin** mij'uh-min (מִיָּמִין *H4785,* a contraction of מִנְיָמִין *H4975,* "from the right" [i.e., "favored"] or perhaps "from the south"; cf. BENJAMIN, MINIAMIN). KJV also Miamin. (1) A priest who received the sixth lot of the twenty-four divisions in DAVID's time (1 Chr. 24:9).

(2) One of the descendants of Parosh who agreed to put away their foreign wives (Ezra 10:25; 1 Esd. 9:26 [KJV, "Maelus"]).

The views from Tell el-Ful (prob. Gibeah of Benjamin) looking toward the area of Migron.

(3) A priest who affixed his seal to the covenant of NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:7).

(4) One of the priestly leaders who had returned from the EXILE with ZERUBBABEL (Neh. 12:5). He was possibly an ancestor of #3 above, and both of these priests may have belonged to the priestly order of #1 above (see the discussion in KD, *Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, 266*–71).

E. B. SMICK

**Mika** m*i*'kuh. TNIV form of MICA.

**Mikloth** mik'loth (מִקְלוֹת *H5235,* perhaps from מַקֵּל *H5234,* "branch, staff," or from קוֹל *H7754,* "voice"). (1) Son of JEIEL and descendant of BENJAMIN; his brother NER was the grandfather of SAUL (1 Chr. 8:31; 9:37–38).

(2) The leader of a division in the army of DAVID (1 Chr. 27:4). On the basis of the SEPTUAGINT, and in conformity with the pattern in this passage, many scholars omit the reference to Mikloth (e.g., RSV, "Dodai the Ahohite was in charge of the division of the second month; in his division were twenty-four thousand").

**Mikmash** mik'mash. TNIV form of MICMASH.

**Mikneiah** mik-nee'yah (מִקְנֵיהוּ *H5240,* "possession of Yahweh"). A Levite and one of the gatekeepers assigned to be a musician when DAVID made preparation to transfer the ARK OF THE COVENANT to Jerusalem (1 Chr. 15:18). He is called one of the brothers of the "second order" (NRSV; NIV, "next in rank") who followed HEMAN, ASAPH, and ETHAN. Mikneiah and some others "were to play the harps, directing according to *sheminith"* (v. 21; see MUSIC VI.C).

**Mikri** mik'ri. TNIV form of MICRI.

**miktam** mik'tam (מִכְתָּם *H4846*). Also *michtam* (sometimes capitalized). Apparently a musical (or liturgical) term found in the superscription of six psalms (Pss. 16 and 56–60; in addition, *miktāb H4844,* "writing," is sometimes emended to *miktām* in Isa. 38:9). Some think it means nothing more than "inscription" or "epigram" (*HALOT,* 2:582–83); others relate it to a Semitic root meaning "to cover" and deduce that these psalms deal with ATONEMENT for sin. An ancient proposal is that the term derives from *ketem H4188,* "gold," and that it refers either to a golden inscription or, figuratively, to the precious quality of the poem (see P. D. Miller in *Congress Volume: Vienna, 1980* [1981], 311–32, esp. 312–14). See MUSIC VI.A; PSALMS VI.A.

**Michal** mil'uh-l*i* (מִלְלִי *H4912,* perhaps short form of מִלְלְיָה "Yahweh has spoken"). A priestly musician who participated in the dedication of the rebuilt wall of Jerusalem under EZRA (Neh. 12:36; his name is one of several omitted in the LXX).

**Milcah** mil'kuh (מִלְכָּה *H4894,* "queen, princess"). TNIV Milkah. (1) Daughter of HARAN, sister of LOT (and ISCAH), and wife of NAHOR, who was her uncle (Gen. 11:29; cf. v. 27). ABRAHAM was also Milcah's uncle. Her offspring are mentioned in Gen. 22:20–23; one of them was BETHUEL, the father of REBEKAH and LABAN (22:22–23; 24:15, 24, 29, 47).

(2) One of five daughters of ZELOPHEHAD of the tribe of MANASSEH (Num. 26:33). Since Zelophehad had no sons, his daughters requested ELEAZAR the priest that they be allowed to inherit their father's property, and the request was granted on condition that they marry into their father's tribe (27:1–11; 36:11; Josh. 17:3–4).This decision was very important and became a precedent.

**Milcom** mil'kuhm (מִלְכֹּם *H4904,* "king"). TNIV Milkom. The national god of the Ammonites (see AMMON). Most scholars believe he is to be identified with MOLECH (cf. 1 Ki. 11:5 with v. 7). The Hebrew form *milkōm* occurs only three times (always rendered "Molech" by the NIV): (1) Milcom was one of the foreign gods for whom SOLOMON built a high place on the MOUNT OF OLIVES (1 Ki. 11:5); (2) he was worshiped by many Israelites (v. 33); (3) he was later desecrated by JOSIAH (2 Ki. 23:13; see further *DDD,* 575–76). In addition, the form *malkām* ("their king") occurs in the MT in some passages where most scholars believe that the context requires a reference to Milcom (2 Sam. 12:30=1 Chr. 20:2; Jer. 49:1, 3; Zeph. 1:5). See MALCAM #2.

**mildew.** A common species of fungus that attacked the crops of Palestine; it is produced by dampness. The Hebrew term *yērāqôn H3766,* in its meaning "rust" or "mildew," always occurs in combination with *šiddāpôn H8730,* "blight, scorching." These conditions were interpreted as God's punishment upon the disobedient (Deut. 28:22; Amos 4:9; Hag. 2:17), and SOLOMON prayed for deliverance from them (1 Ki. 8:37; 2 Chr. 6:28). The NIV uses "mildew" also as the rendering of Hebrew *ṣāraʿat H7669* (which refers to a variety of skin diseases), when this word occurs in connection with objects, such as clothing (Lev. 13:47–59) and walls (14:34–57).

S. BARABAS

**mile.** See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES I.G.

**Miletus** m*i*-lee'tuhs (Μίλητος *G3626).* Also Miletos. Ancient and important Ionian city in ASIA

MINOR, in the region of CARIA, on the shore of the Mediterranean near the mouth of the river Maeander. It was colonized first by Cretans, and later by Greeks (see CRETE; GREECE). During the great period of colonization (750–550 B.C.), when the Greeks extended their influence to every corner of the Mediterranean area, Miletus was most active, being credited with the establishment of about ninety colonies, chiefly in the Black Sea region, among them Abydos, Cyzicus, and Sinope. It also led the way in the Greek penetration of Egypt, being largely responsible for the founding of Naucratis in the 7th cent. B.C., the first permanent Greek settlement in the country.

Situated favorably, with four good harbors, Miletus became a great sea power and dominated the Black Sea trade, from which it became exceedingly wealthy. Luxury items from Miletus played a part in Athenian economic activity in the 6th cent. The kings of LYDIA found a strong rival in Miletus, until a treaty was concluded in which the latter evidently acknowledged Lydian rule, but enjoyed a privileged position especially under Croesus. This relationship continued after the Persian conquest in the mid-6th cent.

Throughout this same time Miletus was distinguished for its literary and scientific accomplishments. It was the home of the first Greekphilosopher, Thales, who sought to understand the world in terms of one basic substance, water. His successors, Anaximander and Anaximenes, belonged to the so-called Milesian school of philosophy, which sought to explain things without recourse to supernatural intervention. Anaximander is distinguished as the first person to draw a map of the world. Toward the end of the 6th cent., Hecataeus founded a school of antiquarian historians known as the logographers, which had a great influence on the development and work of HERODOTUS, acknowledged as the "Father

Remains of a lighthouse at Miletus, a city that dominated Aegean Sea traffic from its harbor.

of History." Until 500 B.C., Miletus was the greatest of the eastern Greek cities.

This period of material and cultural prosperity came to an end with the involvement of Miletus in the Ionian revolt, beginning in 499 B.C. Persia proved too strong, and after the naval disaster at Lade (in 494) the city was captured and the inhabitants sold into slavery. Then began a slow recovery. The city was rebuilt on a new grid plan invented at this very time by a native son,

Hippodamus. It became part of the Athenian confederacy in about 450, and in 412 revolted and ultimately fell again under Persia. Toward the end of the 4th cent. it was conquered and rebuilt by ALEXANDER THE GREAT. Under the Hellenistic kings it retained some importance as a commercial town, and some great buildings were raised by these rulers.

In 133 B.C. the city passed into Roman hands as part of the province of ASIA and subsequently received special attention from AUGUSTUS and TRAJAN because of its commercial importance. However, the harbors slowly silted up, and the city became a typical small Roman provincial town. In A.D. 263 the Goths came and destroyed the great temple of ARTEMIS. By the time of Justinian (6th cent. A.D.) it was a small village, and it is now deserted. Excavations and investigations have been in progress from the 16th cent. on, and today the classical town may be seen, containing extensive remains of both private and public buildings covering the period from the 5th cent. B.C. to Roman imperial times.

The apostle PAUL stopped at Miletus on his journey from Greece to Jerusalem, and spoke to the elders of the Ephesian church whom he asked to meet him there (Acts 20:15, 17). In 2 Tim. 4:20 (KJV, "Miletum") he mentions leaving TROPHIMUS in Miletus to recover from an illness. The city, however, played little part in the history of Christianity, though it had a bishopric in the 5th cent. (See further G. Kleiner in *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites,* ed. R. Stillwell et al. [1976], 578–82, s.v. "Miletos"; E. M. Yamauchi, *The Archaeology of New Testament Cities in Western Asia Minor* [1980], ch. 8; N. Ehrhardt, *Milet und seine Kolonien: Vergleichende Untersuchung der kultischen und politischen Einrichtungen* [1983]; *ABD,* 4:825–26.)

R. C. STONE

**milk.** See FOOD.

**Milkah** mil'kuh. TNIV form of MILCAH.

**Milkom** mil'kuhm. TNIV form of MILCOM.

**mill, millstone.** A mill is an apparatus, consisting of two stones, used to grind GRAIN into flour. Hand mills (Heb. *rēḥayim H8160,* a dual form, Exod. 11:15 et al.) were of several types. The earliest used, called the saddle quern, consisted of a rough, base stone and a rubbing stone. The base stone (called in the *OT pelaḥ taḥtît,* Job 41:24), varied from 18 to 30 in. in length and 10 to 15 in. in breadth and usually was slightly concave, having one end thicker than the other. The upper or rubbing stone (*pelaḥ rekeb, Jdg.* 9:53) varied from 6 to 15 in. in length, was narrow and tapered for gripping at both ends, and had one slightly convex surface for grinding. It was rubbed back and forth over grain placed on the base stone. Only a small portion of grain could be ground at one time. This upper stone was the type which killed ABIMELECH when it was dropped on his head (Jdg. 9:53; 2 Sam. 11:21).

The other type of mill (Gk. *mylos G3685)* consisted of two round stones, each about 18 to 24 in. in diameter. The lower one was fixed and had a center wooden peg over which the upper stone was placed. A central, funnel-shaped hole received the peg and also served for feeding grain into the mill. The upper stone was turned back and forth on the lower by use of a wooden handle on its outside

A basalt millstone typical of those found throughout the Holy Land.

edge. A variation of this type of mill used a bottom stone convex in shape and a top concave, fitting over the lower. The ground grain sifted out from the lower edges of the upper stone. Small mills could be operated by one person, but larger ones required two (Matt. 24:41). The type of stone used, whether for the saddle quern or the round mill, was usually black basalt, rough and porous, constantly presenting good cutting edges. (For the claim that small rotary hand mills were developed only in the Middle Ages, see ABD, 4:831 –32.)

A third type of mill was larger and normally required animal power. A millstone 4–5 ft. in diameter was rolled on edge by means of a lever arrangement, in a circular pattern on top of a still larger base stone on which grain was spread. This type of mill could supply flour for a community. It was probably this size mill at which SAMSON was made to grind by the Philistines (Jdg. 16:21).

Saddle querns were in use from early times. SARAH must have used one in preparing the three measures of "fine flour" for ABRAHAM's visitors (Gen. 18:6). The figure of an Egyptian woman grinding with a saddle quern, dating from the Old Kingdom period, has been preserved (*ANEP,* 46, fig. 149). Grinding was the task of servants (Exod. 11:5) and of women (Isa. 47:2). The law prohibited taking either the family's mill or upper millstone in pledge (Deut. 24:6).

(See further W. M.Thompson, *The Land and the Book* [1907], 218–19, 455; G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible,* 7th ed. [1937], 176–77, pl. 34; G. Loud, *Megiddo II* [1948], pl. 264:11; L. A. Moritz, *Grain-mills and Flour in Classical Antiquity* [1958]; P. J. King and L. E. Stager, *Life in Biblical Israel* [2001], 94–95.)

L. J. WOOD

**millennium** muh-len'ee-uhm. A Latin word meaning "a thousand years." In biblical and theological studies, "the millennium" refers to the 1,000-year period during which SATAN is bound, and during which Christ reigns with those who have come to life at the first RESURRECTION (Rev. 20:1–7). This period of time appears to follow the destruction of the enemies of God (ch. 19). The 1,000 years begin with the binding and confinement of Satan in the ABYSS (20:1–3; KJV, "the bottomless pit"), the resurrection and reward of the martyred dead of the period immediately preceding (20:4), and the beginning of the reign of Christ on earth as King of kings and Lord of lords. The millennium ends when Satan is loosed and organizes a rebellion against Christ that is crushed by fiery destruction from heaven (20:9). The casting of Satan into the LAKE OF FIRE, the resurrection and judgment of the wicked dead, and the creation of a new heaven and earth follow the millennium.

PREMILLENNIALISM understands these prophecies of the millennium as subject to future fulfillment in keeping with many OT passages picturing a kingdom of righteousness and peace on

earth ruled over by the son of David. (See N. West, *The Thousand Years in Both Testaments* [1880]; W. E. Blackstone, *Jesus Is Coming* [1917]; D. H. Kromminga, *The Millennium in The Church* [1945]; C. Feinberg, *Premillennialism or Amillennialism?* 2nd ed. [1954]; D. K. Campbell and J. L. Townsend, eds., A *Case for Premillennialism: A New Consensus* [1992].)

POSTMILLENNIALISM holds that the millennium will be fulfilled somewhat symbolically during the last 1,000 years of this present age, when Christ will reign spiritually in his church. (See D. Brown, *Christ's Second Coming: Will It Be Premillennial?* [1919]; J. H. Snowden, *The Coming of the Lord: Will It Be Premillennial?* [1919]; L. Boettner, *The Millennium* [1957]; K. L. Gentry, Jr., *He Shall Have Dominion: A Postmillennial Eschatology* [1992].)

According to AMILLENNIALISM, the millennium begins at the first advent of Christ and finds its fulfillment in the reign of Christ spiritually in the hearts of believers on earth, though some find it in the INTERMEDIATE STATE after death. (See F. E. Hamilton, *The Basis of Millennial Faith* [1942]; G. L. Murray, *Millennial Studies: A Search for Truth* [1948]; K. Riddlebarger, *A Case for Amillennialism: Understanding the End Times* [2003].)

(For general treatments of the various interpretations, note S. J. Grenz, *The Millennial Maze: Sorting Out Evangelical Options* [1992]; R. G. Kyle, *Awaiting the Millennium: A History of End-Time Thinking* [1998].) See also ESCHATOLOGY III.J; SECOND COMING.

J. F. WALVOORD

**millet.** This English term is used to render Hebrew *dōḥan H1893,* which occurs only once in a reference to several ingredients used to make bread (Ezek. 4:9). Of all the grains used for food, millet *(Panicum miliaceum)* is the smallest. It is borne in large numbers on a stalk (hence the name, from *milia,* "thousands"). The stalks are similar to rye, but they are heavier croppers. This annual plant grows two feet high. It is used now in Europe and the USA as bird seed. When made into flour for bread, the result is unappetizing—no wonder this was part of the prophet's fare as an indication of food shortage (see *FFB,* 141–42). There is an Italian millet, *Setacia italica,* but this was not grown in Palestine. Some argue that the Hebrew word refers to sorghum *(Sorghum vulgare,* similar to Indian corn). The NRSV uses English *millet* also to render Hebrew *pannag H7154* (Ezek. 27:17; see PANNAG).

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

**Millo** mil'oh (מִלּוֹא *H4864,* "filling, mound"). (1) A fortification or citadel near JERUSALEM, constructed by SOLOMON with forced labor (1 Ki. 9:15, 24; 11:27). The NIV translates the Hebrew term as a common noun, "supporting terraces" (TNIV simply "terraces"). Apparently Solomon added to an existing Millo, for DAVID is said to have built the city of Jerusalem "around from the Millo inward" (2 Sam. 5:9 NRSV; cf. 1 Chr. 11:8). The Millo formed a prominent part of the works of defense set up by King HEZEKIAH for the protection of the city (2 Chr. 32:5). The BETH MILLO where King JOASH was assassinated (2 Ki. 12:20; KJV and other versions have "the house of Millo") is thought to have been a well-known building in this area. (See J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the Old Testament* [1952], 131–44; W. H. Mare, *The Archaeology of the Jerusalem Area* [1987], 65–66.)

(2) The place where ABIMELECH was crowned king is called "the house of Millo" in the KJV (Jdg. 9:6, 20). See BETH MILLO #1.

S. WOUDSTRA

**mina** min'uh (מָנֶה *H4949;* μνᾶ *G3641*). In the OT, a measure of weight consisting of about 50–60 shekels (Ezek. 45:12 et al.), and thus weighing approximately 600–700 grams (see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES IV). In the NT, the word refers to a coin worth one hundred denarii (Lk. 19:13–24), approximately three months' wages for a laborer (see DENARIUS).

These weights made of hematite date to the early 2nd millennium B.C. The largest weight in the group is the mina. (The smallest weighs three shekels.)

**Minaeans.** See MINEANS.

**mind.** The seat of the mental faculties; the part of the individual that thinks, reasons, and feels.

**I. Problem of terminology.** Biblical conceptions of psychology lack analytical and technical precision. Both OT and NT focus attention on the human being's concrete and total relationship to God, and where psychological terms do appear their intention seems to be emphasis rather than a concern to divide or compartmentalize human activity. For this reason, no consistent pattern of terminology can be determined in either Testament.

In some cases, our English versions idiomatically render the Hebrew text with the word "mind" even in passages where no Hebrew equivalent is found (cf. Gen. 37:11). Otherwise, it is used in the OT to render a variety of terms, such as Hebrew *yēṣer H3671,* "thought, tendency" (Isa. 26:3); *rûaḥ H8120,* "spirit" (Num. 16:28 NIV); and especially lē*b H4213* and *lēbāb H4222,* "heart" (Deut. 28:65; Ezek. 38:10). In the NT, the faculty of cognition or thought is variously referred to by such terms as *nous G3808,* "mind, intellect" (Rom. 7:25); *kardia G2840,* "heart" (in imitation of the Heb.; cf. Matt. 13:15, citing Isa. 6:10 LXX); *psychē G6034,* "soul" (Phil. 1:27); *dianoia G1379,* "thought, understanding" (2 Pet. *3:1); gnōmē G1191,* "thought, will" (Rev. 17:13); *ennoia G1936,* "notion, intent" (1 Pet. 4:1); and *phronēma G5859,* "mind-set, purpose" (Rom. 8:7). See also HEART; SOUL; SPIRIT.

What becomes obvious as one surveys the complexity of biblical terminology is that no one term occupies an exclusive meaning, nor is one term alone used to indicate the faculty of reflection or cognition. It is equally clear because of this constellation of terms that HUMAN NATURE defies precise definition. All these terms call attention to the inner being as over against a person's objective, physical manifestation. This is not meant to imply a depreciation of the BODY in biblical theology, but there is an antithesis between the FLESH *(sarx G4922)* and that inner self or the mind that controls the self. "So then, I myself in my mind am a slave to God's law, but in the sinful nature [flesh] a slave to the law of sin" (Rom. 7:25).

**II. Cognitive concreteness.** Although the Hebrew mentality is often regarded as strikingly different from the Greek, it should be emphasized that NT terminology and concepts are closely related to the OT in connotation. To the Hebrew mind, the process of thought was more existential than abstract (although some scholars would argue that the examples that follow reflect simple metaphorical shifts and do not necessarily point to a different way of thinking). This point is illustrated sometimes by the Hebrew word for "meditate," *hāgâ H2047,* which literally means "to murmur" or the like (cf. Josh. 1:8; Pss. 1:2; 63:6; Isa. 33:18). Even the Hebrew term *śîaḥ H8488,* which can be translated both "to meditate" and "to utter a complaint," portrays action rather than passive contemplation (cf. Ps. 119:15, 23 et al.; 55:17 NRSV et al.). This cognitive concreteness often is obscured by our English translations. For instance, the RSV renders Gen. 31:20 as "Jacob outwitted Laban," whereas a literal rendering of the text would read, "Jacob stole the mind [heart] of Laban."

But it is especially in the area of ETHICS that we see the distinction between abstraction and concreteness. The high ideal, ethically speaking, is not mere contemplation of the *good* or the *beautiful,* but it is rather "to do justice or righteousness" (cf. Gen. 18:19; 1 Ki. 10:9; Ps. 10:18; Isa. 56:1; Jer. 5:1; Ezek. 45:9; Mic. 6:8). When a person "meditates," his lips move; when he "thinks" of righteousness, he does justice. There is little or no evidence for a philosophical idealism that identifies thinking with being in the Platonic sense; however, there is a realism, particularly about the OT, that does imply that *thought* and *being* are identical (cf. Prov. 4:23; 23:16–17). Although the Hebrew text of Prov. 23:7 is obscure, the KJV captures this Hebrew nuance, "As he thinketh in his heart [mind], so is he."

**III. The mind and human nature.** It has been indicated that neither the OT nor the NT is concerned about dissecting man into constituent parts, elements, or faculties. The being of a person is a united whole, and his reflective or cognitive faculties are never isolated from his total being. On the one hand, the Bible locates the center of a person's being in those physical organs where he or she existentially grasps the reality of God and the world. In the OT, the bowels, liver, heart, and even the womb are identified with this psychosomatic center (cf. Gen. 43:30; 1 Ki. 3:26; Ps. 109:18; Lam. 1:20; 2:11; 2 Cor. 6:12; Phil. 1:8; 2:1; Col. 3:12; Phlm. 7, 12, 20).

At the same time, the Bible does specifically call attention to human beings as thinking creatures. In the OT, the heart functions emotionally and volitionally as well as cognitively. The NT, however, provides a wider spectrum from which to view people as thinking beings. The term *nous* is primarily a Pauline term, and J. Behm suggests that "there is no connection with the philosophical or mystico-religious use. *Nous* is not the divine or the divinely related element in man" (*TDNT,* 4:958). (For non-Pauline examples cf. Lk. 24:45; Rev. 13:18; 17:9.) For PAUL the *nous* can become "senseless" when turned away from God (Rom. 1:28). Or it can be the means by which the Christian community expresses its oneness in Christ. So Paul exhorts the church to be of one *nous* (1 Cor. 1:10). A less frequently used term is *noēma G3784,* which occurs in both positive and negative contexts (Phil. 4:7; 2 Cor. 3:14). *Dianoia* occurs rather infrequently but is common to most of the NT writers. It usually conveys the idea of "understanding" (cf. Mk. 12:30; Lk. 1:51; Eph. 4:18; 1 Pet. 1:13; 1 Jn. 5:20).

At the heart of the NT understanding of CONVERSION and REPENTANCE is the term closely related to the concept of the mind, *metanoia G3567* (verb *metanoeō G3566).* Literally this term means "change of mind" but it also connotes an emotive element (cf. Lk. 13:3, 5; Acts 2:38; 2 Cor. 7:9–10). Generally speaking, the Bible knows the mind only in its actuality as being controlled by Christ expressed in the unity of the Christian community or as alienated from the "knowledge of God" and under the power of the devil or sin (cf. Rom. 8:6–7; 12:1–2; 1 Cor. 2:14–16; 15:34; 2 Cor. 4:4).

(See further J. Laidlaw, *The Bible Doctrine of Man* [1905]; H. W. Robinson, *The Christian Doctrine of Man* [1926]; D. R. G. Owen, *Body and Soul* [1956]; A. B. Come, *Human Spirit and Holy Spirit* [1959]; G. C. Berkouwer, *Man: The Image of God* [1962]; W. N. Pittenger, *The Christian Understanding of Human Nature* [1964]; D. W. Mork, *The Biblical Meaning of Man* [1967]; L. Verduin, *Somewhat Less than God* [1970]; H. H. Wolff, *Anthropology of the Old Testament* [1974]; J. P. Moreland and S. B. Rae, *Body and Soul: Human Nature and the Crisis in Ethics* [2000]; M. Carasik, *Theologies of the Mind in Biblical Israel* [2006]; *NIDOTTE,* 2:748–54; *NIDNTT*, 2:616–20.)

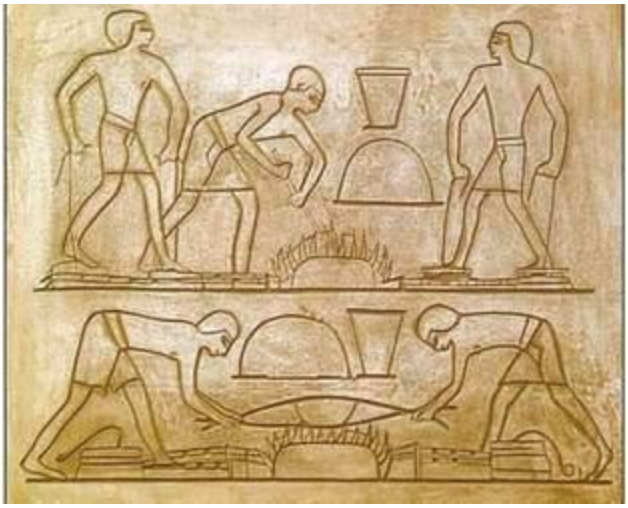
D. M. LAKE

**mine, mining.** Excavation for minerals began long before historic times, when Neolithic miners obtained FLINT for use in weapons and implements and gathered SALT, activities that played an important part in determining the course of TRADE in the ancient world. Initially both minerals would have been scraped from the surface, or, in the case of flint, removed from a bank of CHALK. Subsequently the quarrying and underground extraction of flint would have been stimulated by the discovery that freshly extracted flint was more easily chipped than surface stones as it contained some ground water. Also mined by Neolithic man was red and yellow ochre for use as pigments.

The mining methods used in the Neolithic period were little improved upon in many of the metal mines, worked by slaves, that supplied mineral wealth to the empires of Egypt, Assyria, Greece, and Rome. However, the range of materials mined increased. The METALS of the pre-Christian era —COPPER, GOLD, IRON, LEAD, SILVER, TIN, and to a lesser extent mercury and zinc—were all mined, in their native state in the case of copper, gold, and silver, or as other ores, except in the case of gold. Early mining of other minerals took place in the ANE, particularly for gems and ornamental material. The ancient Egyptians sank hundreds of shafts in the search for EMERALDS on the coast of the RED SEA, but TURQUOISE was probably the first material used in jewelry to be mined extensively (see JEWELS AND PRECIOUS STONES). This work was carried out on the SINAI Peninsula, an operation that led people to live in places that otherwise would be uninhabited and to build roads or tracks that otherwise would not have been made. However, these mining tracks were of considerable use to the Israelites during the exodus from Egypt.

The wealth and exploits of the various empires and states of the ANE were closely linked to the exploitation of metallic ore deposits by mining. Gold, which is widely distributed and found in relics in many countries, was abundant and mined to a considerable extent in Egypt, and formed the basis of this nation's wealth during the height of its powers. The rise of Israel to a nation was related to the annexing of EDOM, with its copper and iron deposits, by DAVID (2 Sam. 8:14), and their exploitation both during his reign and the subsequent reign of SOLOMON (1 Ki. 4–10). The history and power of the city-state of ATHENS is closely linked with the silver mines of Laurion and of their exploitation. In the 4th cent. B.C., the wealth and exploits of Philip of Macedon, and then of his son ALEXANDER THE GREAT, were linked with the gold mining of the Mount Pangeus district near PHILIPPI, where the output was so high that the Greeks believed that the gold regenerated itself as it was gathered.

The mining of copper in CYPRUS made the island a prized possession successively of the



This artistic replica shows Egyptian slaves using foot bellows to smelt copper ore.

Egyptians, Assyrians, Phoenicians, Greeks, Persians, and Romans. Even the mining of tin in Cornwall, England, had a considerable bearing on the history of the ANE because of the trade by the Phoenicians in this metal needed for making bronze (see PHOENICIA). The iron of Anatolia (see ASIA MINOR) and ARMENIA was closely linked with the successive power of the HITTITES (c. 1400–1200 B.C.) and then the PHILISTINES.

The methods and conditions of mining in the pre-Christian era are illustrated by mining for gold in ancient Egypt, for turquoise and copper in the Sinai Peninsula, and for silver in Greece.

(1) *Gold in ancient Egypt.* Alluvial mining by washing river sands and gravels produced the earliest gold before 4000 B.C. This placer gold then was traced back to the source veins that were mined, particularly in the Northern Sudan (the ancient Nubia, a name thought to have been derived from the Egyptian *nub,* meaning gold). There were several producing districts in the desert between the 18th and 23rd latitudes and between the Nile and the Red Sea. Gold also came from the Coptos region to the N, also between the Nile and the Red Sea.

Underground mining was carried out on a series of adit levels and using slave labor. The harder rock was cracked by making wood fires against the rock face and then throwing water on the hot rocks. Hammers were used to reduce the size of the pieces before being carried out of the mines to be further reduced in size in stone mortars and then in stone hand mills. The rock dust was then washed on a sloping board, the sand being washed off and the heavy gold flakes remaining.

(2) *Turquoise and copper on the Sinai Peninsula.* Turquoise of a period earlier than 3400 B.C. is known from Egypt. Whether it was mined by Egyptians on the Sinai Peninsula or obtained by barter from the BEDOUINS of that region is not known. However, references to mining at the NE end of the Red Sea are among the earliest inscriptions in Egypt and pictorial records of mining covering the period 3200 to 1150 were found on sandstone cliffs in the Wadi Maghara, on the Sinai Peninsula. Here turquoise and MALACHITE, both minerals of copper, were mined, initially for decorative purposes and jewelry and, in the case of malachite, as a green face paint and as a paint for the eyes to lessen the glare of sunlight.

The early workings were mainly for turquoise, which was extracted with the aid of flint tools, the nodules of turquoise being separated from the encasing friable sandstone by hammering. When it was discovered, probably by accident, that malachite would smelt to copper in a charcoal (camp) fire, this mineral was mined and copper wedges and chisels made for use in the mining of turquoise. Later, malachite was mined to obtain copper to send back to the main part of Egypt. A room-and-

pillar method of mining was used with individual chambers up to 24 ft. long and 6 ft. across. These copper deposits are not of the type associated with ores of tin, and this may explain why Egypt lagged behind other countries in the use of BRONZE, the copper-tin alloy.

(3) *Silver in Greece.* The silver mines of Laurion, about 25 mi. S of Athens, probably were being worked by 1000 B.C., and they provided much of the wealth of the city-state of Athens some 500 years later. The ore mined was mainly lead sulphide (galena), which contained 30 to 300 ounces of silver per ton of lead, the silver being extracted by metallurgical processes. There are associated minerals of iron and zinc. Most of the ore occurs in a limestone near its contact with a schist, a foliated rock of metamorphic origin. The earliest mining was done where the ore body cropped out at the surface and was oxidized. Here there was native silver as well as carbonates of lead, zinc, and iron. Cuts or passages were made in the hillside, and these were the *laurai* (lanes) that gave Laurion its name.

Ore at deeper levels was of sulphide minerals, mainly the argentiferous galena, and occurring mainly as tabular masses, up to 35 ft. thick, at the limestone-schist contact. More than 2,000 shafts were sunk, the deepest being to 386 ft. below the surface. The main shafts were 6 by 4 ft., with footholds to assist climbing, but the underground passages were generally only 2–3 ft. high and across. The mining was carried out by slaves in chains, using the pillar-and-stall type of stope, with patches of poor ore being left as pillars. In smaller stopes dry stone constructions supported overhanging rock. Timber was not commonly used. Because the passages were small, ventilation was poor, and mining by fire-setting followed by quenching with water could not have been used. However, fires were used to assist the movement of air in the shafts.

Each slave, who had a lamp made of baked clay containing enough oil to burn ten hours, broke about 25 tons of rock a month using a hammer, chisel, pick, and shovel, the metallic parts of which were of hammered and tempered iron. The broken ore and waste were passed from man to man in panniers of hide or grass, then taken to the surface. Here it was crushed in stone mortars and iron pestles, then sieved on to large (70 by 40 ft.) washing tables constructed of masonry faced with mortar. The flow of water carried away the lighter gangue and left behind the ore, which was then gathered, smelted, and treated using various other metallurgical processes (see METALS AND METALLURGY).

(See further T. A. Rickard, *Man and Metals: A History of Mining in Relation to the Development of Civilization, 2* vols [1932]; C. E. Gregory, *A Concise History of Mining* [1980]; R. *Shepherd, Ancient Mining* [1993]; P. T. Craddock, *Early Metal Mining and Production* [1995]; M. Lynch, *Mining in World History* [2002].)

D. R. BOWES

**Mineans** min-ee'uhnz. Also Minaeans. A Semitic people of the kingdom of Maʿin in SW ARABIA, probably not mentioned in the Bible (but see MEUNITES). The Minean kingdom was centered in the Jauf, a region in the NE corner of modern Yemen, just N of ancient SHEBA. Intensive cultivation by irrigation canals and control of the principal caravan route supported a number of cities there. Strabo lists the Mineans as one of the four major peoples of Arabia in his day and says the name of their capital was Karna. Minean inscriptions (*ANET,* 508–10) give it as QRNW (vocalized as *Qarnāwu),* modern Maʿin. These also show that Maʿin was founded by the kings of Hadhramaut (see HAZARMAVETH) c. 400 B.C. It reached its zenith c. 200–75 B.C., and was conquered by Qataban c. 50–25 B.C. (W. F. Albright, "The Chronology of the Minaean Kings of Arabia," *BASOR* 129 [1953]: 20–24).

**mineral.** A substance having a definite chemical composition and atomic structure and formed by the inorganic processes of nature. Minerals exhibit various properties, such as color, luster, crystal form, cleavage, fracture, hardness, and density, which are used for identification and which exercise control on the commercial and industrial uses of the particular mineral. Small impurities in some minerals can result in varieties showing vastly different colors; for example, varieties of corundum (aluminum oxide) include ruby (red), sapphire (blue), and oriental emerald (green).

However, the possession of a definite chemical composition does not in every case suffice to fix a mineral species. Two (or more) minerals, such as diamond and graphite, which are carbon, can have the same chemical composition, but very different physical properties. This results from the way in which the constituent atoms are arranged. Where this internal atomic structure is expressed in the external form, the mineral is bounded by flat surfaces and is referred to as a CRYSTAL. From earliest times some minerals that occur as crystals have been sought after for their beauty, particularly their form and striking color (e.g., sapphire), or variegated colors (e.g., agate). Such precious or semiprecious stones were prized from earliest times (cf. Gen. 2:12), used for ecclesiastical vestments and regalia (cf. Exod. 28), for trade (cf. Job 28:15–19), and to portray the nature of things to be (cf. Rev. 21:18–20). See JEWELS AND PRECIOUS STONES. Other materials of the mineral kingdom were, and are, used in everyday life—for example, clay (Jer. 18:4) and copper (Ezra 8:27) for liquid containers, iron for tools (2 Sam. 12:31) and for vehicles (Jdg. 4:3), and the soil (Matt. 13:8) for growing crops. See separate articles for individual minerals.

D. R. BOWES

**Miniamin** min'yuh-min (מִנְיָמִין *H4975,* "from the right" [i.e., "favored"] or perhaps "from the south"; cf. BENJAMIN, MIJANIM). (1) A Levite who faithfully assisted KORE in distributing the contributions made to the temple during the reign of HEZEKIAH (2 Chr. 31:15).

(2) The ancestor of a priestly family in the days of JOAKIM; both this family and that of MOADIAH were headed by Piltai (Neh. 12:17).

(3) A priest who played the trumpet at the dedication of the wall (Neh. 12:41).

E. B. SMICK

**ministry.** The duties and functions of those who serve God.

1. Biblical terms for ministry
    1. In the OT
    2. In the NT
2. Christ and ministry
    1. Christ the pattern for ministry
    2. The continuation of Christ's ministry
3. The nature and purpose of ministry
    1. Ministry as mission
    2. Ministry as service
    3. Ministry as priesthood
    4. The purpose of ministry
4. Spiritual gifts and ministry

    1. The primacy of the Holy Spirit in ministry
    2. The charismatic character of ministry
    3. Varieties of spiritual gifts
5. The organized ministry
    1. Presbyters or bishops
    2. Deacons

## I. Biblical terms for ministry

***A. In the OT.*** In keeping with its sacerdotal system, the OT distinguishes between the religious ministrations of cultic professionals on the one hand, and the laity on the other. The Hebrew verb *šārat H9250* ("to wait on, serve, minister"), usually rendered in the SEPTUAGINT with *leitourgeō G3310,* usually designates the duties performed by PRIESTS AND LEVITES in relation to God (Exod. 28:43; 29:30; Num. 3:6, 31; 8:26; 18:2; Deut. 10:8; 17:12; 18:5; 21:5; 1 Ki. 8:11; 1 Chr. 15:2; Jer. 33:21). The verb *ʿābad H6268* (often *latreuō G3302* in the LXX) refers to religious service rendered by the entire congregation or an individual (Exod. 3:12; 4:23; 7:16; 8:1; 2 Sam. 15:8; Job 21:15; Ps. 22:30; Mal. 3:14). It should be noted that where the noun *leitourgia G3311* occurs in the LXX, it nearly always represents *ʿăbōdâ H6275* (possibly because no abstract noun had been formed from *šārat*). (See further *NIDOTTE,* 3:304 –9; 4:256–57.)

***B. In the NT.*** When we turn to the NT, we are struck immediately by the obliteration of the OT distinction between professional and nonprofessional religious service, for here sacerdotalism has yielded to a universal priesthood constituted by Christ and shared alike by all who are united to him in the bonds of a living faith (Phil. 2:17; 1 Pet. 2:5, 9; Rev. 1:5–6; 5:10; 20:6). Since there is no longer any elite priestly caste, but ministry is essentially and equally the privileged vocation of all, priestly language generally is applied to the body of believers as a whole.

The NT employs a variety of terms in connection with differing types and functions of ministry, both general and particular. Although each term has its own special shade of meaning, there is considerable overlapping in usage, so that even from a single point of view any number of these terms may be used to designate a particular ministration, or the one who performs it.

(1) The most common NT term for ministry is *diakoneō G1354* with its cognates. Originally signifying the service of a table waiter (cf. Lk. 12:37; 17:8; Jn. 12:2), in classical Greek the word generally has a menial connotation. In the NT, however, where the root idea is supplying beneficial service, *diakoneō* is dignified by the highest associations and employed with a wide range of application. Christian apostles are ministers of Christ (1 Cor. 3:5; 1 Tim. 1:12), while even heathen magistrates are ministers of God (Rom. 13:4). Angels are ministering spirits sent forth to serve the heirs of salvation (Heb. 1:14). PAUL says that Christ became a minister to the circumcised (Rom. 15:8), while Jesus described himself as "one who serves" (Lk. 22:27). By contrast with the old ministry of the law which was a ministry of condemnation, a new ministry of the Spirit has now been inaugurated as a ministry of righteousness (2 Cor. 3:7–9).

In relation to the Christian community *diakonein* is used to denote: (a) discipleship in general (Jn. 12:26); (b) the full sweep of ministrations and activities by means of which Christ's work is carried on in the church and in the world (Acts 21:19; 1 Cor. 16:15; Eph. 4:11; Col. 4:17; 2 Tim. 4:5); (c) the preaching and teaching of the Word (Acts 6:4); (d) a special divine "gift" for various spiritual and temporal services (Rom. 12:7; 1 Cor. 12:5); (e) specific benevolent ministries such as

the distribution of welfare assistance in the church at Jerusalem (Acts 6:1), and contributions from Gentile churches for impoverished believers at Jerusalem (2 Cor. 8:4); (f) personal services like those which TYCHICUS rendered to Paul (Eph. 6:21); (g) the office of DEACON (Phil. 1:1; 1 Tim. 3:8, 12).

(2) Closely allied to *diakoneō* is *hypēreteō G5676,* which in secular Greek originally designated the labor of an under-rower in a galley, but which in the NT refers simply to the work of assisting a superior. Insofar as the term has any special connotation in apostolic literature, it seems to suggest subordination. The noun *hypēretēs G5677* is used of attendants in the high priest's household (Matt. 26:58; Mk. 14:54, 65), and of inferior officials of the SANHEDRIN (Matt. 5:25; Jn. 7:32, 45–46; 18:3, 12, 22; Acts 5:22, 26). LUKE also uses it to designate the *ḥazzan* of the SYNAGOGUE at NAZARETH, an attendant similar to a verger, who had custody of the sacred scrolls read in public worship (Lk. 4:20); also of John Mark (see MARK, JOHN) as assistant to Paul and BARNABAS on their first missionary excursion (Acts 13:5); and of those whom Jesus sent out to preach the Word (Lk. 9:2). When reporting Paul's sermon in ANTIOCH OF PISIDIA, Luke employs the verb in connection with DAVID's service to God (Acts 13:36). Jesus referred to his followers as *hypēretai* (Jn. 18:36), and Paul proudly claimed the same relationship to Christ (Acts 26:16; 1 Cor. 4:1).

(3) Of weighty importance for any study of Christian ministry is *douleuō G1526* and its cognate noun *doulos G1528.* Frequently translated "servant" in English versions, the force of *doulos* in the original is thereby lost, for the word means "slave" or "bondslave." Where the emphasis rests on divine lordship, with the correlative concepts of ownership and sovereignty, a person's service accordingly is viewed in terms of SLAVERY (Matt. 6:24; Lk. 16:13; 1 Thess. 1:9). Christians generally, also their leaders and even apostles, therefore function as slaves of God and of Christ in fulfilling their divine vocation (Acts 4:29; 1 Cor. 7:22; Gal. 1:10; Col. 4:12; 2 Tim. 2:24; 1 Pet. 2:16; cf. Rom. 6:22). In the opening salutation of his epistles, Paul more than once identifies himself as a slave of Christ (Rom. 1:1; Phil. 1:1; Tit. 1:1), a characteristic common to other apostolic authors (Jas. 1:1; Jude 1). Elsewhere, in a passage of intense emotion, Paul uses the kindred verb *douloō G1530* ("enslave") to testify that in his ministry he willingly made himself a slave to all, in order that he might win more to Christ (1 Cor. 9:19). Most remarkable of all, in sounding the depths of the divine self-humiliation that shaped the pattern of the INCARNATION, the same apostle does not shrink from declaring that to accomplish his ministry of redemption Christ assumed "the form of a slave, being born in human likeness" (Phil. 2:7 NRSV).

(4) It was observed above that the LXX almost exclusively restricts *leitourgeō* to professional religious service. In the NT this verb and its correlates occur only fifteen times in Luke, Paul, and Hebrews, but nowhere else (*diakoneō* and cognates have now supplanted them), and never denote a literal priestly function in regard to Christian ministry. They are retained to designate the work of the Jewish priesthood (Lk. 1:23; Heb. 9:21), angelic ministrations on behalf of believers (1:14), and the priestly ministry of the ascended Christ in heaven (8:2, 6). By contrast with the LXX, and in harmony with its doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers, the NT extends the usage of these terms indiscriminately and figuratively to include the worship of prophets and teachers (Acts 13:2), Paul's ministry of the gospel to Gentiles (Rom. 15:16), the self-sacrificing service of the Philippians (Phil. 2:17), the care of EPAPHRODITUS for Paul's physical needs (2:25), the relief offering for the Jerusalem church (Rom. 15:27), and even civil authorities (13:6).

(5) One other word, *latreuō,* deserves mention. At first signifying remunerative service (the

Coptic priests worshiping at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.

opposite of *douleuō,* the nonremunerative service of a slave), this verb was expanded to include service rendered to God. In the LXX it designates the people's service to God in contrast to the special service of the priestly caste *(leitourgeō).* A technical NT term for the performance of religious duties, especially of a cultic nature, this verb and its correlate noun *latreia* designate divine worship in the strict sense of adoration, prayer, and sacrificial offerings (Matt. 4:10; Acts 7:7, 42; Rom. 9:4; Heb. 9:1–14; 10:2; Rev. 7:15; 22:3). They also are used in a general figurative sense for the whole life of righteous devotion, which in its rich and manifold expression finds favor with God (Lk. 1:74; Acts 24:14; 27:23; Rom. 1:9; 12:1; Phil. 3:3; 2 Tim. 1:3). (See further *NIDNTT,* 3:544 –53.)

## II. Christ and ministry

***A. Christ the pattern for ministry.*** Christian ministry in all of its modes and manifestations must be traced ultimately to the ministry of Christ. From the outset the church perceived that the public career of Jesus is most aptly described by the term *ministry,* and it is within this framework that the gospel records in their entirety are set. The reference to Jesus in prayer by the early church as the "holy servant" of God (Acts 4:27, 30) recalls the prophetic description of the MESSIAH as the SERVANT OF THE LORD (Yahweh), whose self-sacrificing career fulfills God's redemptive purpose for his people (Isa. 40–66; Zech. 3:8–10). The angel who revealed Jesus' approaching birth to Joseph declared that his essential work would be the unique ministry of saving his people from their sins (Matt. 1:21). Paul conceives of the incarnation as Christ's vesting himself in the form of a slave (Phil. 2:7).

It was thus that Jesus understood his vocation. This concept of a Servant-Messiah, however, set him immediately on a collision course with prevailing messianic expectations which, embellished with symbols of earthly pomp and dominion, focused on the political elevation of Israel over all nations, especially its oppressors. The temptation (Matt. 4:1–11), the abortive coronation scheme after the feeding of the 5,000 (Jn. 6:1–15), PETER's rebuke at CAESAREA PHILIPPI (Mk. 8:27–33), and the popular acclaim at the TRIUMPHAL ENTRY (Matt. 21:1–11) represent unsuccessful bids for Jesus' acceptance of the conventional messianic image (cf. T. W. Manson, *The Church's Ministry* [1948], 17–18). Jesus' commission as Messiah was a divine investiture for ministry to the whole spectrum of human need, whose remedy in every particular lies in the all-embracing term "salvation." His decisive and unswerving commitment to this self-sacrificing career shines through many of his recorded sayings, but nowhere is it more clearly epitomized than in the words, "For even the Son of

Man did not come to be served, but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many" (Mk. 10:45; cf. Lk. 22:27). His washing of the disciples' feet in the Upper Room was a dramatic vignette of the unselfish life of ministry now rushing to its close (Jn. 13:1–11).

Ministry describes the whole range of Jesus' messianic activities: preaching, teaching, various types of miracles, including healing the sick and raising the dead, forgiveness of sins, institution of the sacraments, etc. It extends even further to include his passion and death (Mk. 10:45). So far from being an innovation or disfigurement, the cross is of a piece with the preceding ministry, the scandalous yet crowning consummation that invests his messianic career with ultimate and eternal significance. His whole service on behalf of sinful and suffering humanity is telescoped in his sacrificial death. The Servant-Messiah mounts the throne of universal empire by laying down his life as a ransom for the citizens of his kingdom.

This perfect example of humble, self-denying service becomes, in turn, the norm and pattern for all of Christ's followers whom he calls to share his own destiny. Discipleship is service (Jn. 12:26; cf. Acts 20:18–35; Rom. 12:1; 2 Cor. 3–7). As the Father sent the Son into the world for ministry, so the Son sends his followers into the same world for ministry (Jn. 17:18; 20:21). Whereas the world calculates greatness on the scale of lordly dominion and authority, the only greatness Christ recognizes in his kingdom is lowliness of service: "whoever wants to become great among you must be your servant, and whoever wants to be first must be slave of all" (Mk. 10:43–44). The point is not that service is the avenue to honor; service is itself honor.

***B. The continuation of Christ's ministry.*** The ministry of Christ did not terminate abruptly with the completion of his earthly career in the resurrection and ascension. The NT indicates its continuation along two different but parallel lines. There is, first, his ministry in heaven where he rules over all things for his CHURCH (Eph. 1:20–23), represents and intercedes for his people as their priest before the throne of God (Heb. 7:25; 1 Jn. 2:2), and is preparing a place for them to dwell with him forever (Jn. 14:1–3).

Christ also continues his ministry on earth through his body, the church, in which he is permanently present in the person of the HOLY SPIRIT (Jn. 14:15–17; 1 Cor. 12:4–11; Eph. 1:22–23; 4:1–16; cf. Matt. 28:18–20). The church is a living organism created by the Spirit for Christ's use in carrying out his redemptive purpose in the world, just as his physical body was fashioned by the same Spirit for his ministry during the earthly period of the incarnation (Lk. 1:31, 34, 35). See BODY OF CHRIST.

All Christian ministry at its source and in its manifold expressions is a continuation of the ministry of Jesus across the age-long sweep of history. There is truth, therefore, in the view of the church and its ministry as an extension of the incarnation (though G. W. Bromiley labels the conception as "hazardous"; see his *Christian Ministry* [1959], 16). The church has no independent ministry of its own, but one which is in every respect derivative. It has received its ministry from Christ. It learns its ministry from Christ. It discharges its ministry in the name of Christ and on his behalf. Whether it is the preaching of the Word, the administration of the sacraments, the relief of human distress, or the exercise of discipline, it is the personal, determinative action of Christ that lies behind and assumes tangible expression in the ministry of the church.

It should not be assumed, however, that this continuing ministry in the church is wholly identical with Jesus' ministry in Galilee and Judea 2,000 years ago. That ministry was unique and formative, the single root from which the continuing ministry has sprung and to which it must ever return for its energy and dynamic. Through its ongoing service the church communicates to each new generation the

saving grace first released through the life, death, and resurrection of the Servant-Messiah. It does so only as the organic instrument of the living Lord who in the Spirit is ever present with and within his body.

This truth is further attested in the NT by its ascription to the ascended Christ of many of the titles by which varieties and orders of ministry in the church are designated. He is called apostle (Heb. 3:1; cf. Mk. 9:37; Lk. 10:16; Jn. 5:36; 6:29; 7:29; 8:42; 10:36; 11:42; 17:3–4); teacher (Mk. 4:38; 9:17, 38); bishop (1 Pet. 2:25); shepherd, translated "pastor" when used of ministers (1 Pet. 2:25; cf. Matt. 26:31; Mk. 14:27; Jn. 10:11–16; cf. 1 Pet. 5:4); and deacon or servant (Rom. 15:8; cf. Lk. 22:27).

The church, then, is absorbed into the ministry of Christ. This is to say that ministry is not the privilege and responsibility of an elite corps of ecclesiastical dignitaries, but belongs equally and alike to every member of Christ's body. No one can share in authentic Christian ministry unless by faith he first lays hold for himself on the saving benefits of Christ's own ministry. The moment a person does that, there falls upon him the solemn, binding obligation of helping to advance God's gracious design in Christ to earth's outmost frontiers.

Christian discipleship is ministry. The accomplishment of God's purpose for the world in Christ is never to be construed as itself necessitating the ministry of the church and its individual members. "The necessity of the Church's ministry is the necessity of its incorporation into Christ, not its indispensability for the fulfillment of the divine purpose" (Bromiley, *Christian Ministry,* 27). Only Christ is the true Minister, and his ministry alone is original, ultimate, indispensable.

## III. The nature and purpose of ministry

***A. Ministry as mission.*** All ministry, whether of Christ or the church, is divine in its origin and sanction. In the fourth gospel Jesus characteristically refers to himself as having been sent by God, thereby claiming both a general divine commission and specific divine authority for utterances and actions that sometimes outraged the religious scruples of his contemporaries (Jn. 5:36–37; 6:29–60; 7:28–29; cf. Matt. 15:24; Mk. 9:37; Lk. 9:48; 10:16). He employs the same language when commissioning his disciples to carry on his ministry after his ascension (Jn. 20:21). The church's ministry is a mission, and in rendering its service to the world the church demonstrates its obedience to the command of its Lord (Matt. 28:18–20).

***B. Ministry as service.*** To describe the church's ministry, the NT writers chose out of various possibilities the word *diakonia,* a familiar term for lowly service, which they apply indiscriminately to the service of all believers alike. The comprehensiveness of this term is brought out by its wealth of associations in the NT. Apostles and their coworkers are servants *(diakonoi)* of God (2 Cor. 6:4; 1 Thess. 3:2), of Christ (2 Cor. 11:23; Col. 1:7; 1 Tim. 4:6), of a new covenant (2 Cor. 3:6), of the gospel (Eph. 3:7; Col. 1:23), of the church (1:24, 25), or in an absolute sense (1 Cor. 3:5; Eph. 6:21; Col. 4:7). Ministry likewise is a *diakonia* of apostleship (Acts 1:17, 25), of the Word (Acts 6:4), of the Spirit (2 Cor. 3:8), of righteousness (3:9), of reconciliation (5:18), of serving tables (Acts 6:2), and of financial aid for fellow believers in distress (2 Cor. 8:4; cf. 8:19–20). It is received from the Lord (Col. 4:17), who calls all his followers to participate in it (Eph. 4:12). It should be noted that Christian ministry is not exclusively oriented to the spiritual, but encompasses the physical dimensions of life as well (cf. Rom. 15:25).

The spirit of HUMILITY that animates Christian ministry, already evident in the term *diakonia,* is

intensified when believers are called "slaves" of Christ and of God (Acts 4:29; 1 Cor. 7:22; 1 Pet. 2:16; cf. Rom. 12:11; 1 Thess. 1:9). No ground for human vanity and pride remains when even apostles bear the name of slave (Rom. 1:1; Jas. 1:1; Jude 1). Yet where gratitude reigns in hearts redeemed by the Lord who took the lowest place of service in love (Phil. 2:7–8), offering his life as a ransom for his own people (Mk. 10:45), even the calling to be his slave is gladly embraced as the noblest, most privileged vocation of all.

***C. Ministry as priesthood.*** Christian ministry further has a priestly character and function. It is hardly accidental that the NT, while retaining the term "priest" (*hiereus G2636)* for Jewish and pagan priests, nowhere applies this term to any single class of Christian ministers. The only priests so designated by the NT are the saints, all believers in Christ (1 Pet. 2:5, 9; Rev. 1:6; 5:10; 20:6). Herein lies a fundamental distinction between Christianity and ancient pagan cults, and one of the greatest spiritual advances of the Christian dispensation over the OT. There is only one priesthood, that of Christ himself, and he shares it equally with all the members of his body. It is a corporate rather than an individual possession. In their priestly ministrations, individual Christians function as representatives of the whole community and on its behalf.

Equally significant is the deliberate restraint with which the NT applies sacrificial language to Christian ministry. As priests, believers offer sacrifices of praise (Heb. 13:15), of service (Phil. 2:17; Heb. 13:16), and of self-dedication (Rom. 12:1), but never do they offer SACRIFICES for sin. The solitary sacrifice for sin which the NT allows is the self-sacrifice of Christ, offered once for all (Heb. 10:12, 26–27). It is only by means of the great Head of the church that the union with the all-meritorious sacrifice of lesser sacrifices of worship and service offered by the members of Christ's body are rendered acceptable to God. The priestly and sacrificial system of the OT stands forever abrogated by the sacrifice and priesthood of Christ in which it has been perfectly fulfilled (Heb. 5:1–10).

***D. The purpose Of ministry.*** Christian ministry, like all creation, is intended primarily for the glory of God (1 Pet. 4:10–11). To achieve this end it serves a dual purpose. In relation to the unbelieving world, Christian ministry, even in its humanitarian expressions, is essentially evangelistic and missionary, looking to the numerical and geographical expansion of the body of Christ, until in its human composition it is complete. Ministry also serves a reflexive purpose in relation to the church itself. Enumerating various gifts conferred on the church by its ascended Lord, Paul asserts that they are "to prepare God's people for works of service, so that the body of Christ may be built up *[oikodomē G3869,* edification]" (Eph. 4:12; cf. Acts 9:31; Rom. 14:19; 1 Cor. 14:5, 12, 26; Eph. 4:16). Commonly misconstrued as the stimulation of pleasant religious feelings, edification means inner spiritual strengthening and growth. Within the church, ministry is didactic and pastoral, seeking to develop believers into mature disciples, who as robust, healthy, and vigorous members of the body of Christ render it a more effective instrument for his service. Both forms of ministry, however, converge on a common goal: the upbuilding of the body of Christ—in the one case, by the accession of new members, and in the other, by advancing and enriching the spiritual life of present members.

## IV. Spiritual gifts and ministry

***A. The primacy of the Holy Spirit in ministry.*** A focal point in Jesus' upper room discourse and postresurrection teaching concerns the advent of the HOLY SPIRIT, whom he promised to send from the

Father, and in whom he would be present with his followers until the close of the age (Jn. 14:16–17, 26; 15:26; 16:7–15; 20:22; Acts 1:4–5, 8; cf. Lk. 24:49). These passages set forth the primacy of the Holy Spirit in the continuing ministry of the risen and ascended Lord through his body, the church. This executive operation of the Holy Spirit furnishes a double continuity with the ministry of Christ. On the one hand, he mediates the presence and power of the living Lord, while on the other hand the incarnate ministry of Jesus himself was conducted in the power and under the control of the Spirit (Lk. 4:14–15; Acts 10:38).

The book of Acts abundantly documents the reality of the Spirit's dominant role in the concrete experience of the apostolic church (Acts 2:1–4; 4:8, 31; 5:1–11, 32; 6:3–10; 9:31; 10:19; 13:2, 4; 15:28; 16:6, 7; 19:6, 21; 20:28). The Spirit equips and empowers the church for ministry, then channels its many varieties of service to their divine goal in the expansion and spiritual enrichment of the church. While to the body of Christ has been entrusted an external ministry of evangelistic and pastoral dimensions, in the inner spiritual regions it is the living Christ who executes all ministry in the person of his Spirit. Christian ministry came of age at Pentecost (Acts 1:4–5, 8; Eph. 4:8–13).

***B. The charismatic character of ministry.*** The NT identifies all forms of ministry as divine "gifts" (*charisma G5922,* "grace-gift") of the ascended Lord who bestows them on the church through his Spirit (Eph. 4:7–12).These gifts, which are wholly of GRACE—the same grace which is the source of the believer's justification—display the following characteristics:

**1. Necessity.** Possession of a supernatural endowment of the Spirit is indispensable for effective ministry. The NT envisions no possibility of service

Worshipers at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre celebrating the presence of the Holy Spirit among them.

whatever apart from the Spirit's gifts. It is misleading, therefore, to distinguish between so-called "charismatic ministries" (prophecy, tongues, miracles, etc.) and "noncharismatic" ministerial orders (elder and deacon). All of the essential functions associated with ministerial orders in the NT are included in the Pauline catalogues of spiritual gifts (Rom. 12:6–8; 1 Cor. 12:4–11, 28–31; 14:1–5; Eph. 4:11–12). The same apostle further regarded elders, who presumably held their office by some manner of human selection and ordination, as appointed by the Holy Spirit (Acts 20:28). Since the apostolic church required satisfactory evidence that a person was filled with the Holy Spirit before entrusting him with the most ordinary service (6:3), one may assume that candidates for official ministerial orders were chosen from among those persons in whom the Spirit's gifts were most

conspicuous. In any event, all ministry is charismatic, so that it is the Spirit's gifts which decisively qualify believers for service.

**2. Diversity.** All gifts originate with the same Spirit; however, they display a diversity that accords with the division of labor within the body of Christ (1 Cor. 12:4–11). The grace of the Spirit assumes many varieties of forms and flows through many different channels. Although useful in their own right, not all gifts are of equal value. Paul regarded tongues, for example, as inferior to prophecy (1 Cor. 14:1–5), while esteeming LOVE as the highest gift of all (ch. 13, which follows without interruption the detailed discussion of gifts in ch. 12). See SPIRITUAL GIFTS.

**3. Universality.** Just as every organ in the human body performs its own unique function, so every member of the body of Christ has his or her special contribution to make to the well-being and usefulness of the whole (1 Cor. 12:7; Eph. 4:7, 16; 1 Pet. 4:10). The NT is entirely innocent of the common distinction between clergy and laity, which regards the clergy as "ministers" and the laity as mere spectators. The term *laity* (from Gk. *laos G3295,* "people") refers to "the people of God" and embraces all members of Christ's body, while all members are his servants. In sovereign freedom the Spirit distributes to individual believers the gifts that render their service possible (1 Cor. 12:11). While the same believer may possess multiple endowments (2 Tim. 1:11), there is no monopoly of the Spirit's gifts. Every believer has one gift or more, held in trust for the common good.

**4. Sufficiency.** All ministry is designed to build up the body of Christ in living union with its Head (1 Cor. 14:3–5; Eph. 4:11–12). Determined in accordance with this purpose, the Spirit's gifts are by their very nature and bestowal the pledge and guarantee of its fulfillment. Nothing else is needed. Drawing on its vast wealth of spiritual resources, the ministering church advances toward its completeness in Christ.

***C. Varieties of spiritual gifts.*** Of the several passages in which Paul catalogues the Spirit's gifts, three deserve special notice. Romans 12:6–8 lists prophecy, service (*diakonia),* teaching, exhortation, liberality, leadership, and acts of mercy. First Corinthians 12:28–31 mentions apostles, prophets, teachers, workers of miracles, healers, helpers, administrators, speakers in tongues, and interpreters of tongues. Ephesians 4:11–12 specifies apostles, prophets, evangelists, and pastors and teachers.

**1. Apostles.** The most important group of persons mentioned in these lists were the apostles. The term APOSTLE is used first of the Twelve whom Jesus chose and personally trained as apprentices through intimate association with himself for their career of preaching the gospel (Mk. 3:13–19; 6:30). These two features—appointment by Jesus in the days of his flesh and companionship with him throughout his entire ministry—were the distinguishing marks of the Twelve.

Others also bore the name of apostle: MATTHIAS, who by divine direction was chosen to replace JUDAS ISCARIOT (Acts 1:15–26); PAUL, who claimed direct appointment to apostleship by the risen Lord (Rom. 1:1–5; Gal. 1:1); JAMES the brother of Jesus and head of the Jerusalem church, who also presided over the first general church council even though Peter and Paul were present (Acts 15); BARNABAS (14:14; 1 Cor. 9:6); ANDRONICUS and JUNIAS (Rom. 16:7); possibly APOLLOS (1 Cor. 4:6–9); and perhaps SILAS (1 Thess. 1:1; 2:6). Paul calls EPAPHRODITUS an "apostle" of the Philippian church (Phil. 2:25), and further refers to other "apostles of the churches" (2 Cor. 8:23). In the last two

instances *apostolos G693* frequently is translated "messenger"; however, since the NT elsewhere does not use the term of ordinary messengers, this rendering may be questioned. False apostles also are mentioned (2 Cor. 11:13; Rev. 2:2), whose fraudulent claims may have been exposed by their failure to show the signs of an apostle (2 Cor. 12:12).

Essential to apostleship is the idea of mission (*apostellō G690,* "to send"). The NT apostles were primarily pioneer preachers of the gospel and the original authoritative witnesses to Christ who traveled throughout the Jewish and Gentile world establishing congregations of new converts. Occupying unique positions of leadership and authority, they further superintended the work of the churches, commissioned local officers, administered discipline, and settled issues of general dispute (Acts 14:23; ch. 15). Nearly all of the NT books were written by apostles, and the few that were not came from the hands of their intimate associates and evidently received apostolic endorsement.

**2. Evangelists.** Also itinerant missionary preachers, EVANGELISTS seem to have differed from apostles very little, except for their lower rank and authority, possibly because they lacked the unique qualifications for apostleship. PHILIP, one of the "Seven" who became an evangelist (Acts 6:5; 21:8), first introduced the gospel to SAMARIA (8:4–13). Paul exhorted TIMOTHY to fulfill his ministry by doing the work of an evangelist (2 Tim. 4:5).

**3. Prophets.** Second in importance only to the apostles, with whom they were sometimes classed, were the PROPHETS (Eph. 2:20; 3:5). Jesus promised to send prophets (Matt. 23:34), and the NT shows that his promise was fulfilled. Although they received direct REVELATION from God (1 Cor. 14:30), prophets were not channels of new truth for the church but inspired preachers of the Word whose deliverances provided upbuilding, encouragement, and consolation (14:3). They did occasionally, however, forecast future events (Acts 11:27–28; 21:10–11). They were required to speak only what was revealed to them (Rom. 12:6), and their words must agree with the authoritative apostolic teaching (1 Cor. 14:37–38).

Any believer might receive this gift, and Paul encouraged all the Corinthians to seek it (1 Cor. 14:1). Generally spontaneous and occasional (Acts 19:6), it was more permanently bestowed on some who formed a special group of prophets, anyone or several of whom might speak in turn at regular services of worship (1 Cor. 14:29–33). Those specifically mentioned include AGABUS (Acts 11:28; 21:10); Simeon called NIGER, LUCIUS, and MANAEN at Antioch, along with Barnabas and Paul (13:1); Judas and Silas (15:32); and the four daughters of PHILIP (21:9). False prophets also circulated in the church, as Jesus had forewarned (Matt. 7:15); hence, believers were admonished to test prophetic teaching for its consistency with the essential faith of the gospel (1 Jn. 4:1–3). A specific impostor, a woman named JEZEBEL (most likely a symbolical name), corrupted the church at THYATIRA with her pernicious doctrine (Rev. 2:20). The gift of prophecy is especially prominent in 1 Corinthians because its practice in CORINTH was badly abused and in need of correction.

**4. Teachers and pastors.** That persons who had the gift of teaching were highly esteemed in the apostolic church is evident from their association with apostles and prophets (*didaskalos G1437,* Acts 13:1; 1 Cor. 14:28; cf. 1 Tim. 2:7; 2 Tim. 1:11). Including women in their number (Tit. 2:3–5), they gave instruction in matters of Christian faith and ethical duty. In the Gentile churches especially they trained converts from paganism in the knowledge and interpretation of the OT, while they also expounded the words of Jesus and the apostolic doctrine contained in the growing body of tradition. They sometimes actively participated in the services of worship (1 Cor. 14:26), but much of their

ministry was conducted more informally among groups of believers. In Eph. 4:11 teachers are also called "pastors" (*poimēn G4478,* "shepherd"), a term that suggests general oversight of a local congregation as well as instruction.

**5. Other gifts.** The exact nature of some of these gifts of the Spirit is uncertain. "Administrators" apparently shared in the management of local congregational affairs. "Helpers" likely attended to benevolent service among the sick, the poor, the persecuted, etc. Persons having the gift of "tongues" employed it in prayer, singing, and thanksgiving (1 Cor. 14:14–17). Gifts of "healing" and other miraculous powers also were found in the apostolic church.

**V. The organized ministry.** Perhaps no subject in the history of the Christian church has been more greatly vexed by confusion, discord, and bitter strife than that of ministerial order. The problem is a vastly complicated one. For one thing, the NT presents a picture of local communities of believers in different stages of development and with few fixed structures of ministry. Then, too, the NT evidence is in many important particulars incomplete or altogether missing, while information from the early postapostolic period is likewise scanty and not always reliable. High-sounding pronouncements on many aspects of this subject tend to be fragile and brittle, revealing more about the author's own views than the practice of the primitive church. One must, therefore, proceed with caution and humility, not vainly boasting a knowledge which is not ours.

This much is certain. In the formative years of the church its ministry exhibited amazing variety and adaptability. Emerging at PENTECOST as a non-schismatic Jewish sect, the church naturally modeled its ministry in part on patterns borrowed from the SYNAGOGUE. The creative Spirit of the risen Lord inhabiting his body also fashioned within it from the beginning new organs and channels of ministry through which to communicate the life-giving grace of God to men.

From the early chapters of Acts it is evident that at the first the apostles directed the life of the infant church. They were soon joined in their ministry by evangelists and prophets who assisted them in spreading the gospel far and wide. As new communities of Christians sprang up in Judea, Samaria, and throughout the Gentile world, the need emerged for official structures of ministry to direct the affairs of local churches. The NT generally employs three terms to designate the two official orders of ministry which were established: ELDER, BISHOP, and DEACON. It always must be remembered that alongside of these orders there existed a veritable constellation of other local and itinerant ministries, all alike Christ's gifts to his church through his indwelling Spirit. See also CHURCH GOVERNMENT IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

***A. Presbyters or bishops.*** There is no record to indicate when the office of "elder" (*presbyteros G4565)* was instituted. Elders are found early in the Christian communities of Judea (Acts 11:30), while Paul and Barnabas appointed elders in charge of the congregations they established on their first missionary journey (14:23). This office was borrowed, though modified, from the Jewish synagogue, where a company of elders ruled the religious and civil life of the community. Primarily custodians of the Mosaic law, these Jewish elders taught and interpreted its precepts and administered punishments to its offenders.

The NT also designates Christian elders by the name "bishop" (*episkopos G2176,* "overseer"). Although sometimes disputed, the evidence overwhelmingly supports this identification. (1) In Acts 20:17, Paul summons the elders of the church at EPHESUS, while in v. 28 he calls these same men "bishops." (2) In Phil. 1:1, Paul extends formal greetings to all the Christians at Philippi, along with

their bishops and deacons, but he takes no notice of elders. This omission is inexplicable unless bishops and elders were identical. (3) In 1 Tim. 3:1–13, Paul sets forth the qualifications of bishops and deacons, but not elders, in considerable detail. Yet he specifically mentions elders in ch. 5, where he ascribes to them the same functions of ruling and teaching which in the earlier passage are attributed to bishops (cf. 3:4–5; 5:17). (4) In Tit. 1:5–6, after commanding TITUS to appoint elders in all the churches in CRETE, Paul counsels him to restrict his choice of elders to men who are "blameless." He then explains this requirement by adding, "For a bishop…must be blameless" (v. 7 NRSV), a pointless argument if the two terms do not designate the same office.

*Elder* and *bishop,* then, are synonymous, but whereas the former term indicates the great dignity surrounding this office, the latter signifies its function of rule or oversight. In the NT oversight is especially related to the figure of the shepherd who feeds and cares for his flock. It is therefore natural that pastoral language is interwoven with the use of the term *bishop* (Acts 20:28; cf. Jn. 21:15–17). In their pastoral oversight of congregational life, elders reflect Christ's own office as the Shepherd and Bishop of souls (1 Pet. 2:25; cf. John 10:11–16; Heb. 13:20; 1 Pet. 4:4), and rule with his authority.

The comprehensive character of their office involved elders in a wide variety of duties. They engaged in the ministry of preaching and teaching the Word (1 Tim. 5:17). Not all of them did so, but the view that distinguishes between "teaching" and "ruling" elders, as if they formed two separate classes, has no clear textual basis. Elders also guarded the churches against false doctrine (Tit. 1:9), rendered pastoral service (Jas. 5:14), and administered ecclesiastical discipline. Their participation in the Jerusalem Council along with the apostles (Acts 15) indicates that their authority, though essentially local, extended to the whole church. They are charged not to rule in lordly fashion nor for financial gain, but to exercise their authority with humility (1 Pet. 4:1–5).

Likely they conducted WORSHIP, although anyone in the congregation possessing a suitable gift of the Spirit might participate in the service (1 Cor. 14:26). Little is said in the NT about sacramental duties, but since both SACRAMENTS were closely tied to the ministry of the Word and worship (Matt. 28:19; Acts 2:41–42; 8:35–38; 20:7; 1 Cor. 11:17–26), one may assume that in the absence of an apostle, evangelist, or prophet, elders were largely responsible for their administration. Clement of Rome, writing near the end of the 1st cent., says specifically that they officiated at the EUCHARIST. Local churches apparently appointed their own elders, who were then ordained by other elders in a solemn ceremony of laying on of hands (1 Tim. 4:14), although one cannot be absolutely sure of either of these things. Presumably the elders of the apostolic church were the equivalent of pastors today. It is especially notable that the apostles Peter and John both refer to themselves by this name (1 Pet. 5:1; 2 John 1; 3 Jn. 1).

***B. Deacons.*** Forming a subordinate order of ministry were the deacons (*diakonos G1356,* Phil. 1:1; 1 Tim. 3:8–10). Not copied from any Jewish or Gentile prototype, this office was a wholly new creation of the Christian church. Its origin frequently is traced to the "Seven" who were appointed to administer the distribution of welfare in the Jerusalem church (Acts 6:1–6). Nowhere are the Seven called "deacons," while the word *diakonia* is used in this passage to contrast their ministry of serving tables with the apostles' ministry of the Word. Moreover, two of their number, S TEPHEN and PHILIP, soon distinguished themselves as highly gifted preachers (6:8–10; 8:4–8; 21:8). Alfred Plummer summed up the situation well: "To call the 'Seven' the first deacons is a conjecture which can be neither proved nor disproved." While there is no evidence to link the Seven with the deacons of Philippians and 1 Timothy, their appointment may have provided the basic pattern for the later office.

The specific functions of the deacons are beclouded by nearly as much uncertainty as their origin, and their duties must be inferred from the nature of their qualifications. They were required to be of serious mind and character, honest in speech, temperate, free from greed for money, and to "keep hold of the deep truths of the faith with a clear conscience" (1 Tim. 3:8–9). This list of qualifications, together with the natural associations of the word *diakonia,* suggests that household visitation and administration of local benevolence funds were among their responsibilities. At a later date this was certainly so. It is further known that in the postapostolic church deacons served as personal assistants to the bishops in conducting worship, especially at the Eucharist, and in the management of church affairs. It is possible from 1 Tim. 3:11 to infer that women also held this office, and Rom. 16:1 describes PHOEBE as a *diakonos* of the church at CENCHREA. The masculine form of the noun may signify that it is a common noun, meaning "servant," and not an official title. In any event, deaconesses do not appear to have been prevalent until the 3rd cent. The NT nowhere indicates the manner in which deacons were appointed to office, but as in the case of the Seven, they may have been chosen by the local congregation and ordained by the laying on of hands.

In view of the NT evidence, there seems to be no reasonable doubt that the apostolic church had only two official *orders* of local ministry: presbyter-bishop and deacon. The ministry exercised by these orders assumed three *forms:* Word, rule, and service. To this threefold ministry the body of Christ, equipped and empowered by his indwelling Spirit, is unceasingly summoned by its living Head until his return in glory.

(In addition to the works mentioned in the body of the article, see F. J. A. Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia* [1897]; J. B. Lightfoot, *The Christian Ministry* [1901], also found as an appendix in his *Philippians,* rev. ed. [1890], 181 –269;T. M. Lindsay, *The Church and Its Ministry in the Early Centuries* [1902]; W. Lowrie, *The Church and Its Organization in Primitive and Catholic Times* [1904]; A. von Harnack, *The Constitution and Law of the Church in the First Two Centuries* [1910]; H. B. Swete, ed., *Early History of the Church and Ministry* [1918]; B. H. Streeter, *The Primitive Church* [1929]; K. E. Kirk, ed., *The Apostolic Ministry* [1946]; S. Neill, ed., *The Ministry of the Church* [1947]; G. W. H. Lampe, *Some Aspects of the New Testament Ministry* [1949]; T. F. Torrance, *Royal Priesthood* [1955]; A. Ehrhardt, *The Apostolic Ministry* [1958]; A. T. Hanson, *The Pioneer Ministry* [1961]; E. Schweizer, *Church Order in the New Testament* [1961]; L. Morris, *Ministers of God* [1964]; R. S. Paul, *Ministry* [1965]; K. H. Rengstorf, *Apostolate and Ministry* [1969]; C. K. Barrett, *Church, Ministry and Sacraments in the New Testament* [1985]; D. A. Carson, ed., *The Church in the Bible and the World* [1987]; D. L. Bartlett, *Ministry in the New Testament* [1993]; W. Grudem, *Systematic Theology: An Introduction to Christian Doctrine* [1994], ch. 47; J. W. Thompson, *Pastoral Ministry according to Paul* [2006]; R. E. Schweitzer in *ABD,* 4:835 –42.)

R. A. BODEY

**Minni** min'i (מִנִּי *H4973,* meaning unknown). A kingdom that, along with ARARAT (Urartians) and ASHKENAZ (prob. SCYTHIANS), was summoned by God to attack BABYLON (Jer. 51:27). Its people, identified as the Manneans (Mannaeans, Assyrian *Mannai),* occupied the area to the S of Lake Urmia in western Iran from the 9th to the 7th centuries B.C. They are mentioned as a warlike people in the Assyrian inscriptions of SHALMANESER III, Shamshi-Adad V, SARGON, SENNACHERIB, ESARHADDON, and ASHURBANIPAL, and in the Urartian inscriptions of Menua, Argishti, Sardur III, and Rusa II. According to the Babylonian Chronicle they sided with the Assyrians when the Babylonians attacked in 616 B.C. Four years later, when NINEVEH fell to the Babylonians, Medes, and possibly the

Scythians, their territory became part of the Median dominion (see MEDIA), and they disappear from the record. Something of the material life of the Manneans can probably be seen from the excavations at Hasanlu S of Lake Urmia, where in Levels IV and III B a fortified citadel and metal work of some merit were found. (See R. H. Dyson in *JNES 24* [1965]: 193–217; E. Porada, *Ancient Iran* [1965], 108–22; E. Yamauchi, *Foes from the Northern Frontier: Invading Hordes from the Russian Steppes* [1982], ch. 2.)

T. C. MITCHELL

**Minnith** min'ith (מִנִּית *H4976,* meaning unknown). Apparently one of the "twenty towns" of the Ammonites which JEPHTHAH conquered (Jdg. 11:33). See AMMON. According to the description of Jephthah's campaign, which took him from AROER "to the vicinity of [*lit.,* till you come to] Minnith," this city must have been the easternmost limit of his victories. In his *Onomastica* (132.1–2), EUSEBIUS identified it with a place called *Maanith,* 4 mi. from HESHBON on the road to Philadelphia (i.e., Amman or RABBAH of the Ammonites). Its location is unknown, but proposed identifications include Umm el-Hanafish (Umm el-Basatin, halfway between Heshbon and el-Yadudeh) and Khirbet-Hamzeh (4 mi. NE of Heshbon). Ezekiel mentions the "wheat from Minnith," suggesting its exceptional quality (Ezek. 27:17; cf. 2 Chr. 27:5). Some scholars, however, emend the text (cf. RSV, "olives").

P. A. VERHOEF

**minstrel.** See MUSIC V.B.

**mint.** An aromatic herb *(Mentha longifolia,* of the *Libiatae* family). The plant has notched leaves and grows taller than the usual mint grown in Europe and the USA—often, in fact, 3 ft. high (see further *FFB,* 143–44). Dried, powdered mint leaves apparently were assiduously tithed by the Pharisees (Matt. 23:23 = Lk. 11:42; Gk. *hēdyosmon G2455).* The synagogues in our Lord's days had sprigs of mint sprinkled on the floor, so that the fragrance arose when they were walked on (cf. H. Shaw, *Plants in the Missouri Botanical Garden* [1884]). See also FLORA (under *Libiatae*).

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

**minuscule.** A cursive writing style. The term is also applied to medieval MSS that use this type of writing. See TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (NT), II.B.

**Miphkad** mif'kad. See MUSTER GATE.

**miracle.** A term commonly applied to extraordinary events that manifest God's intervention in nature and in human affairs (but see qualifications below). There are at least three reasons for studying the subject of miracles. First, one may wish to judge the claims of religious groups or individuals to continue the apostolic power to perform miracles. Second, the so-called scientific view of the world declares that miracles are and always have been impossible; to meet this objection the believer must work out a theory of natural law, a philosophy of science, or in some way relate miracles to ordinary events without impairing the unity of his or her worldview. Third, a Christian thinker has a divinely imposed obligation to know what the Bible teaches (cf. 2 Tim. 3:16), and since miracles are a part of Scripture, they too must be understood.

1. Biblical data

2. Theology and science
3. Science and theology
4. Modern miracles

**I. Biblical data.** The first miracle is the CREATION of the heavens and the earth. Or was creation really a miracle? No doubt the formation of EVE out of one of ADAM's ribs is a miracle, but is the initial creation properly so classified? What then is a miracle? How is it defined? Without a knowledge of this definition, how could one tell, for example, whether or not to include the birth of SAMUEL (1 Sam. 1)? Was DAVID's escape from SAUL's spear a miracle (18:10–11)? Unless one has the definition first, no list of miracles can be constructed. On the other hand, if there is no inclusive list, if the various miracles cannot be identified, how can one discover their common characteristics or otherwise study them? There is no escape from this dilemma without a survey of the biblical accounts and a tentative identification of the events that might possibly be miraculous.

Here only a selection, nothing like a complete list, can be made. After the creation, and after the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the garden, we come to the account of the flood. This deluge was spectacular enough, and if this is the test of the miraculous, the flood was certainly a miracle (see FLOOD, GENESIS). Rain, however, is not a miracle; hurricanes and typhoons are not miracles; the earthquakes and the breaking up of the fountains of the great deep which accompanied the rain may not be miracles. How much rain, then, and upheaval are needed to make a storm a miracle? The confusion of tongues at BABEL seems to qualify. Was the destruction of SODOM a miracle, or a natural disaster?

God commanded MOSES to throw his staff on the ground, whereupon it became a snake (Exod. 4:2–4). When Moses picked it up again by the tail, it changed back into his staff. Again, God told Moses to put his hand into his bosom, and when he took it out, it was leprous as snow. Repeating the action, his hand was restored (4:6–7). Consider the ten plagues: AARON smote the NILE with his rod and the water turned to blood; next he brought frogs to cover the land of Egypt. Then the magicians with their enchantments also turned the water into blood, and also brought frogs upon the land. Can heathen magicians perform miracles as well as Moses and Aaron?

For the third plague Aaron produced gnats (Exod. 8:16), but this time the magicians failed to duplicate the phenomenon and said to Pharaoh, "This is the finger of God" (v. 19). What is there about gnats, as distinguished from frogs, that would indicate the third plague to be the finger of God? Finally, the firstborn in every Egyptian family died in one night. Death is a natural event, and if two people die at once, it is not a miracle. But when the firstborn of every family, and not younger children, die, all during the same night, it clearly is more than a coincidence. But if this is a miracle, may a miracle be nothing more than many ordinary events happening at the same time? See PLAGUES OF EGYPT.

Consider the exodus itself. The Israelites had begun their march out of Egypt; now they faced the RED SEA and Pharaoh was in pursuit. Here the Scripture reads, "Then Moses stretched out his hand over the sea, and all that night the LORD drove the sea back with a strong east wind and turned it into dry land. The waters were divided, and the Israelites went through the sea on dry ground, with a wall of water on their right and on their left" (Exod. 14:21–22). See EXODUS, THE.

*Miracle* is sometimes defined as an immediate act of God, that is, an act in which God uses no means. If there were such an act, it undoubtedly would be a violation of natural law, for all natural processes involve means. But most of the events commonly called miracles were accomplished with the use of means. In the present instance, the crossing of the Red Sea, it is expressly stated that God

used a strong eastern wind. Possibly one might insist that no means were used in the VIRGIN BIRTH (except Mary herself) and in the RESURRECTION OF CHRIST. In that case these would be the only miracles in the Bible. However, Mary is a means in the INCARNATION, and if no one is sure how the resurrection was effected, there remain only two divine acts that by their nature completely exclude all means. These two are the creation of the world from nothing and the continuous upholding of the existence of the universe in its entirety. Yet neither of these is ordinarily considered a miracle.

To return to the exodus, note once more that the wind was not only a means, but also a natural phenomenon. Strong winds have blown back water at other times and in other places. At these other times no persecuted slaves escaped from a pursuing army. May one then call the escape of the Israelites a miracle? Or a coincidence? Literally, the safe crossing of the Red Sea was a coincidence. Two events took place at the same time. There is a good reason why Christians do not like to use the word *coincidence,* for its connotation suggests an unforeseen, unplanned, accidental event. On the other hand God had planned this coincidence from all eternity. Not only did he control wind and wave at the crucial moment, but he also prepared Moses, hardened Pharaoh's heart, and instilled courage into the Israelites to accept Moses' leadership.

For a final instance in the life of Moses, there was the PILLAR OF FIRE AND CLOUD. By these means God directed the Israelites when to march and when to make camp. These pillars seem to be neither natural nor a coincidence (except in the trivial sense in which everything is a coincidence). They also were noteworthy because, in the absence of any indication as to how they were produced, they could be thought of as immediate acts of God. On the other hand, if God rested from his work of creation, as stated in Genesis, one cannot suppose that now he created something from nothing.

Numerous other miracles follow in the OT accounts, such as BALAAM's talking donkey (Num. 22:28–30); the fall of the walls of JERICHO (Josh.


Water flowing from red granite rock at Rephidim. Somewhere in this region God told Moses to strike a rock and produce water for the Israelites.

6:1–21); the fall of DAGON's image (1 Sam. 5:1–5); ELIJAH and the widow's oil (1 Ki. 17:8–16); her son raised from the dead (17:17–24); the fire from heaven on the soaked sacrifice at Mount Carmel (18:20–40); and the chariot of fire with the fiery horses, when a whirlwind took Elijah to heaven (2 Ki. 2:1–12). Two other persons were raised from the dead (2 Ki. 4:32–37 and 13:20–21). The Assyrian army was destroyed in one night (19:20–37). Then there were the three young men who were not burned by NEBUCHADNEZZAR's superheated furnace (Dan. 3:1–30); the handwriting on the wall (5:1–30); and DANIEL in the lion's den (6:1 –28); and finally there was JONAH and the great fish

(Jon. 1–2).

The NT miracles may be divided into two groups. The first are those in which no human agent was involved. Such are the virgin birth of Christ, the star of Bethlehem, the earthquake that rent the veil of the temple and opened the graves for some saints to rise, and the resurrection of Christ himself. The second set, in which human agents are prominent, may be subdivided into two subsets: the miracles of Jesus and those of the apostles.

The miracles of Jesus are also of two varieties (see JESUS CHRIST VII). First, the HEALING miracles include the three cases in which Jesus raised the dead, as well as his expulsion of demons. The other and more ordinary miracles of healing are not only those of named individuals, but also of large crowds (cf. Matt. 8:16 and 12:15). Second, there are certain "nature miracles," few in number; and while it is obvious that the Gospels do not record all the healing miracles, it seems likely that the nature miracles are totally enumerated. They are the water turned into wine (Jn. 2:1–11); Peter's draught of fishes (Lk. 5:1–11 [miracle, coincidence, or exercise of omniscience?]); the stilling of the storm (Matt. 8:23–27; Mk. 4:35:41; Lk. 8:22–25); the multiplication of the loaves and fishes (Matt. 14:15–21; Mk. 6:30–44; Lk. 9:10–17; Jn. 6:1–14); walking on the water (Matt. 14:22–44; Mk. 6:45–51; Jn. 6:15–21); the second miraculous feeding (Matt. 15:32–39; Mk. 8:1–10); the coin in the fish's mouth (Matt. 17:24–27 [miracle or omniscience?]); and the withering of the fig tree (Matt. 21:28–20; Mk. 11:27–33; Lk. 20:1–8). The accounts of these nature miracles have a bearing on the claim that miracles, if they can be defined, have occurred in medieval and modern times.

The miracles of the apostles and some of their converts include the deaths of ANANIAS and SAPPHIRA (Acts 5:1–11); PETER's deliverance from prison (12:1–19); certain undescribed miracles by STEPHEN (6:8); PHILIP transported from Gaza to Azotus (8:39); the light on the Damascus road (9:3); PAUL's blindness and his recovery (9:8, 18); several healing miracles, some by means of Paul's handkerchiefs and aprons (19:12); EUTYCHUS raised from the dead (20:9–12); and, if it was indeed a miracle, Paul's not being hurt by the viper (28:3–6). To these one may add the widespread and spectacular instances of speaking in tongues (10:45–46; 19:6). The list, of course, is not exhaustive.

The biblical accounts may be completed by an addition to one point already mentioned. During the life of Moses the magicians were able to duplicate some of his miracles. Deuteronomy 13:1–2 warns against the miracles of false prophets, even when their prophecies prove true. The NT as well teaches the possibility and the actuality of miracles by evil powers: "For false Christs and false prophets will appear and perform great signs and miracles to deceive even the elect—if that were possible" (Matt. 24:24). According to Acts 8:9, "a man named Simon had practiced sorcery in the city and amazed all the people of Samaria." Whether this magic or sorcery was miraculous or whether it was merely clever tricks is uncertain.

The RSV ascribes to SATAN "pretended signs and wonders," suggesting that the events referred to are not real miracles (2 Thess. 2:9). This, however, is a poor translation, or at best an unnecessary interpretation. The actual phrase is "wonders of falsehood," and can mean either miracles produced by a false and evil power, or wonders intended to produce falsehood in human minds. The Greek does not suggest that the wonders are merely magic tricks. Note also that in Deuteronomy the evil miracles were not merely apparent or pretended; nor in Matthew; nor are they such in Rev. 13:13, which ascribes great signs, even making fire come down from heaven, to the beast that spoke like a dragon (cf. 16:14; 19:20).

The occurrence of miracles wrought by evil powers complicates the theological problem of defining a miracle and rules out the popular definition of a miracle as an event wrought by the

immediate power of God. As some divine miracles are not immediately wrought, so too Satan, and not God only, works miracles.

To avoid some of the theological and scientific tangles hinted at, one may point out that Scripture does not really speak of miracles at all; that is to say, the Hebrew and Greek words do not carry the precise connotations of the modern English word. It may be, for example, that the terms translated "wonder" (cf. Heb. *pele)* *H7099* and Gk. *teras G5469*) indicate that such events are wonderful and amazing; similarly, "power" (Gk. *dynamis G1539*) shows the need of a more than human endowment; and "sign" (Heb. *)ôt H253* and Gk. *sēmeion G4956*) refers to the purpose of these events. But a knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, or English words as such will not take us beyond their ordinary meanings, much less avoid any real problems, and still less solve them.

As a transition to these problems one should note that, contrary to some recent views, REGENERATION and ordinary answers to PRAYER are not considered miracles. In Gen. 19:21–22 the answer to LOT's prayer, namely, that a certain small city not be destroyed along with Sodom, does not look like a miracle. After ELIEZER prayed, standing by the well, none of REBEKAH's words and actions, which answered his prayer, was in any way miraculous (Gen. 24:10–27). Nor was Ezra's safe journey, prayed for in Ezra 8:21–23 and answered in 8:31, a miracle. Neither is regeneration a miracle, for the events to which Scripture applies the designation are public, visible, spectacular events.

They must be visible events, for this is essential to their purpose. One of the words by which Scripture designates these events is SIGN. They are signs, not so much to the agent as to the general public; hence they must be easily observable. In various places Scripture states the purpose of miracles. In Exod. 4:5 God told Moses to perform miracles "so that they may believe that the LORD, the God of their fathers…has appeared to you." Thus the miracles attested Moses' divine mission. In the NT miracles attested Christ's claims. The man born blind reproached the Pharisees: "Now that is remarkable! You don't know where he comes from,


A view of the Bitter Lakes region in Egypt. The miraculous dividing of the water at the time of the exodus probably took place near this location.

yet he opened my eyes" (Jn. 9:30; cf. 3:2 and Matt. 9:6; 14:33).

The miracle does not always so directly attest the divine messenger; sometimes in a more general way it impresses the beholder with the nature and attributes of God. The series of miracles mentioned in Exod. 15:13 express God's mercy; the miraculous punishment of DATHAN and ABIRAM declared them to have been enemies of the Lord, and so served as a warning to others (Num. 16:30), and God's mighty acts demonstrate his greatness and power (Deut. 3:24). There is also the miracle of the virgin birth. Thus, miracles by their purpose must be events in the external world, and not inward workings of providence and grace.

**II. Theology and science.** This survey of the biblical data has touched on two closely intertwined problems. The first may perhaps be viewed as theological because theologians would like to have a definition of *miracle*. Yet the desire to frame such a definition is not motivated merely by a desire to find the common element in all these events, but rather to relate these events to the ordinary course of nature. In particular, since secular science often has denied the possibility of miracles, a Christian must know what they are before he can relate them to scientific law.

This problem early attracted the attention of AUGUSTINE. Holding the view that God created nature and that therefore any event in the visible world was natural, he concluded that miracles violate not nature itself, but what we know about nature. In one place he gives the impression that a miracle consists of accelerating natural processes, for when Christ turned the water into wine, he took only a moment to do what rain does by being absorbed by the vine and then fermenting into wine. Christ's healing miracles also can easily be thought of as an acceleration of natural recuperation. But surely the virgin birth, walking on the water, and the resurrection from the dead do not so easily fit Augustine's theory.

The scheme of Thomas Aquinas is more intricate than that of Augustine. He asserts, for example, that "God can do something outside this [natural] order created by him, when he chooses—for instance, by producing the effects of secondary causes without them" (*Summa theol.* I, Q. 105, A. 6). Apparently this means that natural events are tied together in a series of causes and effects. The law of nature then is the law of causality. On this showing, a miracle is an event that has no cause—no natural, secondary cause, but the primary cause only, that is, God. The secondary causes are presumably the efficient causes rather than the material causes, for in the case of Christ's turning the water into wine, it is obvious that Christ used water as the matter on which he imposed the form of wine. This miracle seems to be a proper example of the definitive phrase. Yet the example Aquinas actually gives is that of a man who lifts a heavy body: this, he says, is against nature, for it is against the nature of a heavy body to move upward. To our modern scientific mind there is nothing "against" natural law in picking up a rock; and to our Protestant Christian minds picking up a rock is a poor example of a miracle.

Strangely enough, Aquinas immediately proceeds to argue that "Where God does anything against that order of nature which we know and are accustomed to observe, we call it a miracle." This may be merely a repetition of Augustine; nevertheless there is some difficulty in the explanation of this proposition. What is the relation between a miracle and our knowledge? Is it our knowledge (or rather our ignorance) that makes an event a miracle? Aquinas allows that an eclipse does not seem miraculous to an astronomer, who knows its cause; though to a rustic who does not know its cause the eclipse seems miraculous. Is then the same event a miracle to a rustic and a natural occurrence to an astronomer? Of course Aquinas does not settle for any such simple unsatisfactory account of miracles. An eclipse is not a miracle, even if the rustic thinks so; for a miracle is not an event whose cause is

hidden merely from uneducated people. The cause of a miracle is hidden from all people, and this cause is God.

Some difficulty still remains. There are undoubtedly orders of nature still undiscovered and unknown by learned scientists. Nuclear fission was universally unknown less than a century ago; and if this is what takes place in the sun and in novae, were these processes miraculous prior to their discovery? Similarly there must be other discoveries yet to be made. We do not know the cause of various diseases, but does this make them miracles? Then when their secondary cause is discovered, will they no longer be miracles?

If, now, these suggestions are unacceptable, the explanations must be amended. Aquinas wrote, "Therefore those things which God does outside the cause which we know are called miracles." He ought to have written that those things are miracles whose causes will never be known. Even this amendment faces difficulties, however. First, no one can tell what new laws may be discovered; therefore no one could possibly know that an event was a miracle. This first objection depends on the indefinite extension of the knowledge of how nature works.There is also a second and more modern difficulty, a supposition that would not have occurred to Aquinas. It is the supposition that science never has discovered, and never will discover, any laws of nature. In this case every event would be a miracle because of our total ignorance of how nature works. Absurd as this would have sounded to Aquinas, it is no idle speculation today. Operationalism, a modern philosophy of science discussed below, is such a theory; and combined with the last quotation from Aquinas, it would imply that every event is a miracle. Even aside from operationalism, Sir Isaac Newton freely admitted that he did not know the cause of gravitation, but surely this does not make the fall of a pebble a miracle.

Another difficulty in Aquinas's view is that God must be the immediate and sole cause of a miraculous event. The "effect" must occur without the aid of secondary causes. There are, in fact, two difficulties in this conception. First, although a mysterious disease might thus be quickly ruled out of the category of miracles on a superficial view, yet more profoundly it seems necessary to know what the cause of the disease is in order to know that God is not its cause. As long as we remain ignorant of the cause, the possibility remains open that God is the cause and every case of this disease is a miracle.

The second difficulty is this: if God must be the cause of a miracle then demons cannot work miracles, as the Bible says they can. Naturally, Thomas is well aware that the Bible attributes signs and wonders to demons and false prophets. He tells us that "Pharaoh's magicians made real frogs and real serpents; but they will not be real miracles, because they will be done by the power of natural causes, as stated in the First Part, Q. 114, A. 4" (*Summa theol.* II ii, Q. 178 Art. 1, Reply Obj. 1). The reference in the First Part says, "If we take a miracle in the strict sense, the demons cannot work miracles, nor can any creature, but God alone; for in the strict sense, a miracle is something done outside the order of the entire created nature.…But sometimes miracle may be taken, in a wide sense, for whatever exceeds human power and experience. And thus demons can work miracles."

This explanation seems to be an evasion and subterfuge. There are indeed certain biblical miracles where no created being was the agent; for example, the virgin birth, in which Mary was the patient, not the agent. But if the term *miracle* is to be restricted to such as this, the miracles of Moses are ignored. If, on the contrary, one wishes to explain the mighty works of Moses, Elijah, and the miracles of Paul, one cannot rule out demons. Both Paul and the demons are created beings. To ignore their miracles by an arbitrary choice of "a strict sense," is to neglect the greater part of the material.

Therefore Aquinas must and did say something about miracles "in a wide sense." Aquinas explains how the magicians produced frogs: "All the transformations of corporeal things which can

be produced by certain natural powers, to which we must assign the seminal principles [that exist in the elements, and by which nature transmutes matter from one form to another], can be produced by the operation of the demons, by the employment of these principles; such as the transformation of certain things [a staff, or the water of the Nile] into serpents or frogs, which can be produced by putrefaction."

One should not judge Aquinas too severely for his reliance upon the science of his medieval society; but it still seems within the realm of scholarly propriety to question whether, apart from the science, the paragraph adds to our understanding of demonic miracles. Even if frogs are not produced by putrefaction, the account pictures the demons as advanced scientists, able to utilize the laws of nature in a manner not yet discovered in the 13th cent. And were the apostles advanced scientists also?

The *Catholic Encyclopedia* of 1911 (10:338) bases its theory of miracles on the Thomistic position. It insists, as Aquinas had done, that miracles must be evident to the senses. This is essential because of their purpose. They are to excite admiration, accredit a prophet, or in some way impress God's glory on the beholder. When, however, miracles are said to be evident, the intention must be, not only to rule out invisible spiritual experiences, but chiefly to maintain that the visible event is identifiable as a miracle. Identification, however, requires a criterion. By what criterion can a miracle be distinguished from any other unusual event?

To be identifiable as a miracle, says this encyclopedia, the event must be either "above" nature (i.e., something nature cannot do, like the resurrection of Lazarus) or "outside" nature (like the multiplication of the loaves, which nature can do, but not in the manner actually used) or "contrary" to nature (no example is given). "In a miracle God's action relative to its bearing on natural forces is analogous to the action of a human personality [who uses nature but does not violate natural law]. Thus, e.g., it is against the nature of iron to float, but the action of Eliseus in raising the axe-head to the surface of the water…is no more a violation, or a transgression, or an infraction, of natural laws than if he raised it with his hand."

Now, it is surprising that a Catholic theologian would reduce Elisha's miracle to the level of picking up the iron with his hand. Confusion follows surprise because in the next paragraph the argument seems to assume that miracles violate natural laws. The question is, how can a miracle be identified? The encyclopedia explains that this depends on knowledge of natural forces: if certain events are natural, others that do not qualify are miracles. To quote: "In enlarging our knowledge of natural forces, the progress of science has curtailed their sphere." Since the advance of science has extended rather than curtailed the sphere of law, the author of this article probably means that the advance of science has curtailed *the sphere of miracles,* and he actually concludes: "Hence as soon as we have reason to suspect that any event, however uncommon or rare it appears, may arise from natural causes…we immediately lose the conviction of its being a miracle." This view, however, seems to abolish all miracles. For if knowledge of natural law enables one to identify a miracle (on the supposition that by this knowledge one can know what is not natural), no event could be so identified as long as science can advance and eventually bring the event in question under a law not now known.

Protestant theologians also have fallen into similar confusion. One of them summarily disposed of objections to miracles on the ground that if we can violate the law of gravitation by picking up a weight, there is no reason to suppose that God cannot. Unfortunately, on the basis of Newtonian science, picking up a weight neither violates the law nor interrupts its action. To avoid such confusion theologians should consider the status of natural law.

**III. Science and theology.** Thus the discussion of miracles requires a philosophy of science. At this point the modern attack on the possibility of miracles begins. David Hume (1711–76), the most famous opponent of miracles, defined a miracle as a transgression of a law of nature. He then argued that since the laws of nature have been established by a firm and unalterable experience, there must be a uniform experience against every miraculous event.

This argument, though simply stated, contains several complexities. First, it is not consistent with Hume's main position. In arguing against miracles Hume appeals to certain laws of nature, firmly established by uniform experience. But Hume's empiricism does not permit the assertion of any uniform or universal law of any kind. This was one of Kant's main points against Hume (see KNOWLEDGE).

If, in the second place, one wishes to retain the attack on miracles, and avoid inconsistency by dropping Hume's empiricism, several other difficulties come into view. From the standpoint of strict logic the argument is invalid. To say that an unalterable experience has established these laws and that therefore violations cannot have occurred is to beg the question. The argument says no more than that miracles cannot have happened because no one ever saw a miracle. Such an argument offers as proof the very proposition it claims to prove. Though the circularity of the argument is obvious, naturalistic scientists support it with massive buttresses. Experimentation, so they claim, has repeatedly confirmed certain mathematical equations, and these equations accurately describe the phenomenon in question; therefore these equations, so repeatedly confirmed, must describe phenomena outside the laboratories, both in the distant past and in the distant future.

Of course, neither the distant past nor, much less, any of the future has ever been observed. This was precisely Hume's point in his argument against universal truths, and it is difficult for an experimenter to escape the strictures of Hume's skeptical empiricism. The claim that all nature must conform to a minuscule section is a statement of faith based on something other than a firm and unalterable experience. It is not based on experience at all. To produce a philosophy that would justify this claim is difficult to do. With the help of a somewhat intricate argument, the thesis may be shown to be both impossible and even implausible.

The argument must proceed in two stages: first, the Newtonian science, regnant from 1685 to 1900, under which Hume's argument and the scientific materialism of the 19th cent. were formulated, must be analyzed and evaluated; second, the scientific revolution of the 20th cent. also must be taken into account. Newtonian science was essentially the philosophy of mechanism. Mathematical equations, formulated on the basis of experimentation, were supposed to be accurate descriptions of how natural processes took place. These equations enabled scientists both to predict and to understand. As Laplace put it: Given the positions and velocities of every particle in the universe, one can calculate their positions at any future time. Lord Kelvin claimed to understand if, and only if, he could construct a mechanical model of a natural phenomenon. When these laws and others not yet discovered are universalized, that is, when every motion and process

God's extraordinary creation of the world stands behind the Christian belief in miracles.

throughout the universe is said to be describable by differential equations, miracles are ruled out. Life and mind are ruled out too, unless these words are used behavioristically to designate certain sets of physical motions.

This mechanistic philosophy was asserted with great confidence. Ludwig Büchner's *Kraft und Stuff,* which passed through at least seventeen German and twenty-two foreign editions, claims absolute certainty on several pages and states, "It follows with absolute certainty that motion is as eternal and uncreatable…as force and matter"; and, "With the most absolute truth and with the greatest scientific certainty can we say this day: There is nothing miraculous in the world" *(Force and Matter: Empirico-Philosophical Studies, Intelligibly Rendered* [1891], 58–66 and 74–81).

Similarly Karl Pearson wrote, "The goal of science is…the complete interpretation of the universe.…It claims that the whole range of phenomena, mental as well as physical—the entire universe—is its field" *(Grammar of Science* [1911], 14, 24). And he further asserted that science can pronounce "absolute judgments." Ernest Nagel's presidential address in 1954 before the American Philosophical Association depended substantially on Hume's type of argument when he said, "The occurrence of events…and the characteristic behaviors of various individuals are contingent on the organization of spatio-temporally located bodies, whose internal structures and external relations determine and limit the appearance and disappearance of everything that happens. That this is so, is one of the best-tested conclusions of experience.…There is no place for…an immaterial spirit directing the course of events." Hans Reichenbach expresses similar confidence: the results of science are "established with a superpersonal validity and universally accepted" *(Modern Philosophy of Science* [1959], 136, 149).

This confidence is misplaced, and it is strange that Reichenbach repeats a sentiment of 1900 sixty years later. So wide-sweeping are the changes science has undergone during the past century that the Newtonian laws are no longer universally accepted; and so rapid and so profound have these changes been, promising still wider changes to come, that no one can any longer believe that science has the absolute and final truth. If anything is universally recognized, it is that the results of science are tentative. But to convince a stubborn mechanist who may still think that the new laws, however different from Newton's, and some further equations will describe nature and rule out miracles, an analysis of laboratory procedures can show that such equations do not describe natural processes.

To justify these criticisms, the law of the pendulum will serve as an adequate example. This law states that the period of the swing is proportional to the square root of the length. If, however, the

weight of the bob is unevenly displaced around its center, the law will not hold. The law assumes that the bob is homogeneous, that the weight is symmetrically distributed along all axes, or more technically, that the mass is concentrated at a point. No such bob exists, and hence the law is not an accurate description of any tangible pendulum. Second, the law assumes that the pendulum swings by a tensionless string. There is no such string, so that the scientific law does not describe any real pendulum. And third, the law could be true only if the pendulum swung on an axis without friction. There is no such axis. It follows, therefore, that no visible pendulum accords with the mathematical formula and that the formula is not a description of any existing pendulum.

Further analysis supports the same conclusion. All experimentation depends on measuring a line, perhaps the length of mercury in a thermometer, perhaps the distance on a balance between the zero mark and another mark on the scale, or perhaps some other line. Whatever the line may be, the scientist measures it many times, and his readings all differ. The temperature is never the same and the weight always changes. Now, when the scientist adds up his readings and computes their mean, one may ask why the arithmetic mean describes the natural object more accurately than one of the actual measurements. One also may ask why, if an average must be used, the arithmetic mean is a more accurate description of nature than the mode, or perhaps the median.

These two considerations, the example of the pendulum and the measurement of a line, suffice by themselves to show that the laws of science are not descriptions of nature's workings. But a third and more technical point is utterly conclusive. After the scientist calculates his mean, he calculates the variable error. That is, he subtracts each reading from the mean and takes the average of these differences. This gives him some such figure as 19.31±.0025. The plus-or-minus quantity designates a length and not a point. The significance of this lies in the fact that when the scientist draws his curve (equation) on a graph, he is not restricted to points, but may draw his curve anywhere through certain areas. This means that the experimental observations, already modified mathematically, never limit the scientist to any one law, but allow him to choose from among an infinite number of equations. Since in this situation there is zero probability of selecting the law that actually describes nature, it would be a miracle if he did so. What is worse, even if the miracle should occur, the scientist could never know it.

Therefore Newtonian science (quite apart from the amazing advances of more recent times) could never rule out miracles because its methods do not result in a knowledge of how nature works. Contemporary science is no more successful in this regard, although it is incredibly more successful in other ways. Newtonian physics was overthrown for several reasons. Its first law of motion is scientifically unverifiable; its need for simultaneous measurements cannot be met; the quantum theory replaced the untenable wave theory of light, and produced a confusion that scientists can utilize but cannot explain; a new equation for the addition of velocities was needed; and the law of gravitation proved inconsistent with the distribution of galaxies in distant space.

What is important in this for miracles is not any of the scientific details, but the new philosophy of science that these advances stimulated. Traditionally science had been regarded as an attempt to understand and describe nature. This is still the popular view, but it no longer commands universal assent among scientists. Many physicists consciously accept a new theory called operationalism, and presumably all physicists have at least some operational ideas embedded in their thinking.

Operationalism is the theory that the concepts of science, instead of referring to or describing natural objects, are defined by and express the operations of laboratory procedure. Length, for example, is not a characteristic of a pendulum, it is a set of operations. Since the operations of measuring a pendulum are quite different from those by which the diameter of a molecule is

measured, and these are vastly different from the operations of measuring distances in stellar space, there is not one concept of length or distance, there are three. In ordinary English one word may be used, but it has three vastly different meanings; it refers to three different things; it refers to three sets of operations.

The aim of science therefore is not to understand or describe the actual processes of nature. The aim of science is to utilize nature for human purposes. One can easily make clear that utilization may occur without an understanding of natural processes; and it is worthwhile to make it clear because invention and its accompanying prediction often are used to defend the truth of scientific laws.

The argument claims that if a scientist can predict an eclipse or produce television, the result confirms the laws he used and proves them true. This argument is a logical fallacy that goes by the name of "asserting the consequent." It may be true that a given equation implies the occurrence of an eclipse at a certain moment, or that other equations imply the success of television; but the occurrence of the eclipse does not imply or justify the law. One might as well argue: if it is raining, I carry an umbrella; look, I am carrying an umbrella, therefore it is raining. The flaw in the fallacy of asserting the consequent lies in the fact that although Kepler's laws actually imply an eclipse, many other sets of possible laws also imply the same eclipse. Therefore the occurrence of the eclipse does not confirm one set rather than another. Successful prediction and invention, accordingly, is no proof of the truth of any law of science.

If one were now to brush aside considerations of logic and were to make the optimistic claim that, whatever flaws Newtonian science may have suffered with, the second half of the 20th cent. discovered the absolute and final truth—so final that no more changes will ever occur—it would remain undeniably obvious that the invention of the steam engine, telegraph, incandescent bulb, and airplane was accomplished through the application of laws we now know to be false. Why then cannot the present laws be false without preventing still more amazing inventions?

The argument therefore is this: since science can make no pronouncement on how nature operates in its ordinary course, it has no basis on which to conclude that miracles cannot happen. Such a defense of the possibility of miracles has been rather minimal or negative; it has put the matter in the worst possible light. No doubt this is proper strategy against enemy attack, but the full force of the case for miracles requires something more positive.

It has been shown that the attack on miracles was not based solely on laboratory observation; nor even on the subsequent mathematical manipulation. Rather there was a nonobservational, a priori assumption that mechanism was universal and that either there is no God at all, or at most some impersonal principle unable to operate in the world otherwise than through mechanism.

The Christian position on miracles is not set in such a materialistic or pantheistic background, nor even in a more neutral or noncommittal background. Under any such conditions miracles would be suspicious, freakish, or out of place. When, however, one adopts a view of the world as God's creation, and when God is regarded as a living, acting, personal Being, the appropriateness of miracles depends on God's purposes. In such a theistic worldview, where God desires to have some converse with mankind, the occurrence of miracles is no longer an anomaly.

Also to be noted is the fact that apart from the purpose of God no connotative definition of miracles can be derived from the biblical events usually so regarded. A denotative list is all that can be had and is all that is necessary. The Christian is not obliged to defend a "transgression of a law of nature" or any other definition: he needs only defend the occurrence of the events described in the Bible. Furthermore, the biblical view takes account of human SIN, another anomaly in pantheism or scientism; and if God has plans of redemption, miracles may be confidently expected.

When the biblical miracles are taken out of their proper setting, the argument against them can seem plausible. Hume tried to compare the resurrection of Christ with a hypothetical resurrection of Queen Elizabeth. Since few people would believe that Queen Elizabeth had risen from the dead, even if twelve or five hundred witnesses said so, Hume wishes to conclude that we should not believe that Christ rose.

In spite of a superficial plausibility, Hume's argument contains several defects. First, even he admits that he could not account for the apparent death of Elizabeth, although this apparent death is necessary if witnesses to a resurrection are to be mistaken. Second, Queen Elizabeth may have been the virgin queen, but she was not virgin born, nor did she work miracles, nor was her reign prophesied hundreds of years beforehand. Hume is trying to place a resurrection in a life where it does not fit. Christ's life was quite otherwise. Then, finally, and most profoundly, Hume's argument acquires its superficial plausibility by refusing to face the question of divine providence and revelation. He shows that a resurrection is alien to *his* concept of world history. But this is irrelevant, for the miracles of Christianity take place in a different sort of world.

If God lives, miracles are not only possible, they are appropriate; and whether or not one has occurred is not a question for secular science, but is a matter of testimony by divinely appointed witnesses.

**IV. Modern miracles.** At the beginning of this article one of the reasons given for studying the subject was the evaluation of certain postbiblical claims. The Roman church claims to have performed miracles throughout the Middle Ages and down to date. Currently there are popular evangelists who claim to heal. A magazine has advertised a prayer cloth that when placed on the forehead will relieve a headache. Then there is the phenomenon of speaking in tongues, earlier restricted to the Pentecostals, but now having spread into other denominations.

The scientific argument just completed does not permit a common argument often used against faith healing. Instead of denying the cures claimed by Roman Catholics and Pentecostals, some people admit the events occur but assert that they can be explained by natural, perhaps psychological, laws, and therefore are not miraculous. The analysis of scientific procedure shows that no one has ever discovered a natural law, and therefore these cases of healing cannot be so classified.

Nor did the earlier examination of scriptural data discover any common characteristic of all miracles, on the basis of which one could decide whether a contemporary cure exhibits the necessary traits. The only characteristic discoverable in Scripture is the fact that miracles are unusual and amazing; otherwise, to all appearances, they were performed in a variety of ways. But amazement comes in many degrees, for which reason the question under consideration is difficult.

Many alleged miracles are patently fraudulent. B. B. Warfield in his *Counterfeit Miracles* (1918) gives some medieval examples, such as the starving Christina Mirabilis nourishing herself with her own virgin milk. But no matter how many fraudulent miracles there may be, it does not prove that all are. Similar is Warfield's comparison of the cures at Lourdes with sudden and remarkable cures in hospitals by the command of a physician, without any medical treatment, all in a situation where no suggestion of divine intervention is present. This may be sufficient to cause us to lose confidence in Lourdes; but it provides no valid implication with respect to other alleged miracles. One must admit the same thing concerning speaking in tongues. The phenomenon was fraudulent and contrived in the Irvingite movement; presumably it is usually the result of extraordinary emotional strain, and in no way amazing; but the possibility still remains that some cases are a gift of the Holy Ghost. See TONGUES, GIFT OF.

It does not seem possible therefore by any direct and conclusive argument to demonstrate that miracles do not occur today. Even if they were not very numerous, an advocate of modern miracles could point out that biblical miracles were not equally numerous in every century. Sometimes two, three, or even four centuries went by without a recorded miracle.

Yet this fact of the sporadic occurrence of biblical miracles lends itself to a somewhat indirect argument, not technically valid, but which nonetheless decreases one's confidence in modern claims. The miracles of the Bible occurred at times of great crises and, as has been shown, were intended to attest a divine messenger—Moses, Elijah, or Christ—and thus to initiate a new stage of religious history. The present world crisis is more political than religious, and resembles the fall of Roman civilization more than a religious upheaval such as Christ and the apostles accomplished. The charismatic movements have not brought a new revelation on a par with the Bible; thus their tongues and faith healing must be viewed with suspicion.

This indirect and not quite conclusive argument against modern miracles is well stated by Warfield in the book already mentioned: miracles ceased to occur in the 1st cent.; writers during the 2nd cent. do not mention any as having happened in their day; the beginning of medieval superstitions is in the late 3rd or 4th cent.; and since true miracles were intended to support the authority of the apostles, none have occurred since. The crux of this argument lies in connecting miracles exclusively with special REVELATION. And indeed this is consistent with the biblical statements about the purpose of miracles. Support for this conclusion also may be found in 1 Cor. 13:8, "But where there are prophecies, they will cease; where there are tongues, they will be stilled." Others question the validity of these arguments (e.g., J. Deere, *Surprised by the Power of the Spirit: A Former Dallas Professor Discovers That God Still Speaks and Heals Today* [1993]; W. Grudem, *Systematic Theology: An Introduction to Christian Doctrine* [1994], ch. 17).

But if the exegesis is doubtful and the tie between miracles and revelation a little loose, a firm conclusion may nonetheless be drawn that there is no conclusive proof that miracles actually have taken place since apostolic times. The burden of proof lies heavily on those who assert modern miracles. Their claims would become more plausible if one of them were to walk on the Sea of Galilee, feed 5,000 people with five rolls and two fishes, or raise the dead. This would be amazing; it would indeed be miraculous.

(See further A. B. Bruce, *The Miraculous Element in the Gospels* [1886]; F. R. Tennant, *Miracle and its Philosophical Presuppositions* [1928]; C. S. Lewis, *Miracles: A Preliminary Study* [1947]; G. H. Clark, *The Philosophy of Science and Belief in God* [1964]; D. Bridge, *Signs and Wonders Today* [1985]; C. Brown, *That You May Believe: Miracles and Faith—Then and Now* [1985]; E. N. Gross, *Miracles, Demons, and Spiritual Warfare: An Urgent Call for Discernment* [1990]; G. H. Twelftree, Jesus *the Miracle Worker: A Historical and Theological Study* [1999]; C. J. Collins, *The God of Miracles: An Exegetical Examination of God's Action in the World* [2000]; C. Hitchcock, ed., *Contemporary Debates in Philosophy of Science* [2004]; A. Rosenberg, *Philosophy of Science: A Contemporary Introduction,* 2nd ed. [2005]; D. Corner, *The Philosophy of Miracles* [2007].)

G. H. CLARK

**Miriam** mihr'ee-uhm (מִרְיָם *H5319,* derivation disputed, with proposals including Egyp. *mryt* ["beloved"], Akk. *rym* ["gift"], Heb. מָרָה *H5286* ["to be obstinate"], and others; see also MARY). (1) Daughter of AMRAM and JOCHEBED, and sister of MOSES and AARON (Num. 26:59; 1 Chr. 6:3).

Miriam is first mentioned by name on the occasion of her leading the women in the chorus of the Song of Moses at the time of the crossing of the RED SEA by the Israelites on dry land when they left Egypt (Exod. 15:20–21). At an earlier time she had watched the ark that her mother had prepared for the baby Moses (2:3–8). The little ark was put into the river and floated until PHARAOH's daughter took the child from the ark. Miriam, seeing all of this, alertly offered to the princess the services of Moses' real mother to care for the child.

In the book of Numbers she is mentioned frequently. With her brother Aaron, she opposed Moses at Hazeroth because of his wife who was a CUSHITE WOMAN (Num. 12:1). The opposition was more deep-seated than this, however, for it is clear that a jealousy over his leadership was involved (v. 2). God completely vindicated Moses at this time and rebuked Miriam and Aaron for their challenge to his leadership (vv. 4–8). Miriam was probably the instigator, for the brunt of the punishment for this insurrection fell upon her and she became leprous (v. 10). Aaron interceded before Moses for her and Moses pleaded to God that she be healed (vv. 11–12), and she was healed; however, she was compelled to remain outside the camp of Israel for seven days after the cleansing.

The death of Miriam is recorded. She died in the wilderness of ZIN at KADESH BARNEA and was buried there. The punishment of Miriam continued to be a warning in Israel that they should not rebel against the Lord's chosen ones. Moses recalled the punishment of Miriam to the people in his address to Israel just before his own death (Deut. 24:9). She is long afterward still recognized as one of the great leaders of Israel in the wilderness (Mic. 6:4). She is called a prophetess and undoubtedly was highly regarded in Israel long after her death. (Jewish tradition identifies Miriam further as an ancestor of BEZALEL; cf. Jos. *Ant*. 3.6.1 §105.)

(2) Son of MERED (apparently by his wife BITHIAH, Pharaoh's daughter) and descendant of JUDAH through CALEB (1 Chr. 4:17; note that NRSV, to clarify the sense, includes here part of v. 18). Some leave open the possibility that this Miriam too was a woman.

J. B. SCOTT

**Mirma** mihr'muh. KJV form of MIRMAH.

**Mirmah** mihr'muh (מִרְמָה *H5328,* possibly "deceit"). KJV Mirma. Son of SHAHARAIM and descendant of BENJAMIN; a family head (1 Chr. 8:10). Mirmah was one of seven children that were born to Shaharaim in MOAB by his wife HODESH after he had divorced Hushim and Baara (vv. 8–9).

**mirror.** In biblical times a mirror was a polished metal surface held in the hand to see the reflection of objects, especially of the face. (The KJV rendering "[looking] glass" is an anachronism, since glass mirrors were not introduced until some time in the 1st cent. after Christ.) Women donated bronze mirrors to make the LAVER for the TABERNACLE (Exod. 38:8; Heb. *mar)â H5262).* Many ancient bronze mirrors have been found in Egypt, usually with a round or oval surface and a handle, which often is decorated. Excavations in Palestine have unearthed bronze mirrors imported from Egypt or influenced by Egyptian models. The bright yellow summer sky on a hot day before a wind storm is compared to a molten mirror (i.e., one made of cast bronze, Job 37:18; Heb. *rĕ)î H8023).* The only other possible reference to mirrors in the OT is a difficult text (Isa. 3:23; the Heb. term here is *gillāyôn H1663,* which the NRSV renders "garments of gauze").

The common Greek term for "mirror" is *esoptron G2269.* There are two references in the APOCRYPHA: the need of constantly watching to avoid harm from an enemy is compared to the chore of polishing

Collection of copper mirrors from Egypt.

a metal mirror to keep away corrosion (Sir. 12:11); and wisdom is said to be a spotless mirror of the activity of God (Wisd. 7:26). In the NT, Paul compares our present knowledge of divine things to seeing indirectly and imperfectly in a mirror (1 Cor. 13:12), while James compares the person "who listens to the word but does not do what it says" to someone "who looks at his face in a mirror" but "immediately forgets what he looks like" (Jas. 1:23). When Paul says that believers "with unveiled faces all reflect the Lord's glory" (2 Cor. 3:18), he may imply that Christians should be mirrors of Christ; however, the verb *katoptrizō G3002* possibly means "to contemplate as in a mirror," in which case Paul is suggesting that believers *see* the Lord's glory "as though reflected in a mirror" (NRSV).

(See N. Hugedé, *La metaphore du miroir dans les épitres de St. Paul aux Corinthiens* [1957]; D. H. Gill, "Through a Glass Darkly," *CBQ* 25 [1963]: 427–29; W. C. van Unnik, "With Unveiled *Face," Nov T 6* [1963]: 153–69.)

J. ALEXANDER THOMPSON

**Misael** mis'ay-uhl. KJV Apoc. form of MISHAEL (1 Esd. 9:44).

**mischief.** This English term occurs about fifty times in the KJV as a rendering of several Hebrew words (Gen. 42:4 et al.; in the NT only once, Acts. 13:10). It occurs much less frequently in the NRSV, and not at all in the NIV. Modern versions prefer such renderings as "harm, evil, injury, trouble," and others.

**Misgab** mis'gab. The KJV transliteration of Hebrew *miśgāb H5369,* treating it as the name of a place in MOAB (Jer. 48:1). It is more likely to be taken as a common noun meaning "stronghold" or "fortress."

**Mishael** mish'ay-uhl (מִישָׁאֵל *H4792,* "who is like God?" or "who belongs to God?"). (1) Son of Uzziel and descendant of LEVI through KOHATH (Exod. 6:22). One of Uzziel's brothers was AMRAM (father of MOSES), SO Mishael was Moses' first cousin. Mishael and his brother ELZAPHAN were called by Moses to carry out the bodies of NADAB and ABIHU after their sin and death (Lev. 10:4–5).

(2) One of the prominent men (not identified as priests) who stood near EZRA when the law was read at the great assembly (Neh. 8:4; 1 Esd. 9:44 [KJV, "Misael"]).

(3) The Jewish name of Meshach, one of DANIEL's three companions in Babylon (Dan. 1:6–7 et al.). See SHADRACH, MESHACH, ABEDNEGO.

**Mishal** m*i*'shuhl (מִשְׁאָל *H5398,* possibly "[place of] request, inquiry"). A town within the tribal territory of ASHER (Josh. 19:26 KJV, "Misheal"); it was one of the four towns allotted to the Levites descended from GERSHON (Josh. 21:30–31). The town is called MASHAL in the parallel passage (1 Chr. 6:74), and it is attested in Egyptian texts (in the form *mšir,* see Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], 144, 160). The site has not been positively identified, but one possibility is modern Tell Kisan, about 5 mi. SE of Acco.

**Misham** m*i*'shuhm (מִשְׁעָם *H5471,* derivation unknown). Son of ELPAAL and descendant of BENJAMIN (1 Chr. 8:12).

**Misheal** mish'ee-uhl. KJV form of MISHAL.

**Mishma** mish'muh (מִשְׁמָע *H5462,* possibly "hearing," i.e., "obedient"). (1) Son of ISHMAEL and grandson of ABRAHAM (Gen. 25:14; 1 Chr. 1:30). E. A. Knauf (*ABD,* 4:871) has proposed a connection with the Isamme), apparently an Arabian tribe described in Assyrian sources as "a confederation of (the worshipers of) the god Atarsamain" (*ANET,* 299a). See also MIBSAM.

(2) Son of SHAUL or, more likely, of Mibsam; included in the genealogy of SIMEON (1 Chr. 4:25).

E. B. SMICK

**Mishmannah** mish-man'uh (מִשְׁמַנָּה *H5459,* possibly "fat" or "noble" [cf. *HALOT,* 2:649]). A Gadite who joined DAVID's forces at ZIKLAG (1 Chr. 12:10). The Gadites are described as "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). See GAD, TRIBE OF.

**Mishnah** mish'nuh (postbiblical Heb. מִשְׁנָה, "repetition, teaching [by recitation], oral law" [from שָׁנָה *H9101,* "to repeat"]). Also Mishna. The collection of halakic traditions (legal rulings and discussions —see HALAKAH) transmitted orally by rabbis for a number of generations, but finally codified and written down about A.D. 200 by Rabbi Yehudah ha-Nasi, that is, Judah the Prince. (The term, however, is sometimes used of Jewish religious instruction in general during that period, or of collections of teachings by individual rabbis. Moreover, a *mishnah* refers to a specific proposition within the Mishnah.) Because it thus embodies the *oral law* (i.e., "the tradition of the elders," Matt. 15:2–6; Mk. 7:3–13; cf. Gal. 1:14), the Mishnah is distinguished from, but viewed as correlative to, the Mikra *(miqrā) H5246,* "reading," later "biblical reading or teaching"), that is, the Scriptures or the *written law.*

According to one tradition, the Mishnah goes back to Mount SINAI, where God supposedly gave to MOSES oral instruction in addition to the tablets of the law, and that instruction was passed on by word of mouth through the generations (cf. *m. Abot* 1:1). It is possible that the historical origins of the halakic teachings contained in the Mishnah go back to the time of EZRA or soon after, but some scholars dispute even that. Certainly most of the material developed from the 1st cent. B.C. to the 2nd cent. A.D. The rabbis who taught during this period are referred to as the *Tannaim* (from Aram. *tĕnê,* "to repeat, teach," cognate of Heb. *šānā'*). Some of them—such as Rabbi AKIBA, who lived during the first decades of the 2nd cent.—probably made their own collections of halakic traditions, which in turn were used by Rabbi Judah.

The Mishnah is divided into six sections or *orders:* Zeraim (seeds, i.e., agriculture), Moed (feasts), Nashim (women), Neziqin (damages), Kodashim (holy things), and Toharot (purities). Each of these in turn contains from seven to twelve tractates. Much of the material, written in very terse Hebrew, consists of debates among the rabbis concerning legal regulations, but the work is characterized by complex interconnections and presents a fairly comprehensive worldview. The Mishnah would later become the basic part of the TALMUD.

(See further H. Danby, *The Mishnah: Translated from the Hebrew with Introduction and Brief Explanatory Notes* [1933]; J. Neusner, *The Mishnah: A New Translation* [1987]; P. Blackman, *Mishnayoth: Pointed Hebrew Text, Introductions, Translation Notes, Supplements,* 7 vols., 2nd ed. [1990]; H. L. Strack and G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* [1992]; M. S. Jaffee, *Torah in the Mouth: Writing and Oral Tradition in Palestinian Judaism, 200 B.C.E.-400 C.E.* [2001]; A. Samely, *Rabbinic Interpretation of Scripture in the Mishnah* [2002]; J. Hauptman, *Rereading the Mishnah: A New Approach to Ancient Jewish Texts* [2005].)

**Mishneh.** See SECOND DISTRICT, SECOND QUARTER.

**Mishraite** mish'ray-*i*t (מִשְׁרָעִי *H5490,* gentilic form of the unattested name מִשְׁרָע). The Mishraites were a Judahite clan descended from CALEB through HUR and SHOBAL; they made up one of several families associated with KIRIATH JEARIM (1 Chr. 2:53). Their name apparently derives from an

otherwise unknown ancestor or place called Mishra.

**Mispar** mis'pahr (מִסְפָּר *H5032,* possibly from a word of the same form meaning "number"). An Israelite mentioned among leading individuals who returned from BABYLON with ZERUBBABEL (Ezra 2:2; called "Mispereth" in Neh. 7:7, and "Aspharasus" in 1 Esd. 5:8).

**Mispereth** mis-pee'rith (מִסְפֶּרֶת *H5033).* See MISPAR.

**Misrephoth Maim** mis'ruh-foth-may'im (מִשְׂרְפוֹת מַיִם *H5387,* "burnings [*i.e.,* limekilns] at the water"; some scholars suggest vocalizing the second element as מִיָּם, "on the west"). Also Misrephothmaim. A place in the vicinity of SIDON, mentioned in Josh. 11:8 in connection with Israel's defeat of the kings of N Canaan, and in Josh. 13:6 as one of the places still in the hands of the Canaanites. These passages suggest that Misrephoth Maim was on or near the S border of Sidon, but its location is uncertain. It is often identified with Khirbet el-Musheirefeh, just S of the promontory known as the LADDER OF TYRE (Ras en-Naqura), though some have preferred a nearby collection of warm springs known as ʿAin Mesherfi. It has also been suggested, however, that Misrephoth Maim is the same as the Litani River, which flows into the Mediterranean about 6 mi. NNE of TYRE (Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], 238).

P. A. VERHOEF

**mission.** See APOSTLE.

**mist.** Water particles in the atmosphere near the earth. Mist is caused by water vapor filling the air until it is only partially transparent. Mist or fog is not common in PALESTINE and SYRIA at sea level, but occurs almost daily in the mountain valleys, coming up at night and disappearing with the morning sun (Wisd. 2:4). The rare Hebrew word *ʾēd H116,* which apparently means "stream" (Gen. 2:6), perhaps can also be rendered "mist" (Job 36:27 NRSV, NIV mg.). The usual word for "cloud," *ʿānān H6727,* may in some contexts refer to the morning mist or fog (Hos. 13:3 et al.). In Acts 13:11, the Greek word for "mist," *achlys G944,* describes incipient blindness, and has been so used since Homer. Human life is compared to a mist or vapor "that appears for a little while and then vanishes" (Jas. 4:14; Gk. *atmis G874*), while false prophets are compared to mists or clouds driven by the storm because of the confusion they bring to unwary believers (2 Pet. 2:17; Gk. *homichlē G3920*).

E. RUSSELL

**Mitanni** mi-tan'ee. An important kingdom in N MESOPOTAMIA that flourished during the period c. 1500-1340 B.C. The ruling class of this kingdom seems to have been Indo-Iranian; its capital, the ruins of which have not yet been identified, bore the name Washshukanni (some think it may have been located in what is now Tell el-Fakhariyeh near Gozan).Their names are linguistically Indo-Iranian, containing recognizable names of Indic deities such as Indra, Mitra, Varuna, etc. The Indo-Iranian term for such warlords seems to have been *maryannu.* They are thought to have introduced into the ANE at this time techniques for the training of chariot horses. A manual for the training of chariot horses has been found at the ancient HITTITE capital. Its author, a certain Kikkuli, employs technical terms for the craft which are clearly Indo-Iranian.

The rank and file of Mitanni's citizenry, on the other hand, were not Indo-Iranians, but HURRIANS, and it is the Hurrian and Akkadian languages that the Mitannian kings employed for official correspondence. At the height of Mitanni's power it controlled Mesopotamia, SE ASIA MINOR (Kiz-zuwatna), all of N SYRIA, and most of S Syria. Mitannian princesses entered the harems of the pharaohs of Egypt and became quite influential in the Egyptian court. An end was put to the Mitannian kingdom as an independent state by the Hittite emperor Suppiluliuma I (c. 1345 B.C.), who recognized as a vassal ruler of the conquered state a certain Kurtiwaza (formerly read Mattiwaza).

The name Mitanni does not occur in the OT, but the Hurrians, who made up the majority of Mitanni's citizens, also constituted a significant minority group in pre-Israelite Palestine. It is possible that Hurrian customs underlie many mysterious actions in the patriarchal narratives, and more than one personage in the OT bears a Hurrian name. It is also likely that the ethnic term HORITE owes its existence in one form or the other to the term Hurrian, *Hurrî.* (See I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians* [1944]; E. A. Speiser in *JAOS* 68 [1948]: 1–13; H. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtatisend v. u. Z.* [1965]; *CAH,* 2/2, 3rd ed. [1975], 1–8 et passim; D. Oates et al., eds., *Excavations at Tell Brak. Vol. 1: The Mitanni and Old Babylonian Periods* [1997]; *ABD,* 4:874–75; *CANE,* 2:1243–54.)

H. A. HOFFNER, JR.

**mite.** This English term, meaning "a small coin," is used by the KJV to render Greek *leptos G3321* (Mk. 12:42; Lk. 12:59 [NIV and other versions, "penny"]; 21:2). The Greek term, as an adjective, means "thin, small, slight"; as a noun, it refers to a copper coin of the smallest value, approximately 1/128 of a DENARIUS.

**Mithcah** mith'kuh (מִתְקָה *H5520,* "sweet [place]"). Also Mithkah. A stopping place of the Israelites during their wilderness journeys (Num. 33:28–29). It was between Terah and Hashmonah, but the location of these sites is unknown.

**Mithkah** mith'kuh. See MITHCAH.

**Mithnite** mith'nzit (מִתְנִי *H5512,* gentilic form of an unattested name such as מִתְּן). A descriptive title applied only to a certain Joshaphat, one of DAVID's mighty warriors (1 Chr. 11:43). It is not known whether the form Mithnite derives from an ancestor or a place name.

**Mithradates** mith'ruh-day'teez. See MITHREDATH.

**Mithraism** mith'ruh-iz'uhm. The cult of Mithras, a Persian sun-god, which reached Rome in or about A.D. 69, by the agency of the eastern legions who set up VESPASIAN as emperor (Tac. *Hist.* 3.24). It is possible that the cult was known in the capital a century before, but it was the latter half of the 1st cent. of the Christian era which saw its strong dissemination in the West, and indeed its notable challenge to Christianity. Based on the trials, sufferings, and exploits of Mithras, the cult appealed to soldiers; and two Mithraea on HADRIAN's Wall, one excavated in 1948 at Carrawburgh, and another still covered at Housesteads, reveal the popularity of Mithraism with the British legions.

Professor Ian Richmond has established a sequence of destruction and rebuilding at Carrawburgh which he interprets as indicative of the practice of Mithraism or Christianity at local

headquarters.The same shrine has a place of ordeal under the altar, for the initiate advanced through various grades by way of physical suffering and endurance. The archaeologists on the same site were able to establish the fact that chickens and geese were eaten at the ritual feasts, and that pinecones provided aromatic altar fuel. December 25 was the chief feast of Mithras, and in fixing on that date for Christmas, the early church sought to overlay both the Mithraic festival and the Saturnalia. Christianity triumphed over Mithraism because of its written records of a historic Christ, and its associated body of doctrine adapted for preaching, evangelism, and the needs of every day. Christianity, too, was universal, excluding neither woman, child, nor slave. It preached salvation by faith and demanded no stern ordeals. (See M. J. Vermaseren, *Mithras: The Secret God* [1963]; C. Manfred, *The Roman Cult of Mithras: The God and His Mysteries* [2000]; E. M. Yamauchi, *Persia and the Bible* [1990], ch. 14; R. Beck, *The Religion of the Mithras Cult in the Roman Empire* [2006]; *ABD,* 4:877–78; *DDD,* 1083–89.) See also MYSTERY RELIGIONS.

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

**Mithras** mith'ruhs. See MITHRAISM.

**Mithredath** mith'ruh-dath (מִתְרְדָת *H5521,* from Pers., "gift of Mithras" [see MITHRAISM] ; LXX, Μιθραδάτης). (1) The treasurer of King CYRUS (Ezra 1:8; 1 Esd. 2:11 [here spelled *Mitēridatēs*]).

(2) 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).

(3) Mithradates was the name of seven PARTHIAN kings of the Arsacid dynasty. The Romans fought a series of three wars against Mithradates VI Eupator, called "the Great," between 88 and 64 B.C. This war prohibited the Romans from taking effective control over Palestine until 63 B.C. Although Persian, the Mithradatid rulers were Hellenistic in outlook and preserved this way of life in Syria-Palestine for a century after the other Hellenistic kingdoms had fallen to Rome. See HELLENISM.

W. WHITE, JR.

**Mithridates** mith'ruh-day'teez. See MITHREDATH.

**mitre.** See TURBAN.

**Mitylene** mit'uh-lee'nee (Μιτυλήνη *G3639*). Also Mytilene. Chief city of Lesbos, the largest of the Greek islands off the ASIA MINOR coast. Mitylene was situated on the SE coast of the island, on a magnificent and capacious harbor that always kept the city on the fruitful crossroads of trade. It is mentioned as a stopping place during PAUL's third journey (Acts 20:14).

Mitylene was populated by Aeolian Greeks, and it was in the Aeolic dialect that both Sappho and Alcaeus wrote, in the early 6th cent. B.C., the songs that were the foundation of Greek lyric poetry. Both poetess and poet lived in Mitylene and took an ardent part in the city's stormy politics. The city had its brief period of local imperialism, during which it clashed with ATHENS. It fell under Persian dominance when the great empire flowed W to the shores of the AEGEAN, and had an ill-starred share in the Ionian cities' revolt. When Persian power receded and Athens became dominant in the E Aegean, Mitylene found it expedient to join the Delian League, but was an uneasy partner, twice seceding (428 and 419 B.C.), each time with the loss of her ships, her fortifications, and considerable territory. In the 4th cent. she was a more steady ally of Athens.

After the death of ALEXANDER THE GREAT, Mitylene—too weak now for the successful maintenance of independence in a world of emerging great powers—fell successively under the rule of the Greek states that strove for power in the disrupted borderlands of the W Asiatic coast. At first on good terms with Rome, Mitylene revolted after the Mithridatic War and was broken by the republic. POMPEY restored the city's freedom in his reorganization of Asia. It has little more history to record.

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

**mixed multitude.** This phrase (also "mixt multitude") is used by the KJV to render the Hebrew word *(ēreb H6850* in two passages: in Exod. 12:38 (NIV, "other people") it refers to the heterogeneous camp followers who escaped with the Israelites from Egypt but were not descended from JACOB; similarly, in Neh. 13:3 it refers to people "of foreign descent" (NIV, NRSV) who were excluded from Israel after the return from exile. The Hebrew word is also used of foreigners in Jeremiah, where the KJV renders it as "mingled people" (Jer. 25:20, 24; 50:37). In addition, the KJV uses the phrase "mixed multitude" to translate Hebrew *)ăsapsup H671,* "rabble," with reference to a group (apparently the same non-Israelites who left Egypt) that "began to crave other food" in the wilderness (Num. 11:4).

J. REA

**Mizar** m*i*'zahr (מִצְעָר *H5204,* "small"). The name of a mountain in the HERMON range (Ps. 46:2); alternatively, the word may be a common adjective, used to contrast the mighty Hermon with a small mountain (Mount ZION?). In either case, the precise site is not known. (See *ABD*, 4:879.)

**Mizpah, Mizpeh** miz'puh, miz'peh (מִצְפָּה *H5207*, מִצְפֶּה *H5206* [Josh. 11:8; 15:38; 18:26; Jdg. 11:29 bis; 1 Sam. 22:3; in Josh. 13:26, רֶמֶת הַמִּצְפֶּה], "watchtower"). The KJV uses the form Mizpeh twenty-three times, whereas the NRSV uses it only when the Hebrew is *miṣpeh;* for consistency, the NIV uses Mizpah throughout.

(1) One of three names given to the covenant heap of stones erected by JACOB and LABAN (Gen. 31:49; see GALEED). It was so named because Laban called on the Lord to watch between him and Jacob. Some believe that this place is the same as #2 below.

(2) A town in GILEAD where JEPHTHAH the judge lived (Jdg. 10:17; 11:11, 29, 34; cf. Hos. 5:1). Its location is uncertain, but some identify it with modern Khirbet Jal(ad, some 14 mi. S of the JABBOK River. See also RAMATH MIZPEH.

(3) A town in MOAB (1 Sam. 22:3). When DAVID was being pursued by SAUL, he took his parents there and left them with the king of Moab, while he returned to his followers in Judah. Since KIR HARESETH (modern Kerak) was at one time the capital of Moab, some have thought that Mizpeh is another name for Kir. Most scholars regard this place as unidentified.

(4) An area in the extreme N of GALILEE is called "the region [*lit*., land] of Mizpah" and "the Valley of Mizpah" (Josh. 11:3, 8). The precise identification is uncertain since the descriptive phrases are too vague. The first passage indicates that the HIVITES "below Hermon" lived there, while the second refers to it as the eastward terminus of JOSHUA's pursuit of the Canaanites after his victory over them in the battle at the Waters of MEROM. It is not clear whether in these passages Mizpah might have been a town or only the name of a general area.

(5) A town in the SHEPHELAH of JUDAH (Josh. 15:38). It was in the same district as LACHISH, but

its location is unknown.

(6) The most important place bearing the name Mizpah was a town allotted to the tribe of BENJAMIN (Josh. 18:26). Scholars differ in its identification.

Tell en-Naṣbeh, a widely favored identification of biblical Mizpah in the territory of Benjamin.

Some favor Nebi Samwil, about 5 mi. WNW of JERUSALEM, though most scholars today prefer Tell en-Naṣbeh, 7.5 mi. NNW of Jerusalem. The present writer believes the evidence favors Nebi Samwil (but see BEEROTH and GIBEAH #3); this site fits the etymology of Mizpah perfectly, for it is a high mountain peak looking directly down upon the Valley of AIJALON, which is the best route between the Mediterranean coast and the Jordan Valley. Joshua used this route for his conquest of Palestine. Tell en-Naṣbeh, on the other hand, lacked any defensive military features. Indeed, the city had some of the heaviest walls of any Palestinian fortress because it was so vulnerable to attack.

The most helpful historic passage on Mizpah is 1 Sam. 7:1–14. SAMUEL called the leaders of Israel to Mizpah to a great confessional religious service before God, following the return of the ARK OF THE COVENANT to Israel. Earlier there had been a great PHILISTINE victory in which the ark was captured, but later it was returned by the Philistines because of a tragic plague that was depleting their population, and which the Philistines had attributed to the vengeance of the God of Israel (1 Sam. 4:1–7:3). In view of the return of the ark, Samuel called a national conference—not to gloat over its return, but to confess Israel's sin for treating the ark as a pagan fetish in their war against the Philistines. This religious assembly, however, was instantly interpreted by the Philistines as an Israelite military move against them. The Philistines started up the Valley of Aijalon to crush the rebellion at once.

This episode was an exact duplication of the earlier Joshua story in this same Aijalon Valley. Israel was occupying the heights of Mizpah above the valley, and the Philistines were advancing through this valley from their Mediterranean cities. Samuel asked the Lord for help, and, as in Joshua's case, a great thunderstorm and cloudburst completely demoralized the attacking army, and the Israelites then pursued them down the valley to BETH CAR. AS a result "the Philistines were subdued and did not invade Israelite territory again" (1 Sam. 7:13). The lesson was not lost on Israel.

Never again did the nation use God's ark as a fetish. The nation learned that prayer is the way to secure God's help. The identification of Tell en-Naṣbeh as Mizpah completely misses the parallel between the Joshua and the Samuel episodes. Later Samuel called a new national conference at Mizpah; it was here that Israel chose Saul as their king (1 Sam. 10:17–27).

Two other references favor Nebi Samwil as the identification for Mizpah. In the GEDALIAH story (Jer. 40:6—41:16) Nebi Samwil is closer to Jerusalem than Tell en-Naṣbeh; and the passage refers to GIBEON, which is in the Valley of Aijalon directly below Nebi Samwil (41:16). After destroying Jerusalem, the king of Babylon appointed Gedaliah as military governor over the conquered Jerusalem area, with a new capital at nearby Mizpah. After the murder of Gedaliah, Mizpah is not mentioned until NEHEMIAH rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem.

There is a close juxtaposition of Mizpah and Gibeon in Nehemiah's list of the towns building the sections of the city wall next to the OLD GATE (Neh. 3:6–7). Citizens of Mizpah repaired the FOUNTAIN GATE (3:15) and a section of the wall that extended "from a point facing the ascent to the armory as far as the angle" (v. 19). Mizpah must have been an influential town in the postexilic period.

In the episode of the Levite's concubine (Jdg. 19:1–21:25), Mizpah was the rallying point for the Israelite tribes, and Gibeon was the only town between Mizpah (Nebi Samwil) and Gibeah. BAASHA of Israel invaded the southern kingdom and began the fortification of RAMAH in Judah's territory (1 Ki. 15:16–22; 2 Chr. 16:1–6). BEN-HADAD of DAMASCUS compelled him to retreat; ASA of Judah took the materials used in fortifying Ramah, and built Geba and Mizpah. Tell en-Naṣbeh is farther N than Nebi Samwil and in Ephraimite territory. It is easy, therefore, to favor the former site for Mizpah. On the other hand, the geographic terrain around Nebi Samwil is much stronger for military defense. The evidence in this episode is evenly divided. (See further F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* [1933]; W. F. Albright in *Excavations and Results at Tell el-Fûl (Gibeah of Saul),* AASOR 4 [1924], 90–112; C. C. McCown, *Tell en-Nasbeh* [1947]; *NEAEHL,* 3:1098–1102.)

J. L. KELSO

**Mizpar** miz'pahr. KJV form of MISPAR.

**Mizraim** miz-ray'im (מִצְרַיִם *H5213,* possibly "[two] boundaries"). This English transliteration is used by the KJV and the NIV only with reference to one of the sons of HAM (Gen. 10:6, 13; 1 Chr. 1:8, 11; NJPS uses it also in 1 Ki. 10:28–29 and 2 Ki. 7:6, but the form does not occur at all in NRSV or TNIV). In the Hebrew Bible, however, *misrayim* occurs very frequently as the name for EGYPT and its people. Thus the man Mizraim is regarded as the eponymous ancestor of the Egyptians. The descendants of Mizraim, moreover, included several other important people groups, such as the PHILISTINES (Gen. 10:14; 1 Chr. 1:12). See also NATIONS II.A.3.

**Mizzah** miz'uh (מִזָּה *H4645,* derivation uncertain). Son of Reuel and grandson of ESAU by BASEMATH; an Edomite clan chief (Gen. 36:13, 17; 1 Chr. 1:37).

**Mnason** nay'suhn (Μνάσων *G3643).* A friend of PAUL mentioned only in Acts 21:16. Three facts about him are known. First, he was from CYPRUS, like BARNABAS, and probably a Jew, though bearing a common Greek name (some think it may have been regarded by Hellenistic Jews as corresponding with the Hebrew name MANASSEH). Second, he was "one of the early disciples,"

converted perhaps at PENTECOST or soon afterward, though it has been suggested that he may have been a disciple of Jesus. In its context this description may imply exemplary fidelity. Third, he was hospitable, welcoming Paul and his Hellenistic companions, including LUKE, to his house at Jerusalem. The "Western" text locates the house at a village between CAESAREA and JERUSALEM, but this detail may be simply an attempt to account for the unusual construction of v. 16, so that it is possible to translate either "bringing with them Mnason" or "bringing us to Mnason." It also is possible that he was one of Luke's authorities for the course of events in the early days of the church at Caesarea and Jerusalem. (See C. K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles,* ICC, 2 vols. [1994–98], 2:1003–04.)

W. J. CAMERON

**Moab** moh'ab (מוֹאָב *H4565* [Gen. 19:37; 36:35] and *H4566,* derivation uncertain; gentilic מוֹאָבִי *H4567,* "Moabite"). A Transjordanian state with its inhabitants, lying E of the DEAD SEA and occupying the plateau between the Wadis ARNON and ZERED. At certain periods the N boundary reached beyond the Arnon, and while the S extremities of Moab were never recorded, they probably were marked by Wadi el-Ḥesa (the usual identification of the Zered).

1. Name and origin
2. Topography
3. Sources
    1. Biblical
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    3. Cuneiform texts
4. History
    1. Prebiblical
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**I. Name and origin.** The ancestor of the Moabites was Moab, the son of LOT by incestuous union with his eldest daughter (Gen. 19:30–38). The son was born in the hills above ZOAR, presumably in S Moab; no further mention of him occurs in the Bible. Both the descendants of this man and the land were known as Moab, the predominant use of this term in the OT being of the people themselves, and only sporadically of the country. The inhabitants were also known as Moabites, a

Moab.

usage found in the Assyrian royal inscriptions and elsewhere. The MT gives no etymology, but the SEPTUAGINT, after the phrase "she named him Moab" (19:37), adds the gloss, *legousa ek tou patros mou,* "saying, [he is] from my father," which may indicate that the Hebrew text used by the Greek translators explained the name as derived from *mē)ābî* ("from my father"). Etymologies proposed in modern times include "desirable" (from *yā)ab H3277)* and "[land of] the sunset" (cf. Arab. *ma)ab;* see *ABD,* 4:882).

**II. Topography.** The principal inhabited area of Moab was the plateau situated immediately E of the Dead Sea and about 4,300 ft. above the level of that body of water. The core of Moab was located between the Wadi Arnon and the Wadi Zered, although during periods of national strength the extreme N to S extent of the country was a little over 6 mi. in length. When the Moabites were weak, however, this distance was cut down to about one-half. The E to W extent of the terrain was some 25 mi., though not all of this area could be cultivated, due to the presence of deep transverse gorges and portions of arid land to the E bordering on the desert.

The coastal regions of Moab contained several fertile lowland areas, particularly in the SW corner of the country and to the N of the Wadi Arnon. To the E of the coastal area were the Moabite highlands, which contained numerous fertile valleys and tablelands lying both N and S of the Wadi Arnon. Conditions in these areas were excellent for viticulture, agriculture, and the grazing of herds and flocks. During times when Moab was densely occupied, every available part of the land was cultivated, including some of the steep hillsides of the wadis. The raising of sheep was a major occupation in antiquity, with the flocks moving E to the Syrian desert during the lush spring season and returning W in the long hot summer.

The inhabited regions of Moab were well watered by rainfall, particularly in the W region of the highlands, but to the E the rainfall average declined rapidly, making for a marked transition from

cultivated terrain to desert land. All the wadis were in flood during the rainy winter season but became dry during the hot summer, when the people depended upon a few perennial springs and reservoirs or cisterns of water. Permanent springs were formed when the rain fell on the highland areas, filtered through the limestone to the solid layers of hard underlying rock, and flowed W along underground channels to the western slopes, or erupted in the valleys of the highlands. Despite these important natural reserves, the land of Moab was by no means amply supplied with water.

The most important river to the S, the Wadi el-Ḥesa, probably formed the boundary between Moab and Edom, taking its rise from the latter. This wadi has frequently been identified with the Zered, which divided the desert from the cultivated land. There is some doubt about this, however, since the Israelites camped at IYE ABARIM in the desert E of Moab, and went from there to the valley of Zered. Since this was the last site prior to the crossing of the Wadi Arnon, it presents certain difficulties for the identification of Zered with the Wadi el-Ḥesa. For much of its length the wadi flows through a deep gorge, which became much shallower at its E end.

The ideal N border of Moab, which actually was seldom realized, stretched E from the Wadi Heshban and Khirbet er-Rufaiseh, about 5 mi. N of the Dead Sea. At times the N boundary of Moab extended as far as the Wadi Nimrin, the N limit of a rich and well-watered area known as the Plains of Moab, which extended S for about 80 mi. to the Dead Sea. This territory was apparently occupied by the Moabites early in their political history, since it had already acquired its designation when the AMORITE raider SIHON occupied Moabite territory S to the Wadi Arnon. However, at most periods of Moabite history this latter chasm frequently formed the N boundary for practical purposes.

## III. Sources

***A. Biblical.*** The main sources relating to Moab are unfortunately not Moabite in origin, but comprised records from neighboring peoples with whom the Moabites were often at war. However, such information is sufficiently objective in character to be used with confidence in the reconstruction of Moabite history and life. The primary source for such a task is the OT, and although the historiographic concerns of the various authors were different in character from those of writers in other times and cultures, their descriptions of events in Moabite history give every indication of being

A sample of the topography of Moab.

objective and therefore reliable. The Israelite feeling of disdain toward the Moabites seems reflected in the narrative describing their incestuous origin (Gen. 19:30–38), since the offspring rather than the unnamed daughters of Lot were the object of discussion.

The itinerary in Num. 21 included a battle against Sihon before the Hebrews reached the plains of Moab. Another account of the Israelite approach to Moab (Deut. 2:8–29) commented upon the relations between the Israelites and Moabites, as well as to some pre-Moabite inhabitants. According to the tradition preserved by this section, the Israelites passed the land of EDOM to the E and went due N without entering Moabite territory. When Israel requested permission to travel along the KING'S HIGHWAY that crossed the plateau, the Moabites refused (Jdg. 11:17), although they may have had some trading contacts with Israel (Deut. 2:28–29). Moses was prohibited from attacking the Moabites (2:9) despite their unfriendly behavior, even though from then on they were to be excluded from Israel (23:3–6; cf. Neh. 13:1). Concern on the part of BALAK, king of Moab, at the success of the Israelites prompted him to enlist a gifted Mesopotamian seer named BALAAM to curse the enemy, who at that time were settled across the Wadi Arnon (Num. 22; Josh. 24:9). Just before they crossed the Jordan the Israelites encamped in the Plains of Moab (Num. 22:1; Josh. 3:1) and were seduced by pagan Moabite and Midianite women so that they participated in idolatrous behavior.

The book of Judges records that EGLON, king of Moab, invaded Canaan as far as JERICHO and subjugated the Israelites for eighteen years before being assassinated by EHUD the Benjamite (Jdg. 3:12–30).The narrative of the book of Ruth, which is admirably consonant with "the days when the judges ruled," records that ELIMELECH of BETHLEHEM had migrated to Moab and had begotten sons, who subsequently married two Moabite women named ORPAH and RUTH. Under adverse circumstances the latter returned as a widow to Israelite territory and subsequently married BOAZ, thereby becoming the ancestress of DAVID (Ruth 4:18–22).

The records of the early monarchy did not give particular prominence to the conflicts with Moab, with the result that the wars of SAUL and David with this nation were mentioned only in summarized form. No information was furnished regarding either the cause or the course of the war against the Moabites, but only the fact that they were defeated by Saul (1 Sam. 14:47). David brought his parents to the king of Moab for protection when he was being pursued by Saul, and was accorded a courteous reception (22:3–4). The account of a Moabite defeat at the hands of David (2 Sam. 8:2, 11–12) described the punitive measures of decimation adopted by the Israelite ruler, as well as mentioning the tribute that the Moabites had to pay.

Information concerning Moab in the books of Kings is also sparse, making it necessary on occasion for inferences to be drawn from the context. SOLOMON married a Moabite woman as one of his many wives (1 Ki. 11:1, 7), and it would seem probable from 1 Ki. 11:7 and 2 Ki. 23:15 that he allowed her to build a high place where CHEMOSH, the Moabite deity, could be worshiped. After the death of Solomon the Moabites broke free from Israelite control, but were subdued in the time of OMRI of Israel (885/4–874/3 B.C.).

Toward the end of the reign of AHAB of Israel (874/3–853) the Moabites once again began to break free. In an attempt to regain control of the situation JEHORAM, the son of Ahab, enlisted the help of JEHOSHAPHAT, king of Judah and ruler of Edom, but the campaign proved abortive (2 Ki. 1:1; 3:4–27). At a later time Judah itself was invaded by a coalition of Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites, but dissension broke out among these allies and Judah was delivered (2 Chr. 20:1–30). This particular record constituted one of those campaigns in the life of Jehosphaphat not mentioned in Kings, and most probably occurred after the events of 2 Ki. 3:4–27.

A brief narrative (2 Ki. 10:32–33) records that HAZAEL, king of ARAM, seized from JEHU of

Israel the territory normally regarded as Moabite which lay to the N of the Wadi Arnon, and which still belonged to Moab at the time of Jehoram. In the year that ELISHA died, some Moabite companies carried out sporadic raids on Israelite territory (13:20), while in the time of JEROBOAM II (782/81–753) the expansion of Israelite holdings to the E of the Jordan must have involved the conquest of at least a part of Moabite territory (14:25). This campaign fulfilled the prophecy of Amos 2:1–3, which spoke of coming retribution for a particularly abhorrent crime.

During the latter part of the 8th cent., the Moabites were compelled to become tributaries to ASSYRIA (Isa. 15–16), but when the Assyrian empire collapsed the Moabites were free from domination once again. In the days of JEHOIAKIM of Judah (609–597) the Moabites made scattered incursions into Judah (2 Ki. 24:2), and when Jerusalem fell to the Babylonians in 586 some of its inhabitants fled to Moabite territory for safety, later returning to Judah when GEDALIAH became governor (Jer. 40:11; the Moabites are briefly mentioned in the postexilic period, Ezra 9:1; Neh. 13:1, 23). Several of the prophets refer to Moab as the recipient of divine judgment (e.g., Isa. 25:10–12; Jer. 9:26; 25:31; 27:3; Ezek. 25:8–11; Amos 2:1–3; Zeph. 2:8–11).

***B. Nonbiblical.*** Purely Moabite sources have come to light through archaeological investigations, though nothing of importance has been uncovered that in any way compares with the finding of the stela of King MESHA at Dhiban (DIBON) in 1868. This black basalt inscription, the celebrated MOABITE STONE, measuring almost 4 ft. high and 2 ft. wide, was made to commemorate the revolt of Mesha against Israel, and his subsequent rebuilding of many important towns (2 Ki. 3:4–5). It was discovered by a missionary on his travels through the territory once occupied by the tribe of Reuben E of the Dead Sea. Shortly afterwards, C. Clermont-Ganneau of the French Consulate in Jerusalem obtained a rough impression of the material contents by means of a "squeeze."

The interest of the archaeologists in the stela prompted the local Arabs to break the stone up into fragments to be used as charms for the blessing of crops, but Clermont-Ganneau was able to recover several of the small pieces and ultimately reconstructed the stela, now in the Louvre. Out of an estimated 1,100 letters in the original inscription, approximately 669 were recovered, but this loss was offset to a large extent by the original "squeeze," which preserved the greater portion of the narrative. Because this stela is the only source in the Moabite tongue, it is of great value both for the study of Moabite history and the language (see LANGUAGES OF THE ANE II.F). The inscription is generally dated about the middle of the 9th cent. B.C.

Other fragmentary inscriptions coming from the same period have been recovered. One of them, discovered in Dhiban and published in 1952, was first thought to have been part of the Mesha stela, but further study showed that it probably came from a larger and different inscription; its brief text cannot be reconstructed. More important is a fragment found in KERAK around 1958, which apparently gives the name of Mesha's father as *kmšyt,* that is, Chemoshyat or Chemoshyatti (the first consonant is missing; in the Mesha stela only the first three consonants of the name are preserved). These fragments are too small to throw any light on Moabite history, but their very existence shows that the Mesha stela was no isolated phenomenon in 9th-cent. B.C. Moab.

A monument discovered in 1930 about 15 mi. N of KIR HARESETH and known as the Balu<ah stela has also survived from ancient Moab, though in badly weathered form. The first photographs of this stela were published in 1932, showing on the upper part an almost completely indecipherable inscription of four lines in extent. Underneath this material were three figures depicted in relief. The inscription has been assigned tentatively to the Early Bronze Age by Albright, though this date was reduced by over a millennium by Drioton, who placed it in the 12th cent. B.C. However, the

indecipherable nature of the inscription makes any attempt at dating unreliable. From a supposed correspondence with the Linear B script, Alt thought that the stela had been erected originally by the Emites migrating from W Palestine, who were subsequently conquered by early Moabite settlers and absorbed into the native population. This suggestion, however, is purely speculative in nature.

***C. Cuneiform texts.*** Some of the Assyrian kings came into contact with the Moabites during their forays in the land *of Amurru,* and these encounters were recorded in the Assyrian royal inscriptions. Of interest is the fact that, while the latter were sparse when compared with OT references to the Moabites, they contained more names of Moabite rulers than the OT narratives, and this during a period when the OT took little notice of Moabite history. One such source was recovered during the excavations at Nimrud (biblical CALAH), comprising letters dealing with affairs in Syria and Palestine. Of these, a diplomatic communication written during the last third of the 8th cent. B.C. had reference to an attack upon Moab by a marauding tribe, probably BEDOUIN in nature. Another document from the same period spoke of Palestinian emissaries journeying to Nimrud with tribute. Other Moabite relations with Assyria were mentioned in the annals of ASHURBANIPAL, SENNACHERIB, and ESARHADDON.

Egyptian sources for Moabite history are almost negligible, since there was no sedentary occupation of Moab when Egyptian influence in Palestine was at its height. However, the name Dibon possibly occurs (as *tpn*) on the city list of THUTMOSE III in the temple of Amon at Karnak (this identification is questioned by some). From the list itself the place was located in the area of Upper Retenu, and can thus be identified with Tell Dibbin. The name Moab has been thought to be present on the list of RAMSES II in the temple of Luxor, and other Moabite designations have been recognized on ostraca, graffiti, and papyrus fragments recovered from Saqqara in 1926.

Moab was mentioned occasionally in noncanonical Jewish literary sources such as the Hebrew text of Sir. 36:10, which reads, “crush the heads of Moab’s princes,” and preserves the general sentiments of the OT writers toward Moab. The country is mentioned five times in the book of JUDITH, but the references are of no historical value. JOSEPHUS preserved a number of facts relating to the Moabites, one of which, concerning the destruction of Ammon and Moab by NEBUCHADNEZZAR (*Ant.* 10.9.7), is not included in the OT record. Though the event cannot be verified readily from other sources, there is no reason to dismiss it as necessarily untrustworthy.

## IV. History

***A. PrebibHcal.*** The most obvious prebiblical remains in Moab are the *menhirs* (large erect stones sometimes found in rows or circles) and the *dolmens* (stone chambers made from massive slabs of rock and frequently buried under a mound of earth or stones). Such monuments occur throughout TRANS JORDAN, and the Moabite examples come from the Neolithic period (6000–4500 B.C.).

During the Early Bronze IV to Middle Bronze I era (c. 2200–1900 B.C.), there was a high level of sedentary occupation throughout Transjordan, and Moab itself was intensively settled. The inhabitants protected themselves by building fortified cities along the caravan routes which crossed Transjordan from N to S. Indications of firmly established agricultural settlements point to an advanced level of civilization. While the cultivation of crops often was carried on outside fortified sites, some fields of ten acres in area were walled in for purposes of defense. Cultivated lands generally were located near a spring or stream so as to insure a reasonably continuous water supply, and this careful use of land was in evidence throughout the sedentary periods in Moab. The pottery of

the early settlers was a rough, handmade variety, of a character with its counterparts in contemporary W Palestine.

In the period under study there was a well-established trading route through Moab, and when the army of KEDORLAOMER traveled down this road as far as EL PARAN in Edom (Gen. 14:5–7), it was able to reduce the fortified sites en route one by one. Ancient Moabite strongholds may originally have been built as the result of internal political disunity, and this factor doubtless contributed to defeat at the hands of the marauding Mesopotamians. Quite possibly also the invasion hastened the disappearance of the EMITES, a group of the REPHAITES said to have inhabited Moab prior to the Moabites (Deut. 2:10–11). At the end of the 19th cent. B.C. the established culture gradually dwindled, and between 1900 and 1300 there was apparently a break in sedentary occupation of the territory S from the river JABBOK. Political and economic factors seem to have been principally responsible, with the AMORITE movement of Mesopotamia exerting a great influence in this direction. After 2200 B.C., AMORITE nomads traversed the FERTILE CRESCENT and went as far S as Egypt, and when sedentary occupation declined in Moab, the Amorites had free access to the territory. This was an important consideration, since they depended upon pasturage for their herds and flocks. Studies in surface archaeology thus far seem to indicate that the general picture of nomadic occupation described above existed in Moab until the 13th cent. B.C.

***B. Biblical.*** The end of the Late Bronze Age witnessed a settling-down of the nomadic populace, along with the rise of the historic kingdoms of Edom, Ammon, and Moab, and the "Amorite" regimes of Sihon and Og. Moab is mentioned in the topographical lists of Ramses II at Luxor, while in the OT Moab is placed in parallel form to the "sons of Sheth," the latter perhaps being an archaic tribal name and the Hebrew form of the Egyptian Shutu (*šwtw*), the Amarna Age designation of an area of Palestine perhaps roughly equivalent to later Ammon and Moab.

The descent and settlement of the Moabites has not been preserved in any detail, for OT references simply described the final establishing of the Transjordanian peoples as an event already accomplished by the time of their first contact with the Israelites. Nothing can be deduced from the etymology of the name Moab regarding their descent, though the fact that they were connected genealogically with

On the plateau of Moab, a shepherd walks amid his sheep and goats.

the Ammonites (Gen. 19:37–38) and mentioned with them (Deut. 23:3) would imply a common ancestor. It has been suggested that the earliest Moabites came from a group of nomadic tribes that lived in the Syrian-Arabian desert, occupying the territory of Moab in some strength during the 14th cent. B.C., though this is far from certain.

At all events, it is probable that the new settlers occupied land unused by the Emites, and as they grew in numbers they subjugated the latter in the manner reflected in the Balu<ah stela. If, as the lack of direct archaeological evidence seems to imply, the original Emite settlement failed to achieve significant depth, it would be a comparatively simple matter for a vigorous nomadic people to dispossess the sedentary inhabitants, or at the least to absorb them into their own cultural patterns without difficulty. Since the Moabites do not appear to have met such firm opposition in settling down as did the Israelites, the period of formal occupation of Moabite terrain would be correspondingly shorter and could well have begun early in the 14th cent., if not earlier.

The absence of Moab from the names mentioned in Gen. 10 can be taken as implying that it was one of the junior NATIONS of the ANE, although it would appear that Moab became sedentary prior to the descendants of ABRAHAM (ch. 19). That the social development of the Moabites was more advanced than that of Israel is apparent from the fact that when the Hebrews encountered them during the exodus period they already were governed by a king. The surface archaeological surveys conducted by N. Glueck in Transjordan indicated that by the last quarter of the 13th cent. the kingdoms of Ammon, Edom, and Moab were firmly established, a situation aided in part by the ending of the Egyptian domination of Palestine at the close of that century.

The Iron Age inhabitants of Moab defended their country by means of a strong chain of border forts. At the point where the plateau descended to Wadi el-Ḥesa there were a number of fortified sites that protected the entrance of the king's highway into S Moab. The pass, some 17 mi. E of the place where the wadi emptied into the Dead Sea, was important for purposes of trade and general communication, as well as being close to the fertile area watered by the springs of Aineh. One of the principal fortresses, el-Medeiyineh, was located on an almost impregnable hill, and was rectangular in form. It commanded a strategic position on the king's highway, since the latter had to skirt the fortress as it wound to the top of the plateau. Before gaining the high land, the highway was protected by a second fort, el-Akuzeh, built on a rocky outcrop overlooking the ancient caravan route. The strong walled fortress of Dhubab was located in the SW corner of the country, somewhat below the edge of the plateau.

The fort known as Medinet er-Ras was located separately on a hill farther N and on the plateau proper, and had an outer defensive wall some 6.5 ft. thick. This complex formed an important bastion in the defense of SW Moab, and was linked with those which guarded the descent to the Dead Sea on the W border of Moab. Because of the way in which the E border merged with the desert, it was particularly important for strong defensive fortifications to be established there. The S extremity of the border was protected by the fortress of Mahaiy, a rectangular structure over 500 yards long, and between 100 and 250 yards wide. It was erected on the top of a steep hill that commanded a clear view of the desert areas to the N and NE, and controlled access to the slope leading to Wadi el-Ḥesa. So strategic was the position of this fort that no large marauding band could enter Moab from the SE without coming into contact with it.

To the N of Mahaiy, and frequently within sight of one another, were constructed numerous

defensive positions reaching N along the entire E border of Moab. Some of these strong points were of major proportions, while others were in the nature of blockhouses designed to supplement the larger structures. A great many hills in the area still carry the remains of fortresses or watchtowers, most of which were built in the Iron Age. In the region of the Arnon the Moabites constructed several powerful fortresses in rather inaccessible and inhospitable terrain, and these doubtless needed to be provisioned from outside sources.

The border defenses of N Moab are less pronounced in character because of the rather fluid nature of the border itself. In any event, most of the major centers in the interior were strongly fortified, so that an invader from the N would be faced with the prospect of having to reduce them one by one in order to gain access to central Moab. The Iron Age population was dense, and all available land was tilled by the inhabitants. Whereas Early Bronze Age settlers had been forced to rely for their water upon the few springs or perennial streams in the country, the Iron Age inhabitants had mastered the technique of making water-tight cisterns by using a plaster compound of slaked lime. They were thus much more independent of natural sources of water, and were able to locate their settlements in strategic positions such as on hilltops. The cisterns they built were often hewn out of the natural rock and could be situated either on the hillside near the settlement or located close to the buildings themselves. A great number of these reservoirs have survived to the present and have been cataloged by archaeologists.

Early Iron Age pottery in Transjordan exhibited sufficient peculiarities to mark it out from contemporaneous W Palestinian forms. This situation has been attributed in part to Syrian influences, with the Moabite pottery showing high artistic and technical skill in manufacture. From the available evidence it would appear that contemporary Moabite culture was well advanced, and by no means inferior to that of W Palestine.

By assimilating with the Emites and other indigenous elements, the Moabites had developed into a powerful nation by the 13th cent. B.C. The Israelites seem to have encountered them at the first stage of the Iron Age kingdom, shortly after the Amorite king Sihon had defeated a Moabite ruler (Num. 21:26) and occupied the N segment of the country as far as the Arnon. After this victory Sihon ruled over an area of Moabite territory which probably reached N to the Plains of Moab. The taunt song (21:27–30) apparently alluded to the Amorite campaign against the Moabites, and although the Amorites claimed the destruction of "Ar of Moab," they never actually controlled the territory to the S of the Arnon. Boundary lines at that period seldom were clearly defined, and it is quite probable that there were some Moabite settlements within the limits of Amorite occupation.

The Israelite itinerary through Transjordan is far from easy to establish, but it would seem that the Hebrews had detoured round Edom and camped at OBOTH (Num. 21:10). After this they moved to IYE ABARIM, and subsequently to the valley of the Zered. After crossing the Arnon they camped in several locations (21:10–20; 33:41–49) before reaching a valley overlooked by a craggy ridge W of the desert (21:20; see PISGAH). The Israelite circuit of Edom may have led the Moabites to think themselves superior to the Hebrews, and according to the address of JEPHTHAH (Jdg. 11:17) they forbade the Israelites to approach their territory.

For their part the Hebrews were warned not to fight Moab, since they would not be given any part of the Moabite territory (Deut. 2:9). However, the Moabites of AR had some trading relations with them a little later (2:28–29), quite possibly convinced that Israelite nonaggression could be taken as establishing a tacit political agreement (Num. 21:13; Jdg. 11:18). The victory over Sihon, after which the Israelites sang the Amorite taunt song, and the conquest of Og, not merely gave the Hebrews access to Canaan but also showed that they were quite capable of defeating the Moabites

alone if necessary. This threat to his land prompted Balak, king of the Moabites, to enlist the services of the Mesopotamian seer Balaam, with unfortunate prospects for Moab (Num. 22–24). Greater success was encountered in enticing Israel into idolatrous practices (25:3) at a pagan festival. The resultant punishment kindled Israelite anger against Moab and perpetuated a prohibition (Deut. 23:3–4). The grazing facilities of Moab attracted the attention of the Reubenites and Gadites, and on being allotted this territory they later rebuilt many former Moabite towns (Num. 32:34–38). Just before the entrance into Canaan, Moses died and was buried in a Moabite valley opposite BETH PEOR.

During the judges period Moabite power increased, and Eglon invaded Canaan as far N as Jericho, subjugating the local populace for eighteen years. This action was reinforced when Eglon made an alliance with Amalekite and Ammonite groups, and deliverance for Israel only came with the work of Ehud (Jdg. 3:12–30). The Moabites were expelled from W Jordanian territory and a period of peace ensued. The book of Ruth, which purports to describe events "in the days when the judges ruled" (Ruth 1:1), gives no information as to precisely where the family of Elimelech settled in Moab, though it seems clear that easy movement between Israel and Moab pointed to a time of friendly relations between the two people. Not merely were the Israelites periodically subjected to Moabite power in the period of the judges, but they were also in bondage to their gods, as well as to those of neighboring people (Jdg. 10:6). See JUDGES, PERIOD OF.

In the early monarchy the Moabites sought to exploit the temporary weakening of the Hebrew forces resulting from the defeat of NAHASH the Ammonite by Saul at JABESH GILEAD, a site little more than 30 mi. N of Moab. Accordingly the Moabites gained control of territory N of the Arnon, which resulted in Israel's waging a defensive campaign against Moab, Ammon, Edom, and the king of Zobah in the NE (1 Sam. 14:47). The Moabites were driven S beyond the Arnon, but were not made tributaries by Saul.

Prior to becoming king of Israel, David had friendly contacts with Moab (1 Sam. 22:3–5) and attracted some support for his cause (1 Chr. 11:46). During the civil war between David and Ish-Bosheth (2 Sam. 2–4), the Moabites apparently reasserted themselves and were later subjugated by David (2 Sam. 8:2; 1 Chr. 18:2). This dominance was maintained during the reign of Solomon, and it is probable that part of N Moab fell within one of the twelve administrative districts (1 Ki. 4:13–14). The provision of a high place for Chemosh, "the abomination of Moab" (11:7 NRSV), might imply that Solomon was sympathetic to, or at least tolerant toward, the pagan worship of Moab.

An important period of Moabite history began shortly after the division of the united monarchy. Early in the 9th cent. B.C. Moab seems to have tried to regain its holdings N of the Arnon. Only when OMRI came to the throne (885/4–874/3) was Israel able to reassert control of the disputed territory, and that, according to the Moabite Stone, because Chemosh "was angry with his land." The "forty years" of Moabite subjection mentioned in the inscription are meant to indicate a generation, namely from the middle of the reign of Omri (c. 879) to the middle of that of his son Ahab (874/3–853). If this was the case it does not seem necessary to interpret the "son" of the Moabite inscription as "grandson" (the reference thus being to Jehoram [852–841], the second eldest son of Ahab, rather than to Ahab himself). Omri did not in fact conquer all the land as far S as the Arnon, since Dibon and Aroer were Moabite holdings prior to the time of Mesha.

At the battle of Qarqar (853 B.C.) a coalition of peoples including Israel, Aram, and Ammon confronted SHALMANESER III of Assyria, and the absence of Moab from this list shows that it was not then an independent state. Shortly afterward the Moabites, along with the Ammonites and some MEUNITES, invaded Judah from the S (2 Chr. 20:1–3), perhaps prompted by BEN-HADAD II of Aram. The allies penetrated Judah as far as EN GEDI on the W shore of the Dead Sea, but some dissension

broke out and they began to fight one another (20:1–30). Just before the death of Ahab, Mesha of Moab rebelled against Israel (2 Ki. 3:5–8), and about the year 850 Jehoram and Jehoshaphat allied and marched on Moab, inflicting a series of defeats on Mesha, but ultimately withdrawing (3:27).

Subsequent to this event, Mesha regained the land of MEDEBA and took the territory of ATAROTH from the tribe of Gad. NEBO also was recaptured with heavy Israelite losses, and this victory marked the virtual recovery of Moabite independence. According to the stela, Mesha fortified various cities and began a program of public works to insure the prosperity of his land. After the death of Hazael, c. 796 B.C., Adadnirari III marched W and subdued Syria and Palestine, though apparently not Moab, which made periodic raids on Israelite territory (2 Ki. 13:20). Despite Mesha's success, Moab began to decline from the beginning of the 8th cent., even though circumstances favored a revival of Moabite and Ammonite power when in 743 TIGLATH-PILESER III made MENAHEM of Israel tributary.

The limitations imposed on Moab after AMA-ZIAH of Judah campaigned successfully against Edom (2 Ki. 14:7) and gained control of the S Arabian commercial trade were implemented when UZZIAH rebuilt the port of ELATH (14:22), made Ammon tributary, and most probably subjugated Moab also. A further danger to the Moabites lay in the resurgence of Assyrian power from 745 onward with the threat of invasion from the NE, and in 734 Moab became one of a number of Palestinian states to be subjugated by Tiglath-Pileser III. Moab seems to have been a member of a coalition that was defeated in 711 by SARGON, but the country is not mentioned by name in the Assyrian annals. In a Palestinian campaign a decade later, SENNACHERIB suppressed certain rebellious states and Moab was again involved. In a letter to ESARHADDON (681–669), Moab was listed as paying only a small amount of tribute, along with building materials for the palace at NINEVEH.

During a period of civil war in Assyria under ASHURBANIPAL (669–627), Arab tribes invaded E Syria and Palestine, and while they were mostly repulsed from Moabite territory, they seriously weakened the autonomy of Moab (cf. Isa. 15; 16; Jer. 48). While Ammon was strong in the time of JOSIAH, Moab was declining in influence, and when the Assyrian kingdom fell to the Babylonians, Moab, with Palestine proper, was assigned to NABOPOLASSAR (626–605), though it was not until after the Battle of CARCHEMISH in 605 that Moab paid formal tribute to Babylon. When Jehoiakim revolted against Nebuchadnezzar, groups of Chaldeans, Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites raided Judah in reprisal (2 Ki. 24:2).

Shortly after 598 the Moabites found it politically desirable to ally with Egypt against the Babylonians, and this, combined with the revolt of ZEDEKIAH against Nebuchadnezzar, made it necessary for the latter to march into Palestine. In 586 Jerusalem was laid waste, and some Jews actually fled to Moab for refuge, only to return under Gedaliah (Jer. 40:11–12). According to JOSEPHUS (*Ant*. 10.9.7), Nebuchadnezzar ultimately conquered Moab, after which bedouin tribes had free access to the land from the E. Their inroads compelled many Moabites who had remained in the hill country after the Judean exile to migrate to the depopulated land of Judah, where they would be safe from bedouin attack.

During the Persian period a considerable number of Moabites were to be found in Judah, and in the time of EZRA and NEHEMIAH a hostile attitude was adopted toward them (Ezra 9:1, 12; Neh. 13:1–2), in conformity with the provisions of the Torah (Deut. 23:3). The name "Moabite" became equivalent to "sinner" and "impious," reflecting the attitudes of earlier Judean prophets (Amos 2:1–3; Jer. 9:26; 25:21; et al.), and the land itself was regarded by APOCALYPTIC writers as the seat of iniquity.

Several centuries intervened during which ancient Moab had no sedentary occupation, but from

the 2nd cent. B.C., if not earlier, the land once again was occupied by another dense population, that of the NABATEANS. Unmentioned by name in the OT, these people were of Arab stock and originated in NW ARABIA. Before entering Moabite and Edomite territory, the Nabateans were typically Arab in character, traveling on camels, living in tents, and feeding on dates and animal flesh. On becoming sedentary they inherited the trade routes of the Edomites, and their camel caravans traversed the whole of Palestine and even went as far NW as ASIA MINOR. Archaeological evidence shows that they began to settle in Transjordan in the 4th cent. B.C. in ancient Edom and Moab, and by the 1st cent. B.C. they had even infiltrated into the S NEGEV. They reconstructed the fortress system of the earlier inhabitants and extended it to the S and E. At first they were nominally subject to the Persian regime, but became independent prior to the Greek period. The Nabateans were notable for their agricultural zeal, a situation made necessary by the fact that, at its height, their population was twice as dense as that of the Moabites. They utilized every possible source of water, tilled previously uncultivated land, established settlements in thinly populated areas of the Negev, worked the Edomite copper and iron mines, and established trading relations with neighboring peoples. They flourished as a separate nation until A.D. 106, when almost all of the Nabatean territory was made into a Roman province by order of TRAJAN.

Archaeological remains have left no doubt as to the advanced nature of ancient Moabite culture. Typical Moabite pottery found S of the Wadi Arnon and elsewhere is comparable in quality and design with the best contemporary Palestinian ceramic ware. While Egyptian influence was present in the early stages of Moabite history, the land had its own skilled artisans who developed native styles. The writing on the stelae resembles the old Hebrew script and was executed with considerable dexterity, testifying to the artistic abilities of the Moabite craftsmen. Although there are obvious traces of Syro-Phoenician influence upon Moabite culture, there is a sufficient degree of independence evident to warrant the conclusion that for centuries it pursued a vigorous individual pattern of development.

**V. Language.** The only major inscription in Moabite, a language closely related to biblical Hebrew, is the stela of King Mesha. The forms of the letters are important to the epigraphist in illustrating the development of Canaanite scripts during the second half of the 9th cent. B.C. Grammatically, Moabite had elements in common with Ugaritic, Phoenician, Aramaic, and Arabic, while it shared with Hebrew such important features as the *waw consecutive,* the use of the relative particle, the accusative particle *<et,* and other familiar Hebrew forms. Words were divided by means of points, following the pattern of the SILOAM inscription and a few others from 8th-cent. B.C. Aramaic sources. The use of *matres lectionis* (consonants functioning as vowels) is the exception rather than the rule in the Mesha stela, as opposed to the orthography of some later Hebrew documents (such as 1QIsa$^{a}$). Regarding the Hebrew "diphthongs" *ay* and *aw*, the Moabite language contracted them to *e* and *o* respectively. Whereas in Hebrew the final consonant of masculine plural and dual forms was *m*, in Moabite it was replaced by an n. Again it is difficult to tell from the Moabite Stone whether a feminine noun with a pronominal suffix is singular or plural in number, a distinction which is made clear in biblical Hebrew. See also ARAMAIC LANGUAGE; HEBREW LANGUAGE; LANGUAGES OF THE ANE II.

**VI. Religion.** As with their history and language, the religion of the Moabites reflected their relationship with the other inhabitants of ancient Palestine. Again, unfortunately, just as Moabite history has had to be reconstructed largely from non-native sources, so their religious beliefs and

practices have to be inferred from statements in the writings of other peoples, since there are hardly any sources dealing with Moabite religion proper. Quite obviously, therefore, the nature of their views on theological concepts such as sin, grace, immortality, and the like cannot be ascertained from what is known of Moabite religion.

Much of the present information concerning their beliefs comes from an early period in the history of Moab, and largely on the strength of this evidence scholars have seen marked similarities between Moabite and Canaanite religious forms. Sacrificial procedures were mentioned in the Balaam narratives (Num. 22:40), apparently in honor of a local deity. The seduction of the Israelites near SHITTIM and their participation in the sacrificial rites of BAAL PEOR (23:1–4, 14; 25:1–5) has important elements in common with Canaanite cultic worship, but nothing specific can be deduced about its nature from the etymology of the name Baal Peor.

Pottery figurines of male deities sometimes depicted them as mounted on horseback, while female statuettes generally represented the mother goddess Astarte (ASHTORETH), and as such were similar to those from other areas of Palestine. From the Iron Age artifacts found at Khirbet<Ayin Musa, Kerak, and elsewhere, the female deity, named Ashtar-Chemosh in the Mesha inscription, often was depicted as clutching some sacred object in front of her upper torso, possibly a symbol of fertility. Pottery fragments of animal figurines found by Glueck could perhaps have formed the pedestals for images of gods and goddesses.

The mother goddess was worshiped in Moab in conjunction with Chemosh, and the Balu<ah stela relief may indicate that these two deities were being worshiped when Moabite tribes first entered the land. Chemosh was mentioned in the Amorite mocking song (Num. 21:27–30), one of the most ancient sources relating to the Moabites, and gives ground for the contention that he was the preeminent deity in Moab. Although revered as the god of warfare who subdued all his enemies (cf. Jdg. 11:24), he also was recognized as the one who provided for all aspects of daily life. Unlike the later Hebrews, the Moabites did not hesitate to address their deity by his personal name. He was worshiped at altars of unhewn stone erected on hilltops. Presumably temples were built in his honor in Moab, yet it remains true that though a Bronze Age temple has been found, no comparable structure from the Iron Age has been excavated to date.

There are no indications of a priestly hierarchy in the cult of Chemosh, which evidently was headed by the reigning king, as illustrated by the position of Balak in seeking the help of Balaam. This situation had not changed in the time of King Mesha, who, according to the Moabite Stone, acted under the direct instructions of Chemosh, and took the lead in the rite involving the sacrifice of his eldest son. Canaanite kings generally possessed priestly authority, and the Moabite rulers were no exception to this rule. In early Moabite sacrifice, bulls and rams were offered (Num. 23:1, 14, 29), and these animals have been represented in figurines from Khirbet el-Medeiyineh and Saliyeh. As with the Hebrew tradition, only the best quality sacrificial animals were acceptable to Chemosh, though more specific prescriptions relating to Moabite sacrifice are unknown. Whether incense was burned during cultic rites is also uncertain, since no altars of incense similar to those occurring in Canaan have been recovered from Moab.

As with other ANE peoples, the Moabites practiced the institution known as the BAN (ḥ*ērem H3051,* "that which is devoted to destruction or cultic use"), in which the spoils of war were devoted to the god of the victors. Brutality and ruthlessness in destruction were common features of Amarna age life in the ANE, and even later it was the normal practice for captured warriors to be killed, and the inhabitants of entire cities to be put to the sword. Generally speaking, such slaughter was deemed necessary for conciliating an angry god, and in this regard the Moabites were no exception. Nor did

their religion survive the collapse of other pagan faiths in the ancient world.

(See further N. Glueck in AASOR 14 [1934] and 18-19 [1939]; F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* [1933], 1:278–81; F. V. Winnett in *BASOR* 125 [Feb. 1952]: 7–20; A. D. Tushingham in *BASOR* 133 [Feb. 1954]: 6–26; W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine* [1956]; A. H. Van Zyl, *The Moabites* [1960]; N. Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan,* rev. ed. [1970]; J. Kautz in *BA 44* [1981]: 27–35; A. Hadidi, ed., *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan,* 3 vols. [1982–87]; J. F. A. Sawyer and D. J. A. Clines, eds., *Midian, Moab and Edom: The History and Archaeology of Late Bronze and Iron Age Jordan and Northeast Arabia* [1983]; P. Bienkowski, ed., *Early Edom and Moab: The Beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan* [1992]; G. L. Mattingly in *Peoples of the Old Testament World,* ed. A. J. Hoerth et al. [1994], 317–33; B. MacDonald et al., eds., *The Archaeology of Jordan* [2001]; B. E. Routledge, *Moab in the Iron Age* [2004].)

R. K. HARRISON

The famous Moabite Stone mentions conflict between Mesha of Moab and Omri of Israel.

**Moabite Stone.** A votive inscription of MESHA, king of MOAB, referring to his victory over Israel and building activities. Also known as the Mesha Stela.

In 1868 a German missionary, F. A. Klein, was shown an inscribed basalt slab (3'10" high x 2' wide x 2.5" thick) with rounded top and thirty-nine lines of writing in an early cursive Hebrew type script. When both the German and French consuls aided by local Turkish officials evinced a competitive interest in the object, the Arabs broke the monument into several pieces to disperse it. Fortunately C. Clermont-Ganneau had obtained a "squeeze" of the major part of the unique text and thus was able to recover some 669 of an estimated 1100 letters, or almost two-thirds, when the larger pieces were bought and rejoined in the Louvre Museum in 1873.

The monument recounts how Mesha, king of Moab, the Dibonite son of Chemosh (to be restored as Chemoshyatfti] on the basis of a different inscription found in KERAK), who had earlier ruled for

thirty years, dedicated a high place to the god CHEMOSH in Qrhh (Qarhoh?) in gratitude for having delivered him "from all the kings and letting me see my desire over all my enemies." It was presumably at this sanctuary that the stela originally had been erected. The text then goes on to outline the occasion for its dedication. "Omri, king of Israel, had oppressed Moab for many days for Chemosh was angry with his land. His son succeeded him and he too said, 'I will oppress Moab.' In my time he said [this] but I triumphed over him and over his house, while Israel has perished for ever! Omri had taken possession of the land of Medeba and [Israelites] had settled there in his time and half the time of his son, that is forty years; but Chemosh dwelt in it again in my time."

The text would seem to supplement 1 Ki. 16 in regarding OMRI as the conqueror of northern Moab. The forty-year domination by Israel, if not intended as a generalization to cover a full generation, must comprise the reign of Omri (885–874 B.C.), his son AHAB (874–853), AHAZIAH (853–852), and half of the rule of JEHORAM (852–841). If this is so, the son here referred to must be Omri's "grandson" Jehoram, in whose reign there was an attempt to crush the Moabite rebels (2 Ki. 3:4–27). There is no reason to interpret the stone as implying that Mesha broke from Israel before the death of Ahab. This would be contrary to 2 Ki. 1:1. The overthrow of the Omrids by Jehu was doubtless interpreted by the Moabites as vengeance upon them wrought by the national god Chemosh.

The text continues: "I built Baal-Meon and made a pit [cf. Jer. 18:20] in it and I built Qaryaten [KIRIATHAIM, 48:1]. Now the men of Gad had built Ataroth for themselves, but I fought against the town and took it, slaying all the people of the town as a satiation for Chemosh and Moab. I brought back from there Oriel its chief [or read 'the altar-hearth of David'] and dragged him before Chemosh in Qerioth [KERIOTH, Amos 2:2]. There I settled men of Sharon and Maharith. Chemosh said to me, 'Go, seize Nebo from Israel!' So I went up by night, fought against it from daybreak to noon and took it, slaying everyone; seven thousand men, boys, women, girls and maidservants, for I had consecrated it to Ashtar-Chemosh. And I took from there the vessels of Yahweh, hauling them before Chemosh. The king of Israel had built Jahaz and stayed there while he was fighting against me, but Chemosh drove him out before me. So I took two hundred Moabites, all experienced fighting men, and sent them against Jahaz which, after capture, I annexed to Dibon [Jer. 48:21; 48:18, 22]."

The text shows clearly that the Moabites, like Israel, practiced the total destruction of towns and the annihilation of the inhabitants as an offering to their national deity to whom they ascribed victory. At the same time it describes Israelite penetration and building in Moab not expressed in the OT. The citing of the name of the God of Israel is of special interest.

Mesha continues with a claim to have built Qarhoh, both the wall around the park and citadel, its gates, towers, and royal residence, and reservoirs within the town. "Since there was no cistern within the town at Qarhoh I said to all the people, 'Let each of you make a cistern in your own house.' With Israelite captives I had irrigation ditches dug for Qarhoh." Mesha also had built AROER (cf. Jer. 48:19, modern <Aro<ir S of DIBON) and a highway in the valley of the ARNON. He rebuilt ruined Beth Bamoth (cf. BAMOTH, Num. 21:19–20) and BEZER using men from Dibon. Other reconstruction work was carried out at MEDEBAM, BETH DIBLATHAIM (Jer. 48:22), and BETH BAAL MEON as centers for sheepbreeders. Altogether he added more than a hundred towns and villages to his territory. The broken inscription ends with the call of the god Chemosh to Mesha to go and fight the Hauranites.

This major inscription in Moabite, a Semitic dialect akin to biblical Hebrew, is in a 9th-cent. hand and is probably to be dated soon after the year 841. The style is free narrative reminiscent of the OT. It is of much importance for the historical, linguistic, religious, and economic insights it affords.

(See further G. A. Cook, *A Text-Book of North Semitic Inscriptions* [1903], 1–14; S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* [1913], lxxivff.; W. F. Albright in *ANET,* 320–21;

E. Ullendorf in *Documents from Old Testament Times,* ed. D. Winton Thomas [1958], 195-98; J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions* [1971], 1:71–83; J. A. Dearman, ed., *Studies in the Mesha Inscription and Moab* [1989]; *ABD,* 2:561-68 and 4:708-9, s.vv. "Epigraphy, Transjordanian" and "Mesha Stele.")

D. J. WISEMAN

**Moadiah** moh'uh-di'uh (מַעַדְיָה *H5050* [Neh. 12:5], "ornament of Yahweh"; the alternate form מוֹעַדְיָה *H4598* [12:17], if genuine, perhaps means "assembly of Yahweh"; cf. MAADAI). One of the priestly leaders who returned from the EXILE with ZERUBBABEL (Neh. 12:5 NIV; the KJV and other versions have "Maadiah"). Both his family and that of MINIAMIN were headed by Piltai (Neh. 12:17). Some believe that Maadiah and Moadiah are two different individuals. Scholars who believe that the two names refer to the same person explain the spelling variation in different ways (see the discussion in *ABD,* 4:430–31, s.v. "Maadiah").

**Mochmur** mok'muhr (Μοχμούρ). A WADI or brook apparently SE of DOTHAN (Jdt. 7:18). If the name is not fictitious, it may be the same as Wadi Makhfuriyeh (which runs S of SHECHEM, modern Nablus) or Wadi Qana (see KANAH).

**mocking.** This English term and its cognates are used to render a variety of Hebrew and Greek words. Mocking may be harmless teasing, as the boy ISHMAEL with baby ISAAC (Gen. 21:9; the Heb. verb here is *ṣāḥaq H7464,* a play on Issac's name). Or it may be a lover's complaint, as of DELILAH with SAMSON (Jdg. 16:10, 13 KJV, rendering Heb. *tālal H9438;* NIV, "you have made a fool of me"). SANBALLAT and others "mocked [*lā<ag H4352]* and ridiculed [*bāzâ H1022*]" the Jews rebuilding Jerusalem (Neh. 4:1; cf. Ps. 80:6). Mocking may be biting sarcasm, as of ELIJAH against the prophets of the fertility god (1 Ki. 18:27 KJV, Heb. *hātal H2252;* NIV, "taunt"). JEREMIAH felt scorn directed at him (Jer. 20:7; cf. Ps. 119:51).

Israel's record of mocking God's messengers and prophets brought his wrath in the Babylonian captivity (2 Chr. 36:16; Heb. *lā<ab H4351).* The mockery of the OT is not confined to human reactions! God made sport of the Egyptians (Exod. 10:2; 1 Sam. 6:6 RSV). The psalmist says he holds all nations in derision (Ps. 59:8), especially when they rebel against him (Ps. 2:4). God "mocks proud mockers" (Prov. 3:34; using the verb *lîs H4329* and the noun *lēs H4370*).

In the NT, mocking may be public laughter at a failure, as in the parable of the unfinished tower (Lk 14:29; Gk. *empaizō G1850,* a verb used also of the MAGI in the sense that they had "tricked" or "outwitted" HEROD the Great, Matt. 2:16). When the apostolic band spoke in tongues at PENTECOST, unbelievers mocked saying the disciples were drunk (Acts 2:13; Gk. *diachleuazō G1430,* NIV, "made fun of"). The members of the AREOPAGUS likewise mocked by gesture and word the message of the resurrection that PAUL brought (17:32; Gk. *chleuazō G5949).* Dedicated Christians will constantly meet scoffers (Jude 18), especially when they speak of the second coming (2 Pet. 3:3). Mockery may even advance to derisive torture (Heb. 11:36). Sinners, thinking they can "get away" with their sins, turn up their noses at God and his laws, but they cannot outwit him (Gal. 6:7; Gk. *myktērizō G3682).*

Jesus foretold his own mockery by the Romans (Matt. 20:19), and it came to pass (27:29). Jesus also was mocked in the Jewish trial (Lk. 22:63), and it was repeated with the men of Herod Antipas (23:11) and by the soldiers at the cross (23:36).

W. G. BROWN

**Modad** moh'dad. See ELDAD AND MEDAD (MODAD), BOOK OF.

**Modein** moh'deen (Μοδεϊν). A town where MATTATHIAS and his sons initiated the Maccabean Revolt (1 Macc. 2:15 et al). It is identified with modern Midyah (more specifically, el-Arba<in), about 17 mi. NW of JERUSALEM. See MACCABEE.

**modernism.** An approach that accommodates the Bible and theology to contemporary thought, devaluing traditional views of biblical authority and supernaturalism. See BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

**Moeth** moh'eth. Apoc. form of NOADIAH (1 Esd. 8:63).

**Moladah** moh'luh-duh (מוֹלָדָה *H4579,* from יָלַד *H3528,* "to give birth"). One of "the southernmost towns of the tribe of Judah in the Negev toward the boundary of Edom" (Josh. 15:26); also listed in the allotment to the Simeonites (Josh. 19:2; 1 Chr. 4:28). In the postexilic period Moladah was one of the villages where "the people of Judah" settled (Neh. 11:26). This region was afterward occupied by the Edomites, and some think that it should be identified with a fortress in IDUMEA called *Malatha* (Jos. *Ant.* 18.6.2 §147). The idea that Moladah was a shrine where women came to pray for children cannot be deduced from the name as such.

Moladah was evidently close to BEERSHEBA, but the precise location is uncertain. EUSEBIUS and JEROME describe it as being 20 Roman mi. to the S of HEBRON on the road to Aila (Elath). If Moladah is the same as Josephus's Malatha, the town should be identified with Tell el-Milh, 14 mi. SE of Beersheba (cf. *NEAEHL,* 3:934–37, s.v. "Malhata, Tel"). Most recent scholars, however, prefer Khereibet el-Waten, some 5.5 mi. E of Beersheba. Since one of the descendants of JERAHMEEL bore the name MOLID (1 Chr. 2:29), some have speculated that Moladah was a part of the Jerahmeelite settlement, which is known to have been in the S of Judah (1 Sam. 27:10).

P. A. VERHOEF

**molding.** This English term is used to render Hebrew *zār H2425,* which occurs with reference to a shaped rim around the ARK OF THE COVENANT (Exod. 25:11, 24–25; 37:2), a similar rim around the altar of incense (30:3–4; 37:26–27; see INCENSE, ALTAR OF), and still another one around the table for the SHOWBREAD (37:11–12). In all three cases the molding was of pure gold and was ornamental, giving a finished appearance to the objects.

E. RUSSELL

**mole.** This term is used by the KJV and other versions to render the conjectured Hebrew word *hăparpārâ H2923,* which occurs only once: "On that day people will throw away to the moles [MT, *lahpōr pērôt]* and to the bats their idols of silver and their idols of gold, which they made for themselves to worship" (Isa. 2:20 NRSV; NIV, "rodents"; NJPS, "flying foxes"). This translation is doubtful. No true mole *(Insectivora)* is found in this area, but the small heaps of soil pushed up by the Syrian mole rats *(Spalax ehrenbergi)* are an obvious and frequent sight in all areas with a rainfall of over four inches.

Moles are rodents of a specialized family. They spend most of their life underground and their

eyes have disappeared; the feet, but mostly the enormous protruding incisor teeth, are used for burrowing. Mole rats are entirely vegetarian and feed on roots, bulbs, etc. The smallest is about 4 in. long, others reach 8 in. In the winter rainy season they build breeding mounds, like those of pocket gophers, that may be 5 ft. long and 3 ft. tall. (See *FFB,* 54–55.) Some scholars argue that the passage refers to the shrew *(Crocidura religiosa),* which apparently was worshiped in Egypt (see *HALOT,* 1:341). (The KJV uses "mole" also to render Heb. *tinšemet H9491* in Lev. 11:30, but this term more likely refers to the CHAMELEON. The NJPS has "mole" for *ḥōoled H2700* in v. 29; see WEASEL.)

G. C. CANSDALE

**Molech** moh'lek *(*מֹלֶךְ *H4891, prob.* מֶלֶךְ *H4889,* "king," with the vowels of בֹּשֶׁת *H1425,* "shame"; Μολόχ *G3661*). Also Moloch (Amos 5:26 KJV; Acts 7:43 KJV, NRSV); TNIV Molek.

**I. Meaning.** Most scholars accept one of two meanings for "Molech." Some contend that it is a generic noun denoting a particular type of sacrifice, "a votive offering." This view is based primarily on the use *of mlk* in a number of Punic and Neo-Punic inscriptions dated roughly from the 4th to the 1st cent. B.C. from N Africa and engraved upon stelae that commemorated a sacrifice. The word *mlk* occurs alone or compounded with expressions, the most remarkable of which are *mlkʾmr* and *mlkʾdm.* Several stelae, dated from the end of the 2nd cent. or beginning of the 3rd cent. A.D., bear an analogous Latin inscription vocalized *molchomor,* which is evidently a transcription of the Punic *mlkʾmr.* Thus one can reckon *molk* as the vocalization of the first element.

O. Eissfeldt then showed that the word had a ritual sense denoting a sacrifice made to confirm or acquit a vow (*Molk als Opferbegriff im Punischen und Hebräischen und das Ende des Gottes Moloch* [1935]). Probably *mlkʾmr* and *mlkʾdm* mean respectively "offering of lamb" and "offering of man," and refer to the sacrifice of an infant or of a lamb substitute. Furthermore, although these inscriptions and texts are of late date, R. Dussaud read *mlkʾmr* on a stela from Malta of the 7th or 6th cent. B.C.

Moreover, Sanchuniathon (as quoted by Porphyry according to PHILO JUDAEUS *[De abstinentia* 2.56], a text also taken up by EUSEBIUS [*Praep. ev.* 4.16.6]), said that the Phoenicians sacrificed children at a much earlier date, and Quintus Curtius (*HAM* 4.3.23, translated by H. Bardon in the Budé Collection) said explicitly that this rite was transmitted from Phoenicia to Carthage. Although *mlk* never appears with a sacrificial meaning in the Phoenician inscriptions, this silence is explicable because Quintus Curtius also said the practice had been in abeyance for centuries before the founding of Carthage.

The Ras Shamra texts (see UGARIT), roughly contemporaneous with the period in which Philo places Sanchuniathon, may use *mlk* for a type of sacrifice but the texts are not decisive (cf. C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* [1965], glossary #1483). More compelling is the mention *of mlkm* at the end of a list of divinities among the first alphabetic tablets discovered in 1929. A tablet from excavations in 1956 contained the same list in syllabic Akkadian in which *mlkm* is represented by "the Maliks" (pl. form), and these *mlkm* come among a group of cult objects or actions which are divinized. It is possible, then, that the *mlkm* gods are divinized *molk* sacrifices.

The major objection to this view is the statement in Lev. 20:5, which condemns those who prostitute themselves by following Molech. Here Molech must be a divinity and not a sacrifice. On the contrary the references to Molech in all the biblical texts can be understood as a divine name.

The term traditionally has been explained, and recently has been defended, as a deliberate

misvocalization of the title "King"—referring to the god of the Ammonites—by inserting the vowels of *bōšet H1425,* "shame" (cf. ASHTORETH; ISH-BOSHETH). This title is a divine epithet which enters into the composition of many Phoenician and Hebrew names, where it changes places with proper names of divinities. The epithet is found also under the forms *muluk* and *malik* in the name lists of MARI at the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C. Accordingly, it may be construed as an alternate form of MILCOM. J. Gray argued that the proper name of the god was Athtar, an astral deity *(I and II Kings: A Commentary,* 2nd ed. [1970], 275ff.).

**II. The cult.** It usually is assumed that the cult of Molech involved sacrificing the children by throwing them into a raging fire. The expression "passed through [the fire] to Molech" (Lev. 18:21; 2 Ki. 23:10; Jer. 32:35) normally is so interpreted for the following reasons: (1) it is assumed that the same rite is mentioned in 2 Ki. 16:3; 21:6; 23:6; Isa. 30:33; Jer. 7:31; 19:5; Deut. 12:31; (2) this rite is abundantly verified among the Canaanites in both literary texts and artifactual evidence; and (3) there is a significant connection between 2 Ki. 23:10, which informs us that JOSIAH "desecrated Topheth [incinerator], which was in the Valley of Ben Hinnom, so no one could use it to sacrifice his son or daughter in [*lit*., to pass his son or daughter through] fire to Molech," and Jer. 7:31, which says, "They have built the high places of Topheth in the Valley of Ben Hinnom to burn their sons and daughters in the fire." The verbal connections between these two passages are so close that "to burn" seems to be equivalent "to pass through the fire."

N. H. Snaith, however, contended that the disputed expression means the children were given up by the parents to grow up and be trained as temple prostitutes (see *VT* 16 [1966], 123–24). His best evidence is that in Lev. 18 the writer throughout the whole chapter is concerned with illegal sexual intercourse, and especially so in vv. 19–23. Moreover, the phrase was so interpreted in the TALMUD. The apparently foreign insertion in Lev. 18:21 is difficult to explain (cf. R. de Vaux, *Studies in Old Testament Sacrifice* [1964], 87 n. 137). On the other hand, the rabbis also luridly describe a statue of Moloch according to the first view. The origins and specific character of the Molech cult remain open questions in scholarly research.

(See further G. F. Moore in *JBL* 16 [1897]: 161-65; J. Carcopino in *Révue de l'histoire des religions* 106 [1932-B], 592-99; W. Kornfeld in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 61 [1948–52]: 287–313; W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* [1953], 162–64; K. Dronkert, *De Molochdienst in het Oude Testament* [1953]; E. Dhorme in *Anatolian Studies* 6 [1956]: 57; J. Hoftijzer in VT 3 [1958]: 288–92; M. Weinfeld in *UF* 4 [1972]: 133–54; G. C. Heider, *The Cult of Molek: A Reassessment* [1985]; *DDD,*\ 581–85.)

B. K. WALTKE

**Molek** moh'lek. TNIV form of MOLECH.

**Moli** moh'li. KJV Apoc. form of MAHLI (1 Esd. 8:47).

**Molid** moh'lid (מוֹלִיד *H4582,* "descendant" or "begetter"). Son of Abishur and descendant of JUDAH through PEREZ and JERAHMEEL; his mother's name was Abihail (1 Chr. 2:29).

**Moloch** moh'lok. See MOLECH.

**molten image.** This phrase is used by the KJV and other versions to render the Hebrew word *massēkâ H5011* (from *nāsak H5818,* "to pour"); it is usually rendered "cast idol" by the NIV. The word refers first of all to an image of a god cut from stone, shaped from clay, or carved from wood, but it also includes images cast from metal (Lev. 19:4; Deut. 27:15). Such an image was made by pouring molten metal, gold, silver, iron, or bronze, over a prepared form or into a mold (Isa. 40:18–20).The term is used of the golden calf made by AARON (Exod. 32:4) and of the two calves set up at BETHEL and DAN (PLACE) by JEROBOAM (1 Ki. 14:9). See CALF, GOLDEN.

By divine commandment the Israelites were explicitly forbidden to make GRAVEN IMAGES (Exod. 20:4; Deut. 5:8).This commandment also pertained to the making of molten images, the words "graven" and "molten" referring to the manner in which the forbidden image was constructed. The making of such idols, in keeping with the Decalogue, was strictly forbidden by the entire Mosaic law (Exod. 34:17; Lev. 19:4). The prophets also unreservedly condemned it (Isa. 30:22; Hos. 13:2; Hab. 2:18; cf. also Ps. 106:19). The command not to make graven or molten images does not forbid practicing the arts of sculpture, painting, and the like. The prohibition refers only to the practice of making images for the purpose of bringing the deity within human reach. See IDOLATRY.

S. WOUDSTRA

**molten sea.** See SEA, MOLTEN.

**money.** During OT times, the Hebrews did not use coinage to exchange goods and services. Bartering, including precious metals, was used instead. Silver, for example, would be weighed according to accepted units, such as the SHEKEL. The NT, however, does mention several Greek and Roman COINS. The Roman DENARIUS (equivalent to the Gk. DRACHMA) was the basic unit, being generally regarded as a day's wage for a laborer. One hundred denarii made up one MINA, and sixty minas made up a TALENT. The denarius was divided into sixteen assaria (Matt. 10:29; Lk. 12:6); each assarion into four quadrans (Matt. 5:26; Mk. 12:42; Lk. 12:59); and each quadrans into two lepta (Mk. 12:42; Lk. 12:59; 21:2). See also DIDRACHMA; MITE; MINA; PENNY.

**money changer.** This term renders Greek *kollybistēs G3142* (from *kollybos,* "small [copper] coin," the regular term for the fee received by the money changer for his services), which occurs in the story of Jesus' cleansing of the temple when he "overturned the tables of the money changers" (Matt. 21:12; Mk. 11:15; Jn. 2:15; the latter passage, in v. 14, also uses the synonym *kermatistēs G3048,* from *kerma G3047,* "small change").

The function of these money changers was to convert the currency of a worshiper at the Jerusalem TEMPLE into a type of money acceptable for purposes of a sacrificial offering. Since there was no Jewish currency in silver (there apparently had never been any such minted even back in HASMONEAN times), ecclesiastical approval had for some reason been granted to the Tyrian half-shekel or DIDRACHMA, and the Tyrian SHEKEL or tetradrachma (even though they bore the effigy of

Replica of stone carving on a funerary stela (Hungary, late 2nd cent. A.D.), depicting a money changer and his servant counting daily income.

Baal Melkart, the patron god of TYRE) as acceptable for the temple poll tax, which amounted to a yearly levy of one half shekel per male citizen. (Cf. the episode in Matt. 17:27, where PETER is told to use the shekel he had found in the mouth of the fish he had caught, in order to pay the temple tax for himself and for Jesus.) It may have been necessary for smaller offerings to be converted into acceptable bronze coinage, such as the lepta or MITES minted by the Jewish rulers of the Hasmonean dynasty.

At any rate, granted the legitimacy of this taboo against pagan currency as a medium for sacrifice (in place of clean animals sacrificed on the altar), the money changer seems to have performed a useful function. It could not have been because of anything inherently reproachful in their activity that they aroused Christ's ire in the temple. Undoubtedly they served the convenience of the public, especially where birds, animals, or cake-offerings had to be purchased by city dwellers not possessing livestock of their own. In these transactions it must have been necessary to make small change available if the buyer was not to be cheated, and of course the banker who provided this service was entitled to some sort of a fee, in order to make a living.

There seem to be only two possible grounds on which they incurred our Lord's indignation: either their charges for money changing were excessive and tended to gouge the poor and pious, or else they had their tables set up so close to the section of the temple set apart for worship and sacrifice as to interfere with these sacred functions. On either count, or on both counts, Christ could have leveled the charge of turning the house of God into "a den of robbers." It is likely that Jesus took exception to the corruption which money changers and merchants brought into the temple itself, especially during the highly lucrative PASSOVER season. No doubt priests were often in on the profit, since they approved the exchange.

Money changers evidently sat at tables or benches, stacked high with various types of coins used in the Mediterranean world at the time. It is quite conceivable that the loud and passionate haggling that undoubtedly accompanied this activity of changing money in an oriental setting was completely disturbing to genuine devotion; and when this commotion was augmented by the lowing of cattle, the bleating of sheep and goats, and the cooing of pigeons and doves, the resulting hubbub must have made devotional exercises most difficult for the sincere worshiper. At any rate, Jesus found it necessary to clear them all out, and thus relegate them to a suitable distance from the place of sacrifice and prayer.

G. L. ARCHER

**monkey.** See BABOON.

**monotheism.** The belief that there is only one God. It stands in opposition to polytheism, which acknowledges many gods. With the application of the principle of evolution to the study of history, particularly religious history, the effort has been made to classify all religions on a scale moving from the simple to the sophisticated, and to equate this spectrum with the historical development of the race. On such a scheme, monotheism is the final stage in the evolution of the human religious consciousness. Its "discovery" is said to have been the achievement of the great ethical PROPHETS of Israel, much as the Greek mathematicians discovered the fundamental laws of numbers. The latter displayed a genius for rational abstract thought, the former for religion and ethics.

For anyone who accepts the witness of Scripture, however—and there is nothing in the evidence outside of Scripture that contradicts this witness—the knowledge of the one true God can hardly be the mere product of the interplay of factors in the environment on the social organism of Israel. Israel's doctrine of God is based on historical events that are capable of only one interpretation. By his mighty power God had delivered Israel from Egyptian slavery and made them his elect people. "What other nation is so great as to have their gods near them the way the LORD our God is near us whenever we pray to him?" (Deut. 4:7). For Israel, from the beginning, there could be only this one God. This is why the religious faith of Israel was able to survive even the crisis of the EXILE. It was the God of Israel, not the false gods of ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA, who was in charge of all these events. The Assyrian was only "the rod of [his] anger" (Isa. 10:5); NEBUCHADNEZZAR, his "servant" (Jer. 25:9); and CYRUS, his "anointed" (Isa. 45:1).

The doctrine of the TRINITY, which is rejected by the great monotheistic religions of Judaism and Islam as a denial of the truth that God is one, really rests on the same foundation as the monotheism of the OT. The concept of the Trinity is not the product of Greek speculation, but rather the result of believing reflection on the great events of the INCARNATION and PENTECOST, which are at the heart of the Christian faith. Because these events are the fulfillment of the promises made to the fathers, the apostles saw no incongruity in identifying themselves as strict monotheists, while at the same time proclaiming that God is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit (cf. 1 Cor. 8:6). It is true that the elaboration of this belief, in terms of the dogma of the Trinity, involves the use of categories of Greek thought. But to say that God is three persons, though one in his essential being, however it may transcend human comprehension, in no way denies, but rather strongly affirms, the unity and oneness of God as a fundamental affirmation of the Christian faith.

If God is the one only true and living God, and if this knowledge rests on his self-disclosure in the events of the incarnation and Pentecost, what of all the peoples of the earth to whom he has not revealed himself as the Redeemer? With respect to this question, the Scriptures teach that God was known to human beings from the beginning (cf. the opening chapters of Genesis), and that even though they have fallen into sin, they are not wholly without a knowledge of the true God. Paul wrote that "since the creation of the world God's invisible qualities—his eternal power and divine nature—have been clearly seen, being understood from what has been made, so that men are without excuse" (Rom. 1:20).

The belief, therefore, in many gods, and the idolatrous practices connected with such beliefs, are the result of the sinner's alienation from the true God, and no matter how widespread and ingrained such beliefs may be, they really constitute no evidence that there are more gods than one. As a matter of fact, even in cultures where there is a belief in many gods, there is sometimes the belief that one of these is above the others; the gods themselves have a god. Researchers in the field of the history of religions have noted the belief in a supreme high god even among primitive peoples.

The question of monotheism, discussed primarily in biblical terms, has been central also in religious philosophy. In discussions about the idea of God, there have been many efforts to establish some sort of "natural theology" in which monotheism is seen as best reflecting the order and rational unity of the world. Furthermore, the problems of ethical theory have led thinkers, who make no claim to represent biblical Christianity, to postulate a supreme Being and to view the world as best explained in terms of some sort of monotheistic model. (See C. Hodge, *Systematic Theology* [1873], 1:243–44; J. Royce in *ERE,* 8:817–21; E. Brunner, *Dogmatics* 1 [1950], chs. 13-15; K. Barth, *Church Dogmatics,* 2/1 [1957].)

P. JEWETT

**monster.** See DRAGON.

**month.** See CALENDAR.

**monument.** A memorial stone. Kings in the ANE often set up stelae with inscriptions boasting of their accomplishments. The Hebrew word *yād H3338,* which normally means "hand," is used figuratively in the sense of "monument" in several places (cf. M. Delcor *in JSS* 12 [1967]: 230–40). SAUL set up a memorial after his victory over the Amalekites (1 Sam. 15:12), and ABSALOM set up a PILLAR [*maṣṣebet H5170*], which he called "Absalom's Monument," as a memorial for himself (2 Sam. 18:18; not the "Absalom's monument" still standing in the KIDRON Valley, which was built in the 1st cent. B.C.). According to the NRSV and other versions, HADADEZER planned to set up a monument at the EUPHRATES (1 Chr. 18:3), but


Memorial stones excavated at Hazor.

here the word *yād* may mean "control" (cf. NIV). In Isa. 56:5, God promises to pious EUNUCHS "a memorial and a name," probably in the form of a stone in the temple. Stelae, some of them memorials, have been found in Canaanite sanctuaries, including one at HAZOR on which two arms with upraised hands are carved. A hand is carved also on many Carthaginian funerary stelae.

A different Hebrew word, *ṣiyyûn H7483,* referring to a stone landmark, is rendered "monument" by the NRSV in one passage (2 Ki. 23:17; NIV, "tombstone"). The KJV uses "monuments" once to render a Hebrew word of uncertain meaning (Isa. 65:4), and the RSV uses it once in the NT to translate Greek *mnēmeion G3646,* "grave" (Matt. 23:29).

J. ALEXANDER THOMPSON

**moon.** In biblical terms, the moon is a material heavenly body made on the fourth day of CREATION to

give light at night (Gen. 1:16-18).

**I. The terms used.** The usual Hebrew word for "moon" is *yārēah H3734 (cf. yerah H3732,* "month"; some think it is connected with the verb *)āraḥh H782,* "to wander," since the moon travels across the heavens). The term usually Is named with the SUN (as in Josh. 10:12-13; Ps. 121:6; Isa. 60:19), sometimes with the sun and stars (Gen. 37:9; Ezek. 32:7; Joel 2:10) or just with the stars (as Job 25:5; Ps. 8:3; Jer. 31:35), and once it is used alone (Ps. 72:7). Another term, *lĕbānâ H4244* (from *lābān H4237,* "white"), is used three times for the (full) moon probably because of its white appearance (Isa. 24:23; 30:26; Cant. 6:10 [in a figure for a woman's beauty]; in all three references it is in parallel with the sun, which is called *hammâ H2780,* "ḥot one").

The word *ḥōdeš H2544* ("new moon, month") has specialized significance (a) to indicate the time when certain religious festivities were held (cf. 1 Sam. 20:5) and offerings performed (1 Chr. 23:31), (b) to designate month segments (Gen. 38:24), and (c) to point out calendar months (Exod. 13:4). The term *kese) H4057* ("full moon," only in Job 26:9; Ps. 81:3; Prov. 7:20) is apparently a loanword from Akkadian (*kusē)u,* referring to the "headwear" or "cap" of the moon-god). In the pseudepigraphical book of *1 Enoch* (78.2), four names given to the moon are Asenya, Abla, Banase, and Era.

The common Greek word for "moon" is *selēnē G4943,* used basically in eschatological contexts (e.g., Lk. 21:25 and Rev. 21:23; cf. 1 Cor. 15:41). The term *neomēnia G3741* ("new moon, first of the month") occurs once with reference to a festival celebrated by Jews and Gentiles (Col. 2:16).

**II. The moon in creation and providence.** God's creation of the moon and the other heavenly bodies is recorded in Gen. 1:16-18, which fact is later alluded to in Pss. 8:3; 104:19; 136:9. Such a created object is stated to be inferior to God himself (Job 25:5; Isa. 24:23). Scripture sets forth God's PROVIDENCE in sustaining the moon and other heavenly spheres by stating that he orders the moon in its course (Jer. 31:35), obscures the moon by a cloud cover (Job 26:9), and also miraculously affects the normal action of the moon in relation to the earth (Josh. 10:12-13; Hab. 3:11).

The moon is a part of a picture of the enduring nature of God's creation, in the psalmist's expression of his desire for a long life (Ps. 72:5, 7), and in the promise that the Davidic dynasty will have permanence (89:37). The moon is also a symbol of God's protective care over his people (121:6). The figure of the moon, sun, and stars bowing before one of his servants (Gen. 37:9) depicts God's providence over his universe and mankind. The moon and other heavenly bodies are to show the glory of God and produce thanksgiving in the human heart (Pss. 8:3; 148:3; 1 Cor. 15:41).

**III. The moon as an object of worship.** There is biblical and extrabiblical evidence indicating that ANE peoples worshiped the moon, such as in PALESTINE and SYRIA, where one of the common names for the object was Ugaritic *yrḫ,* "moon," equivalent to the moon-god *Yariḫ* (C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* [1965], glossary #1151, 3 Aqht: 9; 1:14; 5:11; 77:4). It is also possible that the place name JERICHO (Heb. *yĕriḥô H3735)* was originally named for this ancient moon-god (cf. the other name of the fortress Khirbet KERAK, *Beth-Yeraḥ,* meaning "the house [temple] of the moon-god"). The mention of *Saḥ* in an early 8th-cent. B.C. inscription from Syria further attests the worship of the moon or dawn-god (cf. Heb. *šahar H8840,* "dawn," and see SHAHAR), since the inscription speaks, in a context of gods, of the sun (god) and *Sahr,* the latter of which probably is to be taken as the moon (god) accompanying the sun or as the dawn (god) that precedes the sun (*ANET,* 502). Isaiah refers to

the Babylonian practice of making astrological prognostications at the time of new moons (Isa. 47:13).

In spite of the biblical warning and command not to worship the moon and other heavenly bodies (Deut. 4:19; 17:3; Job 31:26–28), and the statement of the penalty involved (Deut. 17:6; cf. 2 Ki. 23:5), the OT people of God did fall into this form of IDOLATRY (Jer. 8:1–2).

**IV. The moon as identification.** The term *bōdeš* sometimes is used to indicate a measure of time (Gen. 38:24; Lev. 27:6; 1 Sam. 6:1; Job 14:5). The term also identified a religious holiday at the beginning of the lunar month when there was feasting (1 Sam. 20:5–34; Isa. 1:14) and the offering of sacrifices (2 Ki. 4:23; 1 Chr. 23:31; Neh. 10:33; Isa. 1:13; 66:23; Ezek. 46:1, 6; cf. also Hos. 5:7; Amos 8:5). The feast of Passover or of Tabernacles is in view in reference to blowing the trumpet at the new and full moon (Ps. 81:3; cf. Prov. 7:20). In addition, the term was used with particular names to indicate lunar calendar months such as the first month, Abib (Exod. 13:4; later Nisan, Esth. 3:7); the second, Ziv (1 Ki. 6:1); the third, Sivan (Esth. 8:9); the ninth, Kislev (Zech. 7:1); the tenth, Tebeth (Esth. 2:16); the eleventh, Shebat (Zech. 1:7); the twelfth, Adar (Esth. 3:7, 13; 8:12; 9:1). See CALENDAR.

**V. The moon in eschatological passages.** Of several OT eschatological passages where the moon figures as a sign, that of Isa. 30:26 might be considered as referring to Israel's near or far distant future (cf. also Ezek. 32:7). Most of these passages refer to the time of Christ's SECOND COMING (Isa. 13:10; Joel 2:10) when the moon, with the sun, will fade and become dark (Isa. 13:10; Joel 2:10, 31; 3:15). The MILLENNIUM or eternal state is in mind in the reference to the new moon in Isa. 66:22–23 (cf. 60:19).

Parallel NT references to the moon emphasize its being darkened at Christ's second coming (Matt. 24:29; Mk. 13:24; Lk. 21:25; Acts 2:20 [quoting Joel 2:31]). In a prophecy, Rev. 6:12 sates that "the whole moon turned blood red." The woman of Rev. 12:1 (whether Christ, the Church, or Israel) is pictured as having the moon under her feet, etc. In the eternal state, the new Jerusalem will not need the moon to shine (Rev. 21:23). (See further *DDD,* 585-93.)

W. H. MARE

**Moossias** moh'uh-si'uhs. KJV Moosias. One of the descendants of Addi who had married foreign women (1 Esd. 9:31; cf. MAASEIAH in Ezra 10:30).

**Morasthite** moh'ruhs-thit (מוֹרַשְׁתִּי *H4629,* gentilic of מוֹרֶשֶׁת). A descriptive title applied to MICAH the prophet, according to the KJV and some other versions (Jer. 26:18; Mic. 1:1; the NIV and NRSV render "of Moresheth"). See MORESHETH GATH.

**Mordecai** mor'duh-ki (מָרְדֳּכַי *H5283,* apparently based on the Babylonian name MARDUK). (1) An Israelite mentioned among leading individuals who returned from BABYLON with ZERUBBABEL (Ezra 2:2; Neh. 7:7; 1 Esd. 5:8 [KJV, "Mardocheus"]).

(2) Son of Jair and descendant of BENJAMIN who lived in SUSA during the rule of the Persians (Esth. 2:5); his great-grandfather Kish was among those who had been deported from JERUSALEM to BABYLON by NEBUCHADNEZZAR (v. 6). Mordecai was the protector of ESTHER, who was the daughter of his uncle Abihail (vv. 7, 15). Esther was chosen as queen by Ahasuerus (XERXES I), who ruled

PERSIA from 486 to 465 B.C. At the time of the choosing of the queen, Mordecai warned her not to reveal that she was Jewish (v. 10). He kept in constant contact with his cousin and became a prominent man himself, sitting in the gate of the king (v. 19); Esther in turn continued to obey Mordecai as a child would obey her father (v. 20).

Soon after Esther became queen, Mordecai overheard a plot against the king by two of the king's EUNUCHS, Bigtha(na) and Teresh (Esth. 2:21). He reported this plot to Esther, and the king successfully thwarted their plan (v. 22). At that time, providentially, no further recognition or reward was given Mordecai, but his deed was recorded in the official records of Persia.

When the king promoted HAMAN among his nobles, Mordecai would not bow to him (Esth. 3:1–4). The reason for his refusal is not given. Perhaps the most likely explanation is that Haman may have been considered a descendant of Israel's ancient enemies, the Amalekites, as his gentilic AGAGITE suggests; or maybe this title simply is a way of indicating that Haman was full of hatred for the Jewish people (see K. H. Jobes, *Esther,* NIVAC [1999], 119–21). In any case, Haman became angered and sought to destroy all Jews (3:5-6). When Mordecai learned of this evil plot he went into mourning. This attracted Esther's attention and, on inquiry, she learned of the plight of the Jews (4:4-7). Bravely, Mordecai ordered Esther to go to the king for the sake of her people. He did this in spite of the great risk to her should she earn the king's displeasure (4:14).

The hate between Mordecai and Haman increased. Finally, at the suggestion of his wife Zeresh, Haman planned to have Mordecai hanged on a gallows he would make (Esth. 5:14). Providentially again, God stirred the mind of the king to have the book of the chronicles of the kings of Persia read to him on a sleepless night (6:1). He hoped the dull reading of the chronicles would put him to sleep. Instead, it startled him as the chronicler read aloud the record of Mordecai's uncovering the plot against his life some years before. Ironically, Haman was ordered by the king to honor Mordecai before all the people (6:4-11). Then at Esther's banquet it was revealed that Haman plotted to destroy her people. The king was so enraged by this news that he had Haman hanged on his own gallows (7:10).

The authority and glory that once had belonged to Haman now was given to Mordecai (Esth. 8:2). By this new power he was able to annul the former decree against the Jews by a counter decree (8:11). Copies of the decree went to all the provinces of Persia (8:13). Mordecai, now wearing the royal robes of blue and white, led the Jews in celebration of this great deliverance. The Feast of PURIM was established on this day. The name Purim came from the term *pûr H7052,* which means "a lot" (9:24). Since lots were to be cast against the Jews, this great deliverance day became known as Purim (9:26). In 2 Macc. 15:36 it is called "Mordecai's day." Mordecai became a man to reckon with in the kingdom of Ahasuerus. He was not only great among the Jews, but found favor also with the king. He always sought the good of his own people (10:3).

The hill of Moreh. (View to the N from Mt. Tabor.)

In secular history there is no mention of the name Mordecai in the annals of King Xerxes. A possible reference to a Marduk, a finance officer in the Persian court of Xerxes' day, is suggested from a CUNEIFORM document, but no solid secular evidence is yet available. (See C. Pfeiffer, *Exile and Return* [1962], 119–23; *ABD,* 4:902–4.)

J. B. SCOTT

**Moreh** mor'eh (מוֹרֶה *H4622,* "teacher"). (1) A place near SHECHEM. When Abram (ABRAHAM) first entered Canaan, he "traveled through the land as far as the site of the great tree of Moreh at Shechem" (Gen. 12:6; NRSV, "the oak of Moreh"; KJV incorrectly, "the plain of Moreh"). There God revealed himself to Abraham with the promise to give Canaan to his descendants, whereupon Abraham responded by building his first altar to the Lord in Canaan. The phrase "the great tree [*<ēlôn H471*] of Moreh" may also be translated "the teacher's [*or* diviner's] tree." (However, it is unlikely that this is the same place as the DIVINERS' OAK, or "soothsayers' tree," of Jdg. 9:37; cf. J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* [1959], 212 n. 194.) It must have been a "holy" tree, and the place an old Canaanite sanctuary. Although it is difficult to understand Abraham's motives for visiting this place, there is no reason to suggest that he recognized the sacred character of the place and willfully adapted himself to it. The reference merely serves to indicate the place where Abraham camped and built his own altar. Elsewhere, the expression "the great trees of Moreh" serves to indicate the general location of Mounts EBAL and GERIZIM (Deut. 11:30). Some have thought that there is a connection with "the oak at Shechem" (Gen. 35:4; cf. Jdg. 9:6).

(2) The "hill of Moreh" was a place near which the Midianites were camping when they were attacked by GIDEON (Jdg. 7:1). This hill was at the E end of the Valley of JEZREEL (6:33) and is generally identified with Jebel Nabi Dahi (sometimes wrongly called the Little Hermon), about 8 mi. NNW of Mount GILBOA, and just S of NAIN.

P. A. VERHOEF

**Moresheth** mor'uh-sheth. See MORESHETH GATH.

**Moresheth Gath** mor'uh-sheth-gath' (מוֹרֶשֶׁת גַּת *H4628,* "possession of Gath"; LXX, κληρονομίας εθ; Vulg., *hereditatem Geth).* Also Moresheth-gath. One of several towns in the SHEPHELAH of JUDAH that were going to be conquered (Mic. 1:14). The passage is full of wordplays, and some believe that this name alludes to the term *mĕōreśet* (from ʾāraś *H829* piel, "betroth, become engaged to"; cf. the

This mound (Tell el-Judeideh) may be the site of Moresheth Gath, home of the prophet Micah. (View to the NW.)

pual ptc. in Deut. 22:23). If so, the figure is that of Judah having to part with one of its towns and giving a dowry besides (cf. J. M. P. Smith, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Micah,* ICC [1911, bound with several other Minor Prophets], 48).

It is generally thought that the prophet Micahs gentilic, "the Morasthite" (KJV in Mic. 1:1 and Jer. 26:28, where the NIV and other versions say "of Moresheth"), refers to Moresheth Gath. The addition "Gath" is to define more precisely Moresheths situation as in the vicinity of, or as belonging to, GATH. According to EUSEBIUS, it was located just E of Eleutheropolis. Some scholars have thought that it is the same as the better known city of MARESHAH (Mic. 1:15; Josh. 15:44; et al.), but most think it was a distinct village and tentatively identify it with the modern Tell el-Judeideh, about 7 mi. SE of Gath and 6 mi. NE of LACHISH (Z. Kallai, *Historical Geography of the Bible* [1986], 381 and 386, prefers Tell <Etun, while identifying Tell el-Judeideh with LIBNAH). The MEDEBA map shows a vignette NE of Eleutheropolis with the note: "Morasthi, from which the prophet Micah came." (See further J. Jeremias in *PJ* 29 [1933]: 42–53; K. Elligerin *ZDPV* 57 [1934]: 119ff.)

P. A. VERHOEF

**Moriah** muh-ri'uh (מֹרִיָּה *H5317*, derivation uncertain; by popular etymology, "the place where Yahweh provides [*or* appears]," Gen. 22:14). (1) The region to which God instructed ABRAHAM to go so that he might offer up ISAAC on one of its mountains (Gen. 22:2; LXX, *tēn gēn tēn hypsēlēn,* "the high land"; Vulg., *terram Visionis,* "the land of apparition"). The district may have received its name from the incident in which Yahweh *provided* a sacrifice and *appeared to* Abraham (22:8, 14). The SAMARITANS connected Moriah with MOREH (in the vicinity of SHECHEM) so as to identify it with

GERIZIM (for a refutation, see James A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans* [1907], 234ff.). The precise location of the mountain is not given in Genesis beyond the statement that it was a three days' journey from BEERSHEBA (22:4).

(2) The rocky hilltop of JERUSALEM N of the City of David (see ZION) where Yahweh appeared (Heb. *nir'â*) to DAVID when he presented offerings on the threshing floor of ARAUNAH the Jebusite (2 Chr. 3:1). Some argue that the author of Chronicles is indirectly identifying this hill with the place where Abraham offered Isaac. Such an identification was widely accepted in ancient times (Jos. *Ant.* 1.13.2 §226; 7.13.4 §333; *Jubilees* 18.13; Jerome, *Hebrew Questions on Genesis* [on Gen. 22:2]; and rabbinic literature generally). The Muslim mosque known as the Dome of the Rock presently sits on the site. Many modern scholars, however, regard this identification as unlikely or even impossible, and explain the connection between the two passages in other ways (see *ABD,* 4:905).

B. K. WALTKE

**morning sacrifice.** See SACRIFICE AND OFFERINGS.

**morning star.** This term is applied to Venus (occasionally to other bright planets) because it is often visible in the eastern sky before sunrise, heralding the appearance of the sun (see ASTRONOMY II.D). The expression is used by the NIV to render Hebrew *hêlēl H2122* ("shining one"), which occurs only once, in an oracle against the king of BABYLON (Isa. 14:12; NRSV, "Day Star"); see LUCIFER.

In the NT the phrase once renders Greek *phōsphoros G5892* (lit., "light-bringer," but a common term for Venus in Greek literature), which Peter uses as a symbol of Christ's SECOND COMING (2 Pet. 1:19; KJV, "day star"). It also appears twice in Revelation as a literal rendering of the phrase *ho astēr ho prōinos.* In one of these passages (Rev. 22:16), the reference to Jesus is explicit. The other occurrence, in a promise to the church of THYATIRA, is somewhat obscure: "To him who overcomes and does my will to the end, I will give authority over the nations…I will also give him the morning star" (2:26–28). Various interpretations have been proposed (cf. G. R. Osborne, *Revelation,* BECNT [2002], 168), but there is likely a connection with 22:16; if so, Christ is promising that those who persevere will share in his coming messianic glory. All three NT passages seem to allude to the prophecy of BALAAM, "A star will come out of Jacob" (Num. 24:17).

**morsel.** This term is used a number of times in the KJV in the OT, especially in the expression "a morsel of bread" (e.g., Gen. 18:5, where the NIV has "something to eat"), and once in the NT (Heb. 12:16, where the Greek really means "one meal," not "one piece of food"). The NIV uses the word only twice in the expression "choice morsels," which renders a participial form of the rare verb *lāham H4269* (Prov. 18:8; 26:22; NRSV, "delicious morsels," but KJV wrongly, "wounds," as though it were from *hālam H2150,* an old conjectural emendation followed also by Luther).

**mortal.** As an adjective ("subject to death"), this English term is used by the KJV once in the OT (Job 4:17, where "mortal man" renders the common Heb. noun *)ĕnôš H632)* and five times in the NT to render the Greek adjective *thnētos G2570* (Rom. 6:12; 8:11; used substantivally in 1 Cor. 15:53, 54; 2 Cor. 4:11; another substantival use, 2 Cor. 5:4, is rendered "mortality" by the KJV). See DEATH; IMMORTALITY. As a noun meaning "human being," the term *mortal* does not occur in the KJV, but is so used a number of times in the NIV, especially in Job (Job 4:17; 9:2; 10:4–5), and very frequently in other modern versions.

**mortal sin.** This precise expression is not found in the Bible, though it is clear that SIN in itself, and therefore every manifestation of a depraved nature, issues unto DEATH (Rom. 6:23 et al.). In Roman Catholic theology, however, mortal sin is contrasted with "venial" sin, which is seen as less aggravated and therefore much less damaging to the soul than mortal sin. This distinction is not explicitly asserted in Scripture.

In 1 Jn. 5:16-17, the apostle distinguishes between "sin unto death" and "sin not unto death" (the NIV renders, "sin that leads to death"; the NRSV, "mortal sin," which may be misleading). Inasmuch as he directs that no prayer should be offered for the former, this passage has been quite naturally related to Matt. 12:31–32 (and parallels); Heb. 6:4–6; 10:26–31 (sometimes also 2 Pet. 2:20–22). It is not certain that all of these passages refer to the same kind of transgression; but if this be so, the sin in view would appear to be the hardening of the heart against the offer of the divine light in its most unmistakable form. This interpretation commends itself to the evangelical scholar at many points.

R. NICOLE

**mortar.** This English term has two distinct meanings, both of which occur in the Bible. In the sense of "a utensil for pounding material," especially for the purpose of crushing grain, it renders Hebrew *mĕdōkâ H4521* (Num. 11:8, with reference to the beating of MANNA SO that it could be cooked) and *maktēš H4847* (Prov. 27:22, used figuratively with reference to the fool, whose folly cannot be removed even by grinding him in a mortar). With regard to "the Mortar" (Zeph. 1:11 NRSV), see MAKTESH.

The second sense is "a substance used for uniting brick or stone in construction." In this meaning, *mortar* is the proper rendering of Hebrew *ḥōmer H2817,* which also means CLAY (e.g., Job 4:19). According to Gen. 11:3, the builders of the Tower of BABEL used "tar" *(ḥēmār H2819;* NRSV, "bitumen") in place of "mortar." The use of BITUMEN (or asphalt) for mortar is attested in Babylonia by archaeological evidence; and its occurrence in the Valley of SIDDIM (Gen. 14:10 NRSV) beside the JORDAN, near the DEAD SEA, renders its use in Palestine possible. Biblical references and archaeological evidence show that some kind of clay commonly was used for mortar in Egypt and Palestine.

Modern mortar differs from ancient in that it is made of one part by volume of slaked lime and three parts of sand, mixed with enough water to form a paste. When applied to brick or stone it sets, becoming stiff as the water evaporates; then it hardens, as the slaked lime absorbs carbon dioxide from the atmosphere and is converted into calcium carbonate. Mortar in biblical times was sometimes bitumen or asphalt, where this was found in nature, as in Babylonia and in Palestine, though its use for mortar in Palestine is less surely attested. Bitumen is a sticky, pitchy substance occurring as liquid in wells, or exposed in pools where it is more or less hardened. It was used in Egypt for waterproofing PAPYRUS boats and for preserving mummies. In Egypt and Palestine the usual mortar was moistened natural clay, which hardened by exposure to the air. The term *clay* is loosely used in the Bible, referring sometimes to true potter's clay, sometimes to mud or mire of many types. Bitumen was too sticky to be trodden out, but clay, mixed with water, was trodden by barefooted men, until it was the proper consistency for use (cf Nah. 3:14).

E. RUSSELL

**mortgage.** This English term occurs just once in the Bible, in the context of a time of drought and want: "Others were saying, 'We are mortgaging our fields, our vineyards and our homes to get grain during the famine'" (Neh. 5:3). The verb is *<ārab H6842,* which is used of pledging or pawning

personal property in all other passages (see PLEDGE), but here of real estate, which is put up as collateral for a loan. The root basically refers to exchanging or trading merchandise (the verb is so used in Ezek. 27:9, 27), but it also can be used of becoming surety or guarantor of a loan made to some borrower. Although a specific reference to mortgaging real property occurs only in Neh. 5:3, there can be no question that this was a much-practiced mode of securing loans from the time of the Hebrew conquest and onward. According to the PENTATEUCH, one of the duties of the kinsman-redeemer (see GOEL) was to purchase the mortgaged property of his indigent relative. This was one of the services performed by BOAZ for NAOMI, his dead kinsman's widow (in addition to his LEVIRATE marriage of RUTH). See also BORROW, LEND.

G. L. ARCHER

**mosaic.** This English term refers to a surface ornamentation of designs or pictures, and sometimes inscriptions, made by inlaying in patterns small pieces of colored stone, glass, shell, or other material. (The word derives from Medieval Latin *mūsāicum,* "of the Muses"; it is therefore to be distinguished from *Mosaic* as an adjective derived from the name MOSES.)

Although no Hebrew term in the OT specifically means "mosaic," in Esth. 1:6 a pavement in the palace at SUSA is described as made of porphyry, marble, mother-of-pearl, and precious stones (the NIV and other versions regard this as a "mosaic pavement"). Mosaics were very ancient in MESOPOTAMIA. In the latter half of the 4th millennium B.C. cone-mosaics appear. These were made of terra-cotta, usually 7–8 cm. long, and were thrust into the soft plaster on the walls or other features. The ends were dipped in paint before insertion, and sometimes the heads were inset with colored stones, or sheathed in bronze. An outstanding example is the Pillared Hall at Warka (biblical ERECH).This form of decoration persisted through the Ubaid period. The temple of Nin-khursag at Tell al-<Ubaid had columns (of palm trunks) with a mosaic sheathing of black, red, and white triangles of mother-of-pearl, red sandstone, and asphalt. The triangular tesserae recall the texture of the tree trunk. A masterpiece of mosaic is the "Standard" from the Royal Cemetery of UR. It is a double-sided panel, with small figures in shell or mother-of-pearl, which are inlaid in bitumen against a mosaic of lapis lazuli. One side shows a battle with chariots and infantry, the other, a victory feast.

Mosaic from the synagogue in Hamat Tiberias, with a dedication to its founder.

Roman mosaics, both pavement and wall, had widespread use as a decoration both stable and impervious to moisture. Only stone tesserae were used for pavements, but glass and gold leaf on stones were used for walls. Mosaics reached their highest point of development in early churches and synagogues, and especially in the Byzantine period. Prime examples are to be seen at ANTIOCH OF

SYRIA, Tabgha (near TIBERIAS), GERASA, MEDEBA, and the Beth Alpha synagogue near JEZREEL. The mosaicist's art involved geometric designs and figured compositions, assembled from the basic shapes of the square, star, triangle, lozenge, circle, pelta, and hexagon. Mosaics are (1) decorative, (2) descriptive (telling a story), and (3) identifying (advertising shops, etc.).

(See further M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madeba Mosaic Map* [1954], 18–20; S. Lloyd, *The Art of the Ancient Near East* [1961], passim; A. Graber, *Byzantium* [1966], 102-66; R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* [1960], 446–53; M. Ben-Dov and Y. Rappel, *Mosaics of the Holy Land* [1987]; K. M. D. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* [1999]; R. Talgam and Z. Weiss, *The Mosaics of the House of Dionysos at Sepphoris* [2004]; L. Becker and C. Kondoleon, *The Arts of Antioch: Art Historical and Scientific Approaches to Roman Mosaics* [2005].)

M. H. HEICKSEN

**Moserah, Moseroth** moh-see'ruh, –ruhth (מוֹסֵרָה *H4594,* "bond," also in the pl. form מוֹסֵרוֹת *H5035). A* place where the Israelites encamped on their journey from Egypt to Canaan (Num. 33:30–31), and where AARON was said to have died (Deut. 10:6). The site is unknown, but it must have been near Mount HOR, by the border of EDOM. Some scholars regard the latter passage as a variant tradition, because elsewhere Aaron is said to have died at Mount Hor itself (Num. 33:38; cf. 20:22). According to KD (*Pentateuch,* 3:245), the problem could be solved by relating the two passages to different journeys: in Deut. 10:6–7 the reference is to the fortieth year, when the Israelites went from KADESH to Mount Hor, encamping in the ARABAH first at the wells of the Jaakanites (see BEEROTH BENE-JAAKAN) and then at Moserah, with Aaron dying on Mount Hor, which was nearby. This would have been the second visit to these places (cf. W. H. Gispen, *He boek Numeri* [1959-64], 2:268). Some, deriving the name Moserah from *yāsar H3579,* suggest that it means "chastisement" because Aaron's death was regarded as a punishment for the trespass at MERIBAH (Num. 20:24; Deut. 32:51); most scholars, however, derive the name from <ā*sar H673,* "to bind."

P. A. VERHOEF

**Moses** moh'zis (מֹשֶׁה *H5407,* derivation uncertain, but by popular etymology, "drawn out [of the water]"; Μωυσ<ς *G3707).* According to Exod. 2:10, Moses received his name from PHARAOH's daughter, who said, "I drew him out of the water" (some have argued that the subject of the verbs "she called [his name]" and "she said" is in fact Moses' mother). The Hebrew verb for "draw out" here is *māšâ H5406* (its only other occurrence is in 2 Sam. 22:17 = Ps. 18:16, where the hiphil conjugation is used).

It is often thought, however, that the name is Egyptian, derived from the root *mśy,* "to bear," a common component in theophoric names (e.g., THUTMOSE or Thutmosis, "[the god] Thoth is born"; alternatively, *Moses* could be identified with the noun *mesu [mśw],* meaning "child"). Many have speculated that the child was given a compound Egyptian name, such as Ramose(s), and that he dropped the divine component when he later identified with the Hebrews. If so, the meaning given in Exod. 2:10 is a wordplay suggested by the similarity in sound between the Hebrew and Egyptian words (on the linguistic problems, see J. G. Griffiths in *JNES* 12 [1953]: 225–31, summarized by J. K. Hoffmeier in *ISBE,* rev. ed., 3:417).

Alternatively, if Moses was originally a Hebrew name, perhaps it was Pharaoh's daughter who assimilated it to the Egyptian form (cf. K. A. Kitchen in *NBD,* 783–84; Y. Muchiki, *Egyptian Proper Names and Loanwords in North-West Semitic* [1999], 217). In any case, while the name occurs more

than 750 times in the OT, no further explanation is given; and like the names of some other prominent OT characters, it is given to only one person, the great leader and lawgiver of Israel.

1. Background
2. The first forty years
    1. Birth
    2. Infancy
    3. Life in Egypt
    4. The flight
3. The second forty years
    1. Moses in Midian
    2. Moses and Jethro
    3. Moses at the bush
    4. Moses returns to Egypt
4. The third forty years
    1. Moses and Pharaoh
    2. Moses and Israel
5. The fortieth year
    1. Failure at Kadesh Barnea
    2. Defeat of Arad and the Amorites
    3. Arrival at Jordan
    4. Moses' valedictory: Deuteronomy

**I. Background.** With the word "Now" (Exod. 1:1 KJV; Heb. *wĕ-),* the historian passes from the death of JOSEPH, who saved the PATRIARCHS from starvation in Canaan by bringing them down into Egypt, to the time of Moses, who led their descendants forth from bondage. He first lists the tribes who were in Egypt and stresses their amazing fruitfulness (v. 7), the rise of a king who knew not Joseph, the fears aroused in the heart of the reigning pharaoh by their increase, the steps he took to control it, the refusal of the midwives to obey his command to destroy the male infants, and finally the command to his own people to drown the Hebrew boys (v. 22).

Thus the stage is set for the birth of Moses, which occurred nearly 300 years after the death of Joseph. This background is sketched very briefly. Nothing is said about Egypt except what directly concerns Israel. The names of the two Hebrew midwives and of the two cities that the Israelites built are given, but not the name of the pharaoh who knew not Joseph nor of the pharaoh who oppressed Israel, nor of the princess who became the foster mother of Moses. The writer omits them as immaterial to his story.

**II. The first forty years**

***A. Birth.*** Moses is introduced to the reader in a striking way. Sometimes the ancestry of a person is given in some detail; here it is stated in the broadest of terms: "Now a man of the house of Levi married a Levite woman" (Exod. 2:1). From the words that follow, "and she became pregnant and gave birth to a son," one might infer that Moses was their first child. This inference is promptly corrected by the mention of a sister whose name is not mentioned until much later (15:20), but who was old enough to watch over the babe in the little ark and shrewd enough to seize upon the remark of

the royal princess concerning the parentage of the babe and pro duce the mother of the foundling to serve as its nurse. There is a touch of irony in the result that the Hebrew mother was paid by Pharaohs daughter to nurse her own child. Moreover, Pharaoh aimed to destroy every male child born in Israel, with the result that his own daughter took under her protection the Hebrew baby who was to become the future deliverer of his people, and she even adopted him as her son. (For a detailed study that traces interpretive developments in postbiblical Judaism, see J. Cohen, *The Origins and Evolution of the Moses Nativity Story* [1993].)

***B. Infancy.*** The statement that "the child grew older" is indefinite. The mother probably kept the child for two or three years (cf. 1 Sam. 1:19–24). Perhaps she kept him longer, bringing him frequently to the princess, who must not be allowed to forget him, while at the same time cultivating in his young heart a love and loyalty to the race from which he sprang. Regarding these formative years, however, nothing is related. Moses had an older brother, AARON, who would later be proposed to Moses as his spokesman (Exod. 4:14) and sent to meet him at the mount of God (v. 27). Aaron was three years Moses' senior (7:7), a statement of special interest because it implies that the command that all male children be drowned (1:22) was

Basket coffin (Egypt, 1st-3rd dynasties). Moses' mother may have placed her son in a basket coffin like this one.

not given until after Aaron was born. The names of Moses' father and mother are mentioned later (6:20). All these facts that are gradually introduced serve to show how much is omitted in the brief statement with which ch. 2 begins.

***C. Life in Egypt.*** Nearly forty years lie between the "grew" of Exod. 2:10 and the "grown up" of v. 11. With reference to this period, STEPHEN stated that "Moses was educated in all the wisdom of the Egyptians and was powerful in speech and action" (Acts 7:22), which implies that Moses received an education befitting an Egyptian prince. The parents "were not afraid of the king's edict" (Heb. 11:23), which may indicate that they were willing to risk the danger of detection before the baby was hidden in the bulrushes, or else that after his adoption by the princess, they used every opportunity to instill in the heart of their child a love for his people and his God. The biblical account devotes only fifteen verses to this formative period of Moses' life.

Five verses now suffice to describe its dramatic and unhappy conclusion, yet they are significant because of the light they throw on the development of Moses' character. The comment, "One day, after Moses had grown up" (Exod. 2:11), introduces two closely related incidents that marked the close of the first forty years of Moses' life (Acts 7:23). Moses "went out where his own people were and watched them at their hard labor. He saw an Egyptian beating a Hebrew, one of his own people."

This is the first expression of what became a master motive in Moses' life: his love for his Israelite brethren (Heb. 11:23–24). His love may have been aroused suddenly by the act of injustice which he imprudently punished too severely, but it seems more probable that it was only the sudden unleashing of a passionate desire which he had long cherished and which came to sudden expression.

Probably this was not a sudden act on Moses' part. He may often have watched the Hebrews toiling at their burdens, and the word *people* suggests how powerfully kinship and parental teaching may have influenced this adopted son of an Egyptian princess. It reveals Moses as a man of powerful emotions, impulsive in action, yet he was now a mature man of forty, to whom such a scene must have been quite familiar. He then assumed the role of deliverer. His response was not one of uncontrollable anger, for he first glanced "this way and that" to make sure no one could see him. He then "killed" the Egyptian who had been "beating" his countryman (Exod. 2:12). The same Hebrew verb is used for both actions (*nākâ H5782,* hiphil, "to smite"), but Moses' blow was deadly, so he endeavored to cover up his violent act by burying his victim in the sand.

***D. The flight.*** "The next day he went out" (Exod. 2:13). Was it to determine whether his act had been discovered? If so, he soon found out the facts. For an attempt to play the role of "peacemaker" between two of his fellow Hebrews brought upon him the accusation of murder: "Are you thinking of killing me as you killed the Egyptian?" (v. 14). The tragedy in this charge is brought out by the words of Stephen: "Moses thought that his own people would realize that God was using him to rescue them, but they did not" (Acts 7:25). So Moses fled for his life. It may seem a little strange that Moses made no effort to excuse or justify his conduct. He was a man of princely rank among the Egyptians, and his victim apparently was not a man of any prominence, possibly at most only an Egyptian "taskmaster." It would certainly seem that he might have been able to "brazen it out" before Pharaoh. Apparently Moses did not think so; and he already may have shown his sympathy with his oppressed people too plainly for his own safety. At any rate his fear was fully justified—Pharaoh sought to slay him. So Moses "fled from Pharaoh" (Exod. 2:15).

The travels of Moses.

## III. The second forty years

***A. Moses in Midian.*** Forty years had passed swiftly (Acts 7:23). This adopted son of an Egyptian princess now sat by a well in the land of MIDIAN, an exile from the court of Pharaoh and with a price on his head. Again the situation serves to reveal the man. While he was resting, seven maidens came to the well and he watched them draw water for their flock. Then he saw a group of shepherds come and drive the girls away from the troughs. Moses might well have said to himself, "This is no concern of mine. I am sitting here a wanderer and fugitive as a result of meddling with other people's affairs. These girls and their sheep are nothing to me." Instead Moses stood up and rescued them from the roughness of the shepherds (Exod. 2:17). Moses' act was not merely an expression of kindness and sympathy but also an evidence of high courage. It also indicates that there was something in his appearance and bold intervention that overawed the shepherds, who apparently quailed before a single unknown stranger who had the valor to oppose them.

The daughters may have thanked him, but they left him. They called him "an Egyptian" (Exod. 2:19) and probably were wary of foreigners, so their father had to make amends for their lack of oriental hospitality. In this incident there is not the slightest suggestion of any prior connection or contact of Moses with JETHRO or the Midianites. It was as a total stranger that this Egyptian came to this locality, and he was treated as such.

***B. Moses and Jethro.*** In a compressed narrative (Exod. 2:21–22) we are told that Moses accepted Jethro's offer and agreed to stay in his home, that he married one of Jethro's daughters, ZIPPORAH, and that she gave birth to a son. The name given his first child, GERSHOM—which Moses explained with the words, "I have become an alien [*gēr H1731*] in a foreign land"—may suggest that Moses was far from happy in his new environment. This second period of forty years (Acts 7:30) concludes with a reference to the homeland from which Moses had been forced to flee: "During that long period [*lit*., in those many days], the king of Egypt died" (Exod. 2:23). The date is not given, but it was probably toward the end of the forty years (cf. NRSV, "After a long time"), since it was Pharaoh's death that prepared the way for Moses' return to Egypt.

***C. Moses at the bush.*** The first two forty-year periods of Moses' life, both of which end in a startling and climactic event, have been largely covered by a single chapter of Exodus. The event with which the second period ends, however, introduces and determines the whole of the third period of forty years that is to follow. It begins by describing what may have been Moses' chief occupation for forty years: "Now Moses was tending the flock of Jethro his father-in-law," and by slow stages he led the sheep "to Horeb, the mountain of God" (Exod. 3:1; it is uncertain whether the name "mountain of God" is used proleptically, anticipating what later would happen).

Perhaps he had led the flock here many times before, but now something wonderful happened. The call of Moses is perhaps the most revealing—as it was the most momentous—event in his entire life. The angel of the Lord appeared to Moses "in flames of fire within a bush" (Exod. 3:2). Moses no doubt had noticed often that a thorn bush burns rapidly and with a great crackling (Eccl. 7:6), so he marveled that the bush kept on burning. "I will go over and and see this strange sight—why the bush does not burn up" (Exod. 3:3). When he approached, God called to him and warned him that he was

on sacred ground. Moses not only put off his shoes as commanded, but also hid his face "because he was afraid to look at God" (v. 6)—an act of reverence and awe.

Then God revealed himself as the God of Moses' forebears, of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and told Moses that he had heard the cry of their descendants and had come to deliver them. He then made a truly amazing proposal to Moses: "I am sending you to Pharaoh to bring my people the Israelites out of Egypt" (Exod. 3:10). Forty years had gone by since Moses, an important figure at Pharaoh's court, had slain one Egyptian for mistreating one Hebrew and had tried to make peace between two of his fellow Israelites. Now suddenly he was challenged to undertake on a vast scale what he had so signally failed to achieve in a small way. Little wonder that Moses replied, "Who am I, that I should go to Pharaoh and bring the Israelites out of Egypt?" (v. 11). If Moses' reply was exactly what one should expect from someone in his position, the answer of the Lord was quite startling: "I will be with you. And this will be the sign to you that it is I who have sent you: When you have brought the people out of Egypt, you will worship God on this mountain" (v. 12).

The sign was a double challenge to Moses: to his faith in the God of his fathers and to his love of his people, a people who on his first attempt to serve them had met him with hostility and rejection. Moses at first apparently parried the challenge by asking what name he should give to the God whom he was to represent to the people as their deliverer. He asked the question as if he meant to imply that he knew the name of the God of his fathers, but was not sure just how he should speak of him to the people when they ask the name of this God who will deliver them. Perhaps he was asking the question as much for himself as for them. The answer was, "I AM WHO I AM" (Exod. 3:14); the Hebrew can also be rendered, "I will be what I will be."

This language suggests the immutable God, who is unchangeable in his being, the same yesterday, today, and forever—the same as when he called ABRAHAM to go forth from Ur of the Chaldees to the land of promise. Or it may stress rather the activity and energy of this God of the fathers, who will act sovereignly and effectively in behalf of his people in the future as he has done of old. Then the Lord at once used the well-known name, "The LORD [*yhwh H3378*], the God of your fathers" (Exod. 3:15), and added: "This is my name for ever, the name by which I am to be remembered from generation to generation." Hence the Tetragrammaton (four-consonant word) is properly viewed as the memorial or COVENANT name of the God of Israel. See GOD, NAMES OF; I AM.

The command then was repeated that Moses go to the Israelites and announce to them God's promise of deliverance and of entrance into the good land promised to their fathers. Moses was given the assurance that they would obey and that he would go with them to Pharaoh to request permission for a three days' journey into the wilderness to worship the God of their fathers who had appeared to them through Moses. The request they were to propose was modest, designed to show the unreasonableness of Pharaohs refusal; and they were to make it as a request, not as a demand (Exod. 3:18; the Heb. particle *nā H5528* is sometimes translated with "please," as in 4:13). But they were to be told that Pharaoh would not let them go "unless a mighty hand compels him." Then God's purpose to use force to affect the deliverance is plainly stated, and the result would be that Pharaoh would let the people go (3:20).

Moses raised the natural objection that the people would not believe that God had sent him to deliver them from Pharaoh. The Lord gave him three signs: his rod becomes a serpent, his hand becomes leprous, and the water turns into blood. There is a striking difference between the sign given Moses for himself (Exod. 3:12) and these signs for the people and for Pharaoh. The latter signs appeal to the physical senses; they are ocular proof of the power of God; they are intended to *compel* belief, to certify Moses as the servant of a higher power, the God of their fathers. Moses' sign was a

challenge to faith in God and to love of neighbor.

Furthermore, these signs also represented a definite challenge to Moses. The venomous serpent terrified Moses and he "fled" from it. Yet he obeyed, apparently without demur, the command to take it by the tail; and the wriggling, hissing snake became again his familiar shepherd's rod. Leprosy is a terrible disease. The sight of his leprous hand must have filled Moses with loathing and fear. Yet he put it again into his bosom, and it became clean. Water turned to blood was a disgusting thing, undrinkable as it was later to prove (Exod. 7:20–21). Fear, courage, and obedience all were involved in these simple tests, and Moses stood the test. One need not present a detailed argument for the reality of these signs. They are represented as supernatural and form an integral part of that series of mighty acts by which the God of Israel delivered his people from seemingly hopeless bondage (Deut. 34:11).

Moses raised still another objection: he was not qualified for the task to which God was calling him. He never had been "eloquent" (Exod. 4:10; lit., "a man of words"), and God's call to extraordinary service had not changed this limitation in any way. God's answer was that human speech is God-given, as are all human faculties. Despite this indisputable fact, which was supported by the promise that God would teach him what to say, Moses still resisted with the words, "O Lord, please send someone else to do it" (v. 13), meaning, "anyone but me." So God in anger and also in compassion gave him as a spokesman his brother Aaron, who would be to him a "mouth" while Moses would be to Aaron as God (v. 16). Finally, Moses was to take the staff, the serpent rod, with him in order to perform these signs, and others far greater than he had yet performed (v. 17).

***D. Moses returns to Egypt.*** Moses returned to Jethro, told him nothing of the divine commission that he had received, offered a plausible and adequate excuse (cf. 1 Sam. 16:2–3) for a visit to Egypt, and received Jethro's consent, as well as God's assurance that it was safe for him to return (Exod. 4:18-19). We read that he put his wife and sons on a donkey and set out for Egypt with the staff of God in his hand (v. 20; the reference to a single donkey suggests that both children were quite young, possibly indicating that he did not receive Zipporah as his wife until toward the end of the forty years, or else that she, like RACHEL, had to wait a long time until the crown of motherhood was given her). Although Moses was forewarned that his attempt to secure Pharaoh's consent to his mission would fail, yet he also was told what would be God's final word to Pharaoh—the slaying of the first-born (vv. 21–23).

As Moses was returning to Egypt, a strange thing happened that throws a little more light on his life in Midian and supports the view that Moses' children were very young at that time (Exod. 4:24–26). The incident at the inn is best understood as indicating that Moses had failed to circumcise the baby before leaving home. This may have been due partly to haste and preoccupation with the mission that had been given him. But it was more probably due to Zipporah's objection to the performance of the rite. Whether she had objected in the case of Gershom, we do not know. Here at the inn, when she realized that Moses' life was in danger and apparently felt that she was responsible, she performed the rite herself, but evidently with great reluctance (as is shown by her words, twice repeated, "you are a bridegroom of blood to me"). Whatever the reason, Moses had sinned in failing to perform the covenant rite of CIRCUMCISION, which was required of every Israelite under penalty of death (Gen. 17:13–14).

Before Moses arrived in Egypt, the Lord sent Aaron (first mentioned in Exod. 4:14) to meet him (v. 27). It is perhaps significant that they met at the mountain of God. This apparently involved a considerable detour. It may mean that Moses wanted to visit again the spot where God had called and

commissioned him and thus to gain fresh confidence and strength in preparation for the conflict that lay ahead of him. There at the mount Aaron met Moses "and kissed him," an act of affection not often mentioned in the OT, and which showed the strong feeling of kinship that united these brothers who had been parted for forty years. Moses had much to tell Aaron—"everything the LORD had sent him to say, and also about all the miraculous signs he had commanded him to perform" (v. 28).

**IV. The third forty years.** If Moses' slaying of the Egyptian and his flight from Egypt marked the close of the first period of Moses' life, the call he received at the mount of God may be regarded as marking the ending of the second period. If so, the third begins with Moses' entering upon the God-assigned task of delivering Israel from Egyptian bondage. This period then consists of two parts that somewhat overlap. The first is the conflict with Pharaoh, which ends with the triumph song of Exod. 15. The second phase is the contest with Israel, which aptly is described and summarized by Moses' own words, "You have been rebellious against the LORD ever since I have known you" (Deut. 9:24). This struggle fully occupied Moses' mind and heart from the day of his call to the day of his death.

### *A. Moses and Pharaoh*

**1.The first request.** After Moses and Aaron had accredited themselves to the elders and people of Israel (Exod. 4:29–31), and Aaron had performed his proper role, acting and speaking for Moses, they at once presented themselves before Pharaoh with the Lord's demand: "This is what the LORD, the God of Israel, says: 'Let my people go [*lit*., Send my people away], so that they may hold a festival to me in the desert'" (5:1; the idea is not expressed as courteously here as in 3:18). The demand was at first a moderate one, but it was met with disdain and flatly denied: "Who is the LORD, that I should obey him and let Israel go? I do not know the LORD and I will not let Israel go" (5:2). So the notion of "letting go" (i.e., sending away) becomes the issue, the *mot de combat* between the God of Israel and Pharaoh, king of Egypt. Pharaoh's first step was to charge the Hebrews with idleness and to make their task more arduous; now they were not to be supplied with straw, yet they were to make just as many bricks as before. When the Israelite "foremen" (i.e., scribes or tally-keepers, Heb. *šāṭar H8853*) were thus ill-treated (v. 14), they complained to Moses and Aaron (vv. 20–21). Moses carried the complaint to the Lord and bitterly objected that instead of the Lord helping Israel as promised they are worse off than ever. Moses had lost the preliminary skirmish!

**2.The contest with Pharaoh.** "Then the LORD said to Moses, 'Now you will see what I will do to Pharaoh: Because of my mighty hand he will let them go; because of my mighty hand he will drive them out of his country'" (Exod. 6:1). That the conflict is now to begin in earnest is indicated by the fact that, as if in answer to Pharaoh's contemptuous words, his opponents are now carefully identified.


Painting from the tomb of a nobleman (Rekhmine) who died during the Egyptian New Kingdom period (c. 1500 B.C.). It shows workers making bricks from mud and straw.

First is the God of Israel, who identifies himself with the words, "I am the LORD [YHWH]: I appeared to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob as God Almighty [EL SHADDAI], but by my name the LORD I did not make myself known to them" (Exod. 6:3). This statement seems clearly to imply that the God of the fathers is now to manifest his redemptive power by deeds of covenant faithfulness mightier than any which the patriarchs had known or experienced. The meaning of these words has been much debated. R. D. Wilson (in *PTR* 22 [1924]: 119), after a thorough study of this passage in the original Hebrew and in the versions, proposed the following rendering: "And God spake unto Moses and said unto him: I am Jehovah and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob in the character of the God of Might (or, mighty God), and in the character of my name Jehovah I did not make myself known unto them" (alternatively, the last part may be rendered as a question). Wilson

added, "Consequently, it is unfair and illogical to use a forced translation of Exodus 6:3 in support of a theory that would destroy the unity of authorship and the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch."

In view of the failure of their first meeting with Pharaoh, the Lord reaffirmed his promises to the people, assuring them of his entire awareness of their distressing situation and his purpose to rescue them. When Moses gave this reassurance to the people, they were too dispirited to listen to him. When Moses was again told to demand the release of Israel, he complained that it was useless to do so. For if the people would not listen to him, how could he expect Pharaoh to do so? Yet the Lord simply repeated his purpose of deliverance.

Second, the Lord's champions are identified by means of a brief genealogy, showing the descent of Moses and Aaron from the "heads of their families" (Exod. 6:14–27; note the repetition in the last two verses, "It was this same Aaron and Moses…It was the same Moses and Aaron"). The narrative continues with a repetition of the Lord's instruction to Moses to speak to Pharaoh, but again Moses pleads his incompetence: "Behold, I am of uncircumcised lips; how then shall Pharaoh listen to me?" (v. 30 RSV; NIV, "I speak with faltering lips"). "Uncircumcised" recalls the giving of the covenant sign to Abraham (Gen. 17) and perhaps indicates also that Moses remembers the near tragic episode at the inn (Exod. 4:24–26). The use of the word here in a figurative sense is noteworthy. Then follows the amazing statement: "See, I have made you like God to Pharaoh, and your brother Aaron will be your prophet" (7:1)—what God says, the prophet says.

The controversial issue of God's hardening the heart of Pharaoh was first referred to in Exod. 4:21, and now was to be repeated more than a dozen times. Sometimes it was used of the state of Pharaoh's heart (7:14, 22; 8:19; 9:7). Sometimes it is stated that Pharaoh hardened his heart (8:15, 32; 9:34); more often, that God hardened or would harden it (4:21; 7:3; 9:12; 10:1, 20, 27; 11:10; 14:4, 8). The best commentary on this subject is the biblical one given in Rom. 9–11, ending with the wonderful doxology that celebrates the "wisdom and knowledge of God" (Rom. 11:33).

The ten plagues then were sent upon Egypt to show the omnipotence of the God of Israel, his sovereign control over nature, and to convince Pharaoh and the Egyptians of the folly of resisting the divine will. See PLAGUES OF EGYPT. It is pointed out again and again that the aim of these divine judgments was that Pharaoh and his people might "know" (i.e., come to understand) the power of the God of Israel (Exod. 7:5, 17; 8:10, 22; 9:14, 29; 11:7; 14:18) and that Israel might know it also (6:7; 10:2; 11:7; 14:31; cf. 29:46; 31:13). Pharaoh's first reply to the demand that he free the Israelites had been, "Who is the LORD that I should obey him and let Israel go? I do not know the LORD and I will not let Israel go" (5:2). The plagues were sent to enlighten his ignorance and to break down his stubborn will. Furthermore it was no mere chance that brought about this confrontation of Pharaoh with the God of Israel. To this very God whom he defied Pharaoh owed his throne and power (9:16; cf. Rom. 9:17).

The last plague was the most terrible of all. It is introduced by the words, "I will bring one more plague on Pharaoh and on Egypt." It would accomplish what all the others had failed to do. Not merely would Pharaoh let Israel go: "he will drive you out completely" (Exod. 11:1). That matters had come to a head is indicated by what had just taken place; Pharaoh had dismissed Moses and threatened him with death if he came before him again.

In the case of all the plagues that preceded, Moses and Aaron played an important but a rather impersonal role; here appear two personal touches. One is the statement that "Moses himself was highly regarded in Egypt by Pharaoh's officials and by the people" (Exod. 11:3). The other is that Moses left Pharaoh "hot with anger" (11:8). Moses had been greatly tried by Pharaoh's vacillation, by his persistent refusals to yield to the demands made of him in the name of Moses' God. Finally

Moses' wrath found vigorous expression. If Pharaoh would not yield, his own people would implore Moses to leave. Pharaoh would not yield. The Lord hardened Pharaoh's heart in order that he might not yield until the sovereign power of the God of Israel was fully manifested in the last and most terrible plague (11:9-10), the death of the FIRSTBORN.

The death of all the firstborn children evoked such a reaction from the Egyptians that Pharaoh was compelled to release the Israelites. Under Moses' leadership they celebrated the PASSOVER and marched out of Egypt, taking with them their children, cattle, household goods, and the bones of Joseph. See EXODUS, THE. The statement, "Moses took the bones of Joseph with him" (Exod. 13:19), suggests that this was an act of piety Moses performed without receiving special instruction from God. Amid all the confusion and the many demands upon his time and leadership, Moses thought of the oath that Joseph, looking forward confidently to this event, had imposed on his brethren; now after a lapse of centuries Moses fulfilled this sacred obligation. This mention of what Moses did, apparently on his own initiative, is especially interesting and significant as affording a glimpse into his sense of personal responsibility.

**3. The pillar of cloud and of fire.** In Exod. 13:21 this supernatural guide is first mentioned which was to lead the children of Israel on their journeyings to the land of promise. The pillar represented the manifested presence of God; and three times the angel of the Lord is referred to as being in it (14:19; 23:20; 32:34). Apparently the pillar varied greatly in size. In 14:19 it is said to have separated the Israelites from the army of Pharaoh; in 33:9 it stood at the door of the TABERNACLE and the Lord talked with Moses from it. In Num. 12:5 it is called a "pillar of cloud" through which the Lord spoke to Moses, Aaron, and Miriam. More frequently it is referred to as "the cloud"; and in 9:15–23 occurs the fullest account of it (cf. 10:11–12, 33–36; Deut. 1:33).

The chief purpose of the cloud was guidance, or rather the manifested presence of God. The mention of the ARK OF THE COVENANT in that connection (Num. 10:33) indicates that the cloud then hung suspended above the ark. There are frequent allusions to the GLORY of the Lord as manifesting itself to Israel in the cloud (Exod. 16:10). Numbers 10:33–36 describes impressively how Moses at the beginning and ending of each journey sought the guidance of the Lord during the years of wandering. This manifestation in the cloud and pillar was continuous (Exod. 13:22), preparing for and following the tremendous theophany at Sinai.

The guiding cloud led the Israelite host into a situation in which they were trapped between the sea and the pursuing chariotry of Pharaoh; and when the latter drew near, the Israelites were terrified and bewailed their perilous state (Exod. 14:11-12; cf. 5:21; 6:9). Moses was not dismayed; he encouraged them with words of the utmost confidence: "Do not be afraid. Stand firm and you will see the deliverance of the LORD" (14:13). Israel's extremity was God's opportunity! Israel was to go forward to the sea and Moses was to open up a path through the sea, a tremendous challenge to Moses' faith! Israel would pass through it on dry ground. The Egyptians would follow after them to their own destruction. Israel passed through the sea safely; Pharaoh's army was drowned in the returning waters. Israel saw "the great power" of the Lord and believed in him and in his servant Moses (14:31). Then Moses and the people sang a paean of triumphant praise to the God who had so wonderfully delivered them.

***B. Moses and Israel.*** Pharaoh and the Egyptians were finally beaten; the chariotry of Egypt was overwhelmed in the returning waters, never to trouble Israel again (Exod. 14:13). Then began Moses' struggle with Israel, signs of which had already plainly appeared (5:21; 14:11). This far longer

struggle proved a greater testing of Moses' patience and faith, and of his love of God and for his people, than the one which preceded it.

**1. The murmuring in the wilderness**. Having seen the great work of deliverance and recognizing the hand of God in it under the leadership of Moses (Exod. 14:31), three days later the people murmured against Moses saying, "What are we to drink?" (15:24). This time they were supplied from the waters of MARAH. The trial of their obedience came again in the wilderness of Sin when they bemoaned their departure from Egypt (16:12); there they were provided with quail and manna; and they saw the glory of the Lord for the first time (vv. 7, 10). The QUAIL are mentioned only briefly as a single occurrence (v. 13), while the MANNA that was their food for nearly forty years is fully described (vv. 14–36). Again they murmured because of thirst (17:1) and they were supplied with water from the rock at Horeb (v. 6). There they also were given a military victory over AMALEK under circumstances that should have greatly increased their confidence in Moses as the servant of their God.

**2. Jethro's visit.** At this point Jethro came to see Moses, bringing Moses' wife and sons with him, having heard of the Lord's deliverance of Israel from Egypt (Exod. 18:1–4). Jethro rejoiced and declared, "Now I know that the LORD is greater than all other gods, for he did this to those who had treated Israel arrogantly" (v. 11). Jethro's joy in the Lord's victory and his sharing in the communal meal with the elders of Israel does not imply, as some claim, that Jethro was a worshiper of Yahweh and that he at this time inducted Moses and the elders into the worship of his god. The advice he gave Moses (vv. 13–23) had to do entirely with secular affairs; and in following it Moses merely freed himself from the deciding of matters of minor importance. Then Jethro left Moses and returned to his home. He did not accompany Israel to Sinai. He had no part in the ratification of the covenant there.

**3. The theophany at Sinai.** The tremendous and terrifying scene that accompanied the giving of the law at SINAI provides further insight into the character of Moses. The awesomeness of the spectacle is described (Exod. 19:18). When the Lord called Moses to come up to the top of Sinai, he obeyed; God then told Moses to go down and warn the people not to draw near to it (v. 20). When the Lord uttered the TEN COMMANDMENTS his voice so terrified the people that they asked that God speak to them only through Moses, "or we will die" (20:18-19). The NT states that so terrifying was the sight that even Moses said, "I am trembling with fear" (Heb. 12:21). Of this fear in Moses' heart nothing is said in the exodus account. It simply states that Moses calmed the people and that while they stood afar off, "Moses approached the thick darkness where God was" (Exod. 20:21).

**4. Aaron and the seventy elders.** The difference between Moses and the rest of the people, including the seventy elders and Aaron and his sons, is emphasized by the fact that while these represen tatives of the people were to come up and worship afar off, Moses alone was to come near to the Lord. This ceremony followed the solemn ratification of the covenant, which involved the reading of the book, the solemn acceptance by the people, and the sprinkling of "the blood of the covenant" (Exod. 24:8). Then these representatives of the people went up into the mount. There "they saw the God of Israel" (v. 10), but apparently all they saw was what looked like a sapphire footstool, "a pavement" under the feet of Deity; and they "ate and drank" (v. 11).

Moses then spent forty days in God's presence, and during this time he neither ate nor drank. Like his Lord, Moses had meat to eat that the people knew not of (Jn. 4:32). The mention of JOSHUA in Exod. 24:13–14 and in 32:17 indicates that he was near Moses during the first forty days, while in the

case of the second forty-day period it is stated expressly that no one was to be with him or even on the mountain (34:3), during which time Joshua was left in charge of the tent (33:11).

**5. Moses and the tabernacle.** After the tremendous scene that attended the proclaiming of the Decalogue and the sight of the glory of their God which was given to Aaron and the seventy elders, the glory abode upon Mount Sinai for seven days. Then Moses was summoned to come up to the mount. He left Aaron and Hur in charge (Exod. 24:14), and they apparently returned with the elders to the camp. "Then Moses entered the cloud as he went on up the mountain," where he stayed "forty days and forty nights" (v. 18). The purpose of his long stay there was that he might receive God's instructions for the construction of the TABERNACLE: "Make this tabernacle and all its furnishings exactly like the pattern I will show you" (25:9, 40: cf. Heb. 8:5). Finally God gave Moses the tablets of stone on which the testimony was "inscribed by the finger of God" (Exod. 31:18).

**6. The first apostasy.** Later, while Moses was in the mount receiving instructions as to the conditions under which their God would dwell in their midst, the people apostatized from this God, whom they had promised to obey. "Come, make us gods who will go before us" (Exod. 32:1). They had lived in such an environment of IDOLATRY for centuries that it had left its mark on them. And Aaron, Moses' brother, whose glorious apparel and sacred duties had been described to Moses on the mount (chs. 28–30), tamely acquiesced (32:2) and made a molten calf. When the people said, "These are your gods, O Israel, who brought you up out of Egypt," Aaron announced, "Tomorrow there will be a festival to the LORD" (vv. 4–5). See CALF, GOLDEN.

In this terrible situation, it was no wonder that the Lord at once revealed to Moses what had taken place and threatened to destroy Israel. Moses at once interceded with God for the deliverance of his people. When he descended the mountain, he was filled with great anger upon seeing what had taken place, and he destroyed the tablets of the Decalogue, ground the golden image to powder, scattered it on the water and forced the people to drink it (Exod. 32:19-20). Then he turned upon Aaron himself, demanding an explanation for this "great sin" (v. 21). After hearing Aaron's lame and fainthearted explanation, Moses called for volunteers to execute the Lord's judgment on the idolaters, an impartial judgment that would fall upon all who had been guilty, whether Levites or laypeople. The men of Levi responded and they slew about 3,000 men, an act of loyalty to Yahweh for which they were later praised and rewarded (Deut. 33:9). That Aaron himself was spared from death was due to Moses' special intercession for him (9:20).

**7. Moses' intercession.** Then Moses returned to the Lord, confessed Israel's "great sin" (Exod. 32:31), and requested that if it could not be forgiven he might be blotted out along with the rest of his people (v. 32). Obtaining God's pardon for chastened Israel, he received the command to lead the people to Canaan (v. 34). In this incident there is a deeper insight into the character of Moses. Moses did not try to minimize or excuse the sin of calf worship either for Aaron or for the people. It was a "great sin." In reply to the Lord's amazing offer (v. 10) to substitute him for Israel and make of him a great nation in place of unworthy Israel (a proposal which doubtless was intended to be a test of Moses' love for his people), he proceeded to appeal to God's love for the nation, as shown in his earlier deliverance of Israel from Egypt in fulfillment of the promises made to the patriarchs. Next he deplored the damage that would accrue to God's own reputation if he should destroy Israel in the desert (v. 12). As for himself, he asked only that if Israel must be blotted out, he might perish with them.

We read that when Moses entered the "tent of meeting," the Lord would speak to him there "face to face, as a man speaks with his friend" (Exod. 33:11). Moses secured God's promise that his "presence" would go with Israel. Then he made a plea for himself, namely, that the Lord would show him his glory; and when this privilege was promised to him, he hewed out two new tablets of stone


Aerial view of the Wilderness of Sinai. It was in desert terrain like this that the Israelites murmured against God and Moses.

to replace the ones he had broken, and ascended the mountain once more. There the Lord descended in a cloud and passed by before Moses and proclaimed his own name, Yahweh: "The LORD, the LORD, the compassionate and gracious God, slow to anger, abounding in love and faithfulness" (34:6). During this second stay of forty days on the mount with God, Moses pleaded that the Lord would continue to accompany Israel on their journey. He received and repeated further instructions for the people, notably a renewed warning against idolatry, because "the LORD, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God" (34:14). It is in his conduct with regard to this terrible apostasy of the people (as well as the one narrated in Num. 14) that the true greatness of Moses—his humility, his love of his people, his love of God and zeal for his honor and glory—were most severely tested and most clearly revealed.

**8. The veil on Moses' face.** After the second stay of Moses on the mount, as he came down "his face was radiant" and the Israelites "were afraid to come near him" (Exod. 34:29–30; because the verb *qāran H7966,* "to shine," is related to the noun *qeren H7967,* "horn, protrusion, ray," the VULGATE mistranslates, saying that Moses' face had *cornuta,* "horns," which is the reason Michelangelo's famous statue of Moses includes protrusions on the head). We then read that when Moses finished speaking to the people, "he put a veil over his face" (v. 33; the KJV rendering is misleading). The meaning is not that Moses covered his face because the people were afraid to look at him. The apostle PAUL gives us the true explanation of the use of the veil. It served to prevent the people from seeing the heavenly light gradually fade away from Moses' face (2 Cor. 3:13), since it was only when in the presence of God that the radiance of the divine presence was reflected in it (cf. Matt. 17:2; Acts 9:3; Rev. 1:14).

**9. The tabernacle and its ritual.** In regard to the construction of the tabernacle and all of the ritual vessels and vestments, it is important to recognize the emphasis that is placed on the heavenly origin of the pattern (Exod. 25:9, 40; 26:30; 27:8; 39:32, 43; cf. Heb. 8:5). Whether Moses learned much or

little in Egypt about the plan and construction of Egyptian temples and their rituals of worship was immaterial: he was to follow the pattern shown him in the mount, during the twice-forty days spent there in communion with God. In Exod. 39–40, which describe the construction and dedication of the tabernacle, the words "as the LORD commanded Moses" become a kind of refrain, occurring about a dozen times. And the cloud and the glory which filled the tent (40:34) are the divine certification of the fidelity with which Moses "finished the work" (v. 33).

**10. The investiture of Aaron and his sons.** As the proclamation of the Decalogue (Exod. 20) is followed by the law of the altar, so the dedication of the tabernacle with which Exodus concludes is followed at once in Leviticus by instructions regarding the ritual of sacrifice. Two chapters (Lev. 8-9) are devoted to the ordination and investiture of Aaron and his sons, which was performed by Moses. In view of the provision that is made in chs. 1-7 for the physical needs of the priests, it is noteworthy that there is only one reference anywhere to Moses' portion (8:29). Then the solemn installation of the priests who are to officiate there is described. Detailed specifications for the vestments of the priests and particularly of the high priest and of their sanctification already had been given (Exod. 28; 29; 39:1–31, 41).

The solemn ordination and installation was all performed by Moses (Lev. 8-9). The priesthood is a *Mosaic* institution. It is significant that nothing is said here or elsewhere about Moses' apparel. Moses' staff and his shining face were described, but unlike Aaron nothing is said about Moses' vesture. The reason for this is that Aaron's position was symbolical, ritualistic, and hereditary (6:22; 16:32). Before he died Aaron was stripped of his holy garments and they were placed on ELEAZAR his son (Num. 20:22-28). Moses had no successor. He was the lawgiver; and the law that was given through him was not to change with the changing generations of people (Josh. 1:7; Mal. 4:4).

**11. Nadab and Abihu.** After this solemn rite, there occurred one of the most amazing events in Israel's history, the sacrifice offered by NADAB and ABIHU. Aaron had four sons: he and they were all anointed, and they only, to the office of priest. Nadab and Abihu, however, "offered unauthorized [Heb. *zār H2424,* 'strange, forbidden'] fire before the LORD, contrary to his command" (Lev. 10:1). It might seem as if the willfulness and disobedience of the nation found typical expression in this act, which was so severely punished. Moses' comment was: "This is what the LORD spoke of when he said: / 'Among those who approach me / I will show myself holy; / in the sight of all the people / I will be honored'" (v. 3). Moses was so deeply impressed with the sinfulness of the act which had been committed, that he expressed no personal sorrow at the fate of his nephews. But he gave instruction that "your relatives, all the house of Israel, may mourn for those the LORD has destroyed by fire" (v. 6).

**12. The departure from Sinai.** The book of Numbers begins with the numbering of the tribes, and it then gives their "stations" in the camp with reference to the tabernacle. Following certain laws dealing with impurity and jealousy, Moses was given the words of the beautiful "Blessing" that the priests were to pronounce upon the people and, in so doing, "put [God's] name on the Israelites" (Num. 6:23-27).

The fullest statement regarding the manner in which Moses was accustomed to receive his instructions from the Lord is significantly placed after the record of the dedication of the altar (Num. 7). It was when standing in the tabernacle before the veil that he was to hear the voice of God speaking to him, as if the voice came from one seated upon the ark, his throne between the two

cherubim (7:89).

Numbers 9 deals with the Passover celebrated a year after the exodus, and in connection with it instructions are given regarding a second Passover to be held a month after the regular one for those providentially hindered from observing it at the proper time. When this problem first arose, Moses told those concerned to wait until he could inquire of the Lord about the matter. This detail shows clearly that Moses was given instructions when and as they were needed and that he constantly was seeking divine guidance (cf. Num. 15:32–35).

It may seem somewhat strange that in connection with the departure from Sinai (Num. 10:29–30) Moses invited HOBAB to accompany Israel, urging him with the words: "Please do not leave us. You know where we should camp in the desert, and you can be our eyes" (v. 31). This request might seem to indicate lack of confidence on Moses' part in the sufficiency of the divine guidance. It probably means simply that Moses, fully conscious of the difficulties and perils of the journey that lay ahead for Israel, was eager to secure any assistance which Hobab, who presumably knew these regions well, might be able to supply. It shows Moses as a sensible believer in divine guidance. He was ready to use human skill where and when it might prove helpful or necessary.

**13. The murmuring over manna.** Scarcely had the journeying resumed when the murmuring began again (Num. 11:1). The reason for it was such as to arouse the anger of the Lord and cause him to send a fire to punish them, a burning ("Taberah," v. 3) in the outskirts of the camp. The complaint was not because of lack of food: but rather, they were tired of eating manna, the bread from heaven (cf. Exod. 16), and demanded meat (Ps. 78:18–31). This situation so distressed and distracted Moses that he offered an anguished plea (Num. 11:11-15) that he might die rather than continue to suffer at the hands of a mutinous people. He evidently was brokenhearted and at his wit's end. How could he furnish "meat" to feed 600,000 footmen (v. 21)! The answer of the Lord was twofold. Moses was to be given the help of the seventy elders in judging the people; and the nation was to be given quail for a whole month and in such abundance that they would gorge themselves with it and be punished by illness and death for their greed.

**14. Miriam and Aaron.** An incident occurred that Moses must have felt most keenly, a personal attack by his own sister and brother. It is significant that Miriam is mentioned first. This, and the fact that it was she who was punished, indicates that she was the prime mover; and the occasion was another woman. Who the woman was is unknown. That she was a CUSHITE WOMAN (Ethiopian) indicates that she could not have been Zipporah. It was not long since Jethro had brought Zipporah back to Moses (Exod. 18:5); and it may be assumed that she and her sons remained with him. When or why Moses married this woman, whose name is not even mentioned, is not stated. It may be that Miriam resented it as an affront to Zipporah.

The matter assumed great importance for Moses personally and especially for his influence as leader. "Now Moses was a very humble man, more humble that anyone else on the face of the earth" (Num. 12:3). This parenthetical statement often has been challenged by critics as unsuitable on the lips of Moses and probably a later insertion. It is to be noted, however, that the word rendered by "humble" (Heb. *<āāw H6705*) may also by a slight modification (the letter *yod* instead of *waw*) represent the word for "afflicted" (*<ānî H6714*). To say that Moses was "greatly afflicted" would be perfectly true, in view of all his trials and sufferings, and especially of the situation described in the preceding context (11:15).

Moses made no reply to his brother and sister. He did not need to. The Lord suddenly intervened

and emphasized to these next of kin the unique position which their brother enjoyed. He then inflicted leprosy on Miriam and removed it only when Moses interceded in response to Aaron's agonized supplication. The fact that the Lord dealt so suddenly and severely and that Miriam was made such a public example made this incident a significant occurrence in the eyes of the people, and turned it into a notable confirmation of the unique authority of Moses.

**15. Rebellion and rejection.** The sending of the spies into Canaan is represented as taking place by command of God (Num. 13:1-2) and at the request of the people, a request that Moses approved (Deut. 1:22-23). Both statements were true, for Moses acted at the command of the Lord, but also in response to the demand of the people. The search that followed was both representative and thorough. A leader of each tribe was appointed, and the search party devoted forty days to its task. The majority report began favorably enough (Num. 13:27), but soon became adverse: the land was full of enemies, the sight of whom was terrifying. CALEB's appeal for obedience and faith was rejected. Moses and Aaron were blamed for inept leadership, and the further appeal of JOSHUA and Caleb was met with the threat to stone them. This rebellious reaction of the congregation provoked a threat from Yahweh to exterminate them all (cf. Exod. 32:10).

Once again Moses' love for his people was put to the test. On the previous occasion Moses pleaded for the people who had so ungratefully rejected him, but because he was concerned only for God, he urged that the Lord's honor would be impugned if Israel were to be wiped out. He concluded with the words, "forgive our wickedness and our sin, and take us as your inheritance" (Exod. 34:9). Now the Lord's response was to declare that "ten times" the people have tested him by their willfulness (Num. 14:22), and he swore by himself ("as surely as I live," 14:21, 28; cf. Heb. 6:13-20) that all the earth would be filled with his glory, and that none of those who had seen his glory and his miracles and had provoked him would see the good land promised to their fathers, a land they themselves had refused to enter. This remarkable oath is mentioned in the Pentateuch only in Deut. 32:40.

## V. The fortieth year

***A. Failure at Kadesh Barnea.*** Numbers 20 reverts back to KADESH BARNEA, where Miriam died. Again the people quarreled with Moses (cf. Exod. 17:2), because the region was barren and there was no water. Then occurred one of the most tragic events in the entire life of Moses. He was commanded to take the staff, gather the people, and "speak to" the rock that it might give forth water (Num. 20:7). Moses and Aaron therefore gathered the congregation together before the rock, and "he said to them" (v. 10 NRSV; it may be that it is Aaron who *speaks,* since Moses is the one who *strikes* the rock with the rod), apparently speaking for both of them: "Listen, you rebels, must we bring you water out of this rock?" So Aaron and Moses were both involved, and God's sentence upon them is, "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" (v. 12).

What a tragedy! For forty years Moses and Aaron had led the people and put up with their conduct (Acts 13:18), and now these leaders were forbidden to enter into the fruit of their labors. Centuries later the psalmist wrote regarding Moses' sin that the people "made his spirit bitter, and he spoke words that were rash" (Ps. 106:33 NRSV). It might seem that the punishment did not fit the crime. It is to be remembered that Moses and Aaron occupied a

The Israelite spies traveled N into the Promised Land through this general area in the Arad region. (View to the N toward the Judean hill country.)

preeminent place in the life of Israel and that they had been signally favored and honored by the Lord. Their sin apparently was a sin of presumption and disobedience for which the punishment under the law was death. Shortly afterward Aaron died on Mount Hor (Num. 20:23–29). Moses, in spite of his personal grief, which is mentioned elsewhere, at once resumed the march toward Canaan. He sent a courteously worded message to the king of EDOM, who nevertheless refused Israel passage through his land (21:4). So Israel journeyed to Mount Hor, where Aaron died after his high priestly vestments had been transferred to his son Eleazar (v. 28).

***B. Defeat of Arad and the Amorites.*** The king of ARAD attacked Israel without provocation and suffered total destruction (Num. 21:1–3). Soon after this victory Israel once again complained against God and against Moses (vv. 4–5), who was commanded to make a bronze snake (v. 8), because the people were bitten by "fiery" serpents (v. 6 KJV). This incident was given special significance by Jesus' reference to it in Jn. 3:14 as a type of his coming crucifixion. Then the great victories over the two AMORITE kings, SIHON and OG, are described briefly. They seem to be described in this way to show how quickly God might bring about the conquest of Canaan if only Israel would trust and obey him.

***C. Arrival at Jordan.*** Finally Israel arrived in the plains of Moab opposite Jericho in full view of the land of promise, poised for conquest (Num. 22:1). The BALAAM story (chs. 22-24) does not mention Moses and does not directly concern him. But it is of great interest because of its great prophecies and promises regarding Israel. It is followed (ch. 25) by the account of yet another of Israel's long list of transgressions, the whoredom with the Midianites. This seduction was brought about by the counsel of Balaam, who was to perish later in the vengeance visited on Midian (31:8). His sin and its punishment are referred to elsewhere as a terrible example and warning (Josh. 13:22; 2 Pet. 2:15; Jude 11; Rev. 2:14). This story is in a sense a prophecy of Israel's history in the land of promise. For the first time since leaving Egypt God's people encountered the seductions and allurements of that licentious idolatry which they were to meet in the land of Canaan, and because of which its inhabitants were to be dispossessed by Israel. They yielded to this seduction to such a degree that

their leaders were severely

Mount Nebo as seen from the south.

punished, and 24,000 of the people perished in a plague, while the zeal of PHINEHAS for the Lord is commended and rewarded (Num. 25:10).

The plague was followed by the second census (Num. 26), which is recorded in a different manner from the first and which gives somewhat different figures for each of the tribes, yet a total for all of them which is only slightly less (601,730) than that for the first census, while that of the Levites shows a slight increase (23,000). The phenomenal increase of Israel in Egypt came to an end when the generation that came out of Egypt refused to go forward to possess the land of promise. These years were years of stagnation; and the covenant sign, circumcision, was not observed (Josh. 5:2-9).

The case of the daughters of ZELOPHEHAD, relating to inheritance, was raised (Num. 27:1-11), and a preliminary decision was rendered. Then Moses received instructions as to Joshua's succession (27:12-23). Instructions followed regarding feasts and offerings, notably those of the seventh month (ch. 29), and vows (ch. 30).

The vengeance on the Midianites is described with minute detail concerning the disposition of the spoil, both of humans and of livestock, all of which is based on the census figures given in Num. 26:51. The apostasy of BAAL PEOR was the last of the transgressions recorded of Israel during the wilderness period. Like the apostasy at Sinai, it involved licentious idolatry and it gave an ominous foreview of the situation in Canaan, when Israel would forsake Yahweh and go whoring after BAAL. That such tragedy took place at the end of the journey while Moses their great leader was still with them, and in sight of the land of promise, is a final evidence of that incorrigible waywardness with which Moses contended for forty years. Specially noteworthy are the words of the Lord to Moses: "Take vengeance on the Midianites for the Israelites. After that, you will be gathered to your people" (31:2). This act of retributive justice was required by the Holy God of Israel. It was in a sense the last act of Moses.

The request of the two and a half tribes that they might possess the lands E of the Jordan (Num. 32) was granted by Moses, but only after solemn warning by him, and equally solemn pledges by

them, to do their full part in the task of conquering the land of Canaan to the W.

***D. Moses' valedictory: Deuteronomy.*** If the abrupt and almost trivial ending of the book of Numbers is intended to indicate that the great story of Israel's beginnings as a nation is not ended, the book of Deuteronomy no less clearly forms the conclusion of this great history of deliverance. In it Moses is not merely, as in the three preceding books, the chief actor; here he is also the only speaker, and in the discourses that constitute the main part of the book we find both his summary and his application of that history for Israel. That it is Moses, the leader and lawgiver who speaks to Israel, and through her to all the Israel of God in the generations to come, is made clear by express statements to that effect, and also by the fact that the utterances themselves are so markedly and characteristically Mosaic.

Moses accepted mutely the sentence that he would not lead the people into Canaan (Num. 27:12-17). Three times in his first address (Deut. 1:37; 3:23-27; 4:21-24), he expressed his poignant grief that he was deprived of this fulfillment of his heart's desire. In all three passages he lays the blame for this disappointment on the people: the Lord was angry for their sakes; and he twice drew from this tragic disappointment a lesson on obedience for Israel. Similarly, he pointed out that it was because of his intercession that Aaron was not slain for the sin of making the golden calf (9:20).

The first eleven chapters are largely retrospective and climax in the account of the giving of the law at Mount Sinai, the first tablet of which is epitomized in 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. Matt. 22:37–38). Although Christ's summary of the second tablet, "Love your neighbor as yourself," is actually quoted from Lev. 19:18, yet it finds its full expression in the repeated exhortations in Deuteronomy to care for the poor, the stranger, the widow, the fatherless, and the Levite (e.g., Deut. 15:7–8; 16:11; 24:10–22). In fact, nowhere is the essence of the second tablet of the Decalogue more emphasized than here in Deuteronomy.

In Deut. 12 Moses begins to deal more particularly with the conquest of the land and its possession, and especially with that place in the land in which the Lord will choose to place his name (v. 5). This place, which like the tabernacle of the wilderness journey is to be the center of worship for all Israel, is referred to nineteen times, most frequently in ch. 12. In no one of these passages is its location specified or its name given. The same is true of other great features in Israel's life in the land, kingship (17:14-20) and prophecy (18:15-22). They lie in the future. Moses has much to say about that future and gives laws that are to govern Israel in the land they were about to possess. But his great concern for Israel after his forty years' experience in leading is that they take possession of the land of promise and worthily administer it. In his mind their continuance in the land was even more serious a matter than its conquest; and success in both cases was dependent on faithful obedience to him who promised it to the fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob.

Moses then expresses all his hopes and fears for Israel in a song, followed by a final discourse (Deut. 32–33). These passages have a distinctive poetic form, and they show how readily the eloquence of impassioned oratory that appears so often elsewhere in the Mosaic books can pass into poetry. What may be regarded as Moses' last words (Deut. 33:26–29; cf. 2 Sam. 23:1-7) find their echo in the prayer recorded in Ps. 90. Moses, the prophet without peer in the OT, foresees with the anguish of a great love all the misery and suffering which their sins of disobedience will bring on his people. Solemnly he warns: "This day I call heaven and earth as witnesses against you that I have set before you life and death, blessings and curses. Now choose life, so that you and your children may live" (Deut. 30:19). With such words of counsel and admonition, this great lover of God and of the people of God passed to his reward.

The finest and truest tribute to Moses' memory is given in the words of his epitaph: "Since then, no prophet has risen in Israel like Moses, whom the LORD knew face to face, who did all those miraculous signs and wonders the LORD sent him to do in Egypt—to Pharaoh and to all his officials and to his whole land. For no one has ever shown the mighty power or performed the awesome deeds that Moses did in the sight of all Israel" (Deut. 34:10-12). Multitudes of believers both of OT times and in the days of the New Covenant have accepted them as their own tribute to "Moses the servant of the LORD."

(See further F. E. Hoskins, *From the Nile to Nebo* [1912]; M. G. Kyle, *Moses and the Monuments* [1920]; O. T. Allis, *The Five Book of Moses* [1943]; G. T. Manley, *The Book of the Law* [1957]; M. Kline, *Treaty of the Great King: The Covenant Structure of Deuteronomy* [1963]; H. M. Buck, *People of the Lord* [1966], 125–49; K. A. Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and the Old Testament* [1966]; W. A. Meeks, *The Prophet-King: Moses Traditions and the Johannine Christology* [1967]; E. Auerbach, *Moses* [1975]; G. W. Coats, *The Moses Tradition* [1993]; J. Van Seters, *The Life of Moses: The Yahwist as Historian in Exodus-Numbers* [1994]; J. K. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt: The Evidence for the Authenticity of the Exodus Tradition* [1997]; J. L. T. Kok, *The Sin of Moses and the Staff of God: A Narrative Approach* [1997]; G. Phillips, *The Moses Legacy: In Search of the Origins of God* [2002]; B. M. Britt, *Rewriting Moses: The Narrative Eclipse of the Text* [2004]; J. Lierman, *The New Testament Moses: Christian Perceptions of Moses and Israel in the Setting of Jewish Religion* [2004]; A. Graupner and M. Wolter, eds., *Moses in Biblical and Extra-Biblical Traditions* [2007].)

O. T. ALLIS

**Moses, Apocalypse of.** See ADAM AND EVE, LIFE OF.

**Moses, Assumption of.** Also *Testament of Moses.* A composite Jewish work, dating probably to the 1st cent. A.D., and containing a speech of MOSES to JOSHUA. Believing that the original document included an account of Moses' death and translation to heaven, scholars have traditionally referred to it as the *Assumption of Moses,* but since the extant text does not include such an account, recent writers prefer to call it the *Testament of Moses* (both titles are mentioned in patristic writings).

**I. Text.** Only one MS of *As. Mos.* has survived. This is a palimpsest written in Latin, the style and orthography of which belong to the 5th cent. It was discovered in the Ambrosian library in Milan by A. M. Ceriani and published by him in 1861 *(Monumental sacra et profana,* 1/1 [1861], 55–64). Much of the text is corrupt and some passages are almost undecipherable.

**II. Contents.** The work contains twelve chapters, the contents of which are briefly as follows: Moses appoints Joshua to succeed him, and Joshua is to bring the people into the land of promise after which time they will fall into idolatry *(As. Mos.* 1–2). A king from the E is to destroy Jerusalem and to bring the people into captivity for seventy-seven years, after which a few will return (chs. 3–4). Then a succession of wicked priests and kings will appear, culminating in the reign of a particular tyrant for thirty-four years (chs. 5–6). In the first six chapters of the work, the history of Israel from Moses to Herod is constantly alluded to. The final six chapters look forward to times of increasing turmoil, wickedness, and persecution, in which a certain individual named Taxo chooses unresisting death, rather than to break the law. In the end, the Most High intervenes with punishment for the Gentiles and blessing for Israel.

**III. Unity.** In the various lists of apocryphal books in the ancient church, there is usually mention of a *Testament of Moses,* followed immediately by *an Assumption of Moses.* In the existing MS, however, there is little indication that Moses' death was so unusual as to merit the designation "assumption." The 5th-cent. writer Gelasius of Cyzicum, for example, assigns a passage found in this document *(As. Mos.* 1.4) to the same source as a quotation concerning a dispute between MICHAEL and SATAN, namely, to what he calls "the book of the Assumption of Moses." Other Greek patristic writings are to the same effect and, in fact, the epistle of Jude is believed by many to draw from some such book (Jude 9; cf. also v. 16 with *As. Mos.* 5.5; 7.7, 9). There is probably sufficient reason for concluding, as R. H. Charles does (*APOT*, 2:407-9), that there were originally two independent works which were subsequently edited together. The *Testament of Moses* would therefore be represented by the Latin MS, whereas the *Assumption of Moses* proper is known only from the various patristic quotations. Some scholars, however, still use the latter title to designate the composite whole. Others believe that the two titles refer to two distinct and unrelated documents.

There appears to be sufficient evidence to indicate that the Latin MS was derived from an earlier Greek work and that the Greek was, in turn, derived from an earlier Semitic source. The Greek fathers give no indication that they are quoting from other than Greek sources, and there are instances in the Latin MS where, for sense, one must translate, not from the Latin, but from the Greek presupposed by it. Also, certain words in the Latin text are best explained as transliterations of underlying Greek words (e.g., Lat. *heremus* in 3.11 for Gk. *erēmos; acrobistia* in 8.3 for *akrobystia*). The suggestion that the Greek is in turn based on a Hebrew (or Aramaic) original seems to be a necessary conclusion (cf. D. H. Wallace in *TZ* 11 [1955]: 321-28). Certain Semitic idioms seem to have survived in the Latin MS, and there appear to be vestiges of a *waw-conversive* (e.g., in 8.2). Added to that is the fact that, in a work claiming to have been written by Joshua at the dictation of Moses, the probabilities would lie in favor of a Hebrew original.

**IV. Authorship.** The author of the book is aptly characterized by Charles as a "Pharisaic Quietist" (*APOT,* 2:411). He could not have been a SADDUCEE, for he speaks strongly against that party and he looks forward to a theocratic kingdom on earth. He could not have been a ZEALOT, for, although he shows a good acquaintance with the Maccabean movement, he is silent concerning their uprising. Further, his ideal hero, Taxo, is not pictured as trusting in an arm of flesh, but as one who, with resignation, commits his cause to God. The author cannot have been an ESSENE, for he took a keen interest in the fortunes of the temple and in the character of its sacrifices. Thus, says Charles, "he was a Pharisee of a fast-disappearing type, recalling in all respects the Chasid of the early Maccabean times, and upholding the old traditions of quietude and resignation" (ibid.). See PHARISEE.

**V. Date.** The *As. Mos.* gives sufficient information to narrow the limits for its dates of composition quite considerably. Since the book frequently mentions the profanations of the priesthood and of the temple, and yet fails to mention the destruction of the latter, the latest date for the composition of the book must be A.D. 70. In addition, however, ch. 6 clearly refers to the reign of HEROD, and the comment that his children would reign for shorter periods after him (both Philip and Antipas in fact reigned for longer periods than their father) implies that the writing took place before A.D. 30. Indeed, Archelaus was the only son who reigned less than the period of his father, and he was deposed in A.D. 6. As to the earliest date, Charles argued that, judging by 6.6, Herod must have already died; he thus concluded that the probable period for the composition of the book was A.D. 7–

30. This approach has been widely accepted, although some scholars have argued that the original document dates back to the Maccabean period and that chs. 6-7 are a later interpolation (cf. J. Licht in *JJS* 12 [1961]: 95-103).The view that the work was composed around the time of the BAR KOKHBA revolt (A.D. 132-135) has attracted little support.

**VI. Theology.** The author shows little affinity with rabbinic thought, but is thoroughly steeped in the spirit of the OT. While moral responsibility is insisted upon, God's COVENANT with his people is still seen as based upon his grace and not upon human merit. No MESSIAH is mentioned in the book, possibly because of the growing Pharisaic idea that the Messiah was to be a man of war. The kingdom would be brought in by a day of repentance and God himself would intervene. Moses is seen as having a unique relation to Judaism, for he had been appointed from the foundation of the world to be the mediator of God's covenant. He served as Israel's intercessor during his lifetime and he was to continue that function even in the spiritual world after death.

**VII. Influence on the NT.** The alliance between the teachings of the *As. Mos.* and those of Jesus is notable in that the conception of religion as unaligned with any particular school of politics is common to both. The parallels with the epistle of Jude have already been noted. One may also compare 2 Pet. 2:13 *with As. Mos.* 7.5, 8, and Acts 7:36 with *As. Mos.* 3.11. (For the Latin text, with emendations and notes, see R. H. Charles, *The Assumption of Moses* [1897]; for a recent English trans., J. Priest in *OTP,* 1:919–34.)

H. G. ANDERSEN

**Moses, Testament of.** See MOSES, ASSUMPTION OF.

**Moses' seat.** See SEAT, MOSES'.

**Mosollam, Mosollamon** moh-sol'uhm, moh-sol'uh-muhn. KJV Apoc. forms of MESHULLAM (1 Esd. 8:44; 9:14).

**Most High.** See EL ELYON; GOD, NAMES OF.

**most holy.** This expression renders the Hebrew phrase *qōdeš qādāšîm* (lit., "holy of holy things") and is applied to various accoutrements of the TABERNACLE, such as the altar (Exod. 29:37), and to the various offerings (Lev. 6:17, 25; 7:1; et al.). Once it is used with reference to the coming MESSIAH (Dan. 9:24). The variant phrase *qōdeš haqqādāšîm* ("holy of the holy things") is applied specifically to the Most Holy Place. See also HOLINESS I.D; TEMPLE.

**Mot.** The god of death in the Canaanite pantheon (cf. Heb. *māwet H4638,* construct form *môt).* He is regarded as the son (or the beloved) of EL and as the adversary of BAAL. Some biblical passages personify DEATH (e.g., Job 18:13; Hab. 2:5), but it is not certain whether these refer, directly or indirectly, to the Canaanite deity. (See ABD, 4:922–24; *DDD*, 598–603.)

**mote.** This English term, meaning "small particle," is used by the KJV to render Greek *karphos G2847* ("chip [of wood], piece [of straw], bit [of wool]," etc.), which occurs only in two passages in the metaphorical sense of a minor fault (Matt. 7:3–5; Lk. 6:41–42; modern versions typically use the

term "speck").

**moth.** Both the Hebrew term *)āš H6931* (Job 4:19 et al.) and the Greek *sēs G4962* (Matt. 6:19–20; Lk. 12:33; cf. *sētobrōtos G4963,* "moth-eaten," Jas. 5:2) refer to the clothes moth or *Tineola pellionella.* Small moths of the family *Tineidae* are now largely confined to human surroundings and have been serious destroyers of clothes, fur, and feather since early times. Soon after emerging from the pupae, the female moths lay eggs among clothes, and damage has already started before they are seen flying. The larvae are up to half an inch long, and they make a silk-lined case, covered with debris, out of which only the head protrudes. They feed on a range of fibers, but clothes seldom are damaged if they are thoroughly clean and dry. Some think that the WORM in Isa. 51:8 (Heb. *sās H6182*) is the larva of the moth (see *FFB,* 55–56). Many species of butterflies and moths are found in Palestine, including such conspicuous forms as the swallowtail butterfly and the large hawk-moths, but none seems to have mention in the Scriptures.

G. S. CANSDALE

**mother, mother-in-law.** See FAMILY.

**Mount, Sermon on the.** See SERMON ON THE MOUNT.

**mountain goat.** See IBEX; WILD GOAT.

**mountain sheep.** This term is used by the NIV and other versions to render Hebrew *zemer H2378,* which occurs only once in a list of animals that the Israelites were allowed to eat (Deut. 14:5; the KJV, "chamois," is not possible, for that term refers to a type of antelope that probably was never found in Palestine). The context shows only that this animal is a wild ruminant, and the rendering "mountain sheep" is indefinite, for it is applied to several distinct species. Various identifications have been proposed, including the WILD GOAT (cf. *FFB,* 36), the GAZELLE (so *HALOT,* 1:274), the mouflon (*Ovis orientalis* and *O. musimon*), and the aoudad or "barbary sheep" (*Ammotragus lervia,* a wild bovine, not closely related to true SHEEP, which seems never to have lived outside the mountains of N Africa, including Egypt). The mouflon in particular is found in S Europe and SW Asia, mostly in Asia Minor; earlier perhaps, in the hills of Palestine. This is a true sheep, dark reddish brown in color, with white and yellow flank patches developing in winter. It is thought to be, in small part, an ancestor of domestic sheep. This species is the more likely identification, but not at all certain.

G. S. CANSDALE

**Mount Ephraim.** See EPHRAIM, MOUNT. Similarly for other mountains that have proper names (e.g., HERMON, MOUNT; NEBO, MOUNT; TABOR, MOUNT; etc.).

**mount of assembly.** See CONGREGATION, MOUNT OF THE.

**Mount of Beatitudes.** A slope on the NW shore of the Sea of Galilee where Jesus delivered the

The Mount of Olives (ridge with the 3 towers) rises above the Kidron Valley. (View to the E, with the temple mount visible in the middle far right.)

SERMON ON THE MOUNT, part of which consisted of the BEATITUDES (Matt. 5:3-12; Lk. 6:20-23). Apart from Matthew's statements that Jesus was on a mountain (Matt. 5:1; 8:1) and Luke's account that the sermon was on a level place (Lk. 6:17), the only other help in locating the site is the record that Jesus went from there directly to CAPERNAUM. The older suggested location was the Horns of Hattin (Qarn Ḥaṭṭin), 7 mi. W of TIBERIAS. Now the more popular site is the slope up from the Sea of Galilee SW of Capernaum. There is a Catholic church in this place.

R. L. ALDEN

**Mount of Olives.** A N-to-S ridge about two miles long, across from the KIDRON Valley E of JERUSALEM, known for its abundance of OLIVE trees. There is reason to believe that in ancient times the Mount of Olives had many more olive groves on it than it does today, which accounts for the derivation of its name (Heb. *har hazzētîm,* Zech. 14:4; Gk, *to oros tōn elaiōn,* Matt. 21:1 et al.; its modern Arabic name is Jebel Zaitun, which has the same meaning).

**I. Geography.** The mount is really a ridge running parallel to the Kidron Valley E of Jerusalem. There are undulations along it separating several high points. Although the northernmost of these has been connected with NOB (Isa. 10:32) and Mount Scopus (Jos. *War* 2.11.4, 7; 5.4.1), that is probably incorrect. The northernmost peak is not on the usual route to Jerusalem from the N. Today this is called Ras el-Mesharif. On the S part of that elevated area today are the original Hadassah Hospital and the Augusta Victoria German Lutheran Hospital. The road from Jerusalem goes due E from the N part of the old city and up the mountain where there is a shallow depression.

To the right or S is the beginning of the village of eṭt-Tur *(the mount* or *tower*), which is strung southward along the hill. This middle height is sometimes named after the Greek Orthodox monastery of Viri Galilaei. It is directly opposite the Ḥaram es-Sharif of Old Jerusalem. The Mount of Olives drops off to the S where the modern road to JERICHO runs. The third and southernmost summit, which some do not even consider a part of the same ridge, is the Mount of Offense, so named because of Solomon's placing pagan worship shrines for his many foreign wives on the location (1 Ki. 11:7; 2 Ki. 23:13; see below). On its slopes is the Jerusalem suburb of Silwan.

The center part of the Mount of Olives or Olivet rises c. 100 ft. higher than Jerusalem or c. 2,700 ft. above sea level. To the E is a magnificent view of the JORDAN Valley and the DEAD SEA, c. 15 mi. distant in a straight line. Beyond are the mountains of MOAB. To the S and SE one can see the expansive wilderness of JUDEA. To the W the finest, most unforgettable, panoramic view of the old city of Jerusalem is available.

The hill is made of cretaceous limestone with a chalk-like top layer. The olive tree, which is one of the hardiest trees, thrives here, but there are many pines as well. The wind blows hard from the NW and gives many of the trees a decided bent to the SE. In fact, the southernmost peak is called by the Arabs Jebel Baṭn el-Hawa (the Mount of the Belly of the Wind) because it blows so hard through that valley separating it from the central summit.

**II. In the OT.** Considering the proximity of the Mount of Olives to Jerusalem, there are surprisingly few mentions of it. It first occurs in 2 Sam. 15:30 where one reads that DAVID "continued up the Mount of Olives" (lit., "went up the ascent [*ma<ăleh H5090*] of the olives"). ABSALOM had been wooing the men of Israel and it had become unsafe for David to remain in Jerusalem. We then read that "David arrived at the summit, where people used to worship God" (v. 32 NIV). Up to this point no mention had been made of a sanctuary here, but knowing the propensity of ancient peoples to worship on mountains, it would not be a surprise to find a shrine there. David met HUSHAI there, dispatched him back to Jerusalem, and continued on his way toward the wilderness.

The next chapter opens with David passing over the summit where he met ZIBA, the servant of MEPHIBOSHETH. Then he went to the village of BAHURIM (2 Sam. 16:5) and eventually down to the Jordan River (v. 14). Bahurim has been identified tentatively with Ras et-Temim on the E slope of the hill and N of the old Jericho road, which went straight over the hill rather than around its S slope as the modern one does. Because of the word "ascent" in 15:30, some have figured his route as the almost staircase-like trail that bears left up the hill past the Roman Catholic Garden of GETHSEMANE and reaches the top near the Greek Orthodox monastery.

It is easy to connect a religious sanctuary on the Mount of Olives with the references to Nob, the city of priests, and AHIMELECH the priest (1 Sam. 21:1; 22:9, 11, 19). There is also the possibility of a connection between the biblical ANATHOTH, a city where priests lived, and the modern Anata just N of the Mount of Olives range (Jer. 1:1). The "hill east of Jerusalem" where SOLOMON built altars to foreign gods (1 Ki. 11:7) was located "on the south of the Hill of Corruption" (2 Ki. 23:13; see CORRUPTION, HILL OF). There may be a play on words in the latter passage: the Hebrew word meaning "corruption" (*mašḥît H5422*) is similar to the word for "anointing" (*mišḥâ H5418*), which would allude to the Mount of Olives, where anointing oil was produced.

The other occurrence of the name Mount of Olives is in a powerful eschatological passage: "On that day [i.e., the day of the Lord's coming] his feet will stand on the Mount of Olives, east of Jerusalem, and the Mount of Olives will be split in two from east to west, forming a great valley, with half of the mountain moving north and half moving south" (Zech. 14:4).

**III. In the NT.** The Mount Olivet is most important in the closing week of Jesus' life on earth. Undoubtedly he crossed over it many times in his going to and from festivals in Jerusalem. Since the custom was not to pass through SAMARIA, Galileans probably detoured across the Jordan in the N and then recrossed to the W bank near Jericho. This would account for Jesus' appearances in Jericho, the geography of his parable of the Good Samaritan, and his presence in BETHANY and BETHPHAGE.

One passing reference to the mount is in the textually uncertain account of the woman taken in

adultery (Jn. 8:1). All other references have to do with events during and after PASSION week. Both Mark and Luke mention Bethany, Beth-phage, and the Mount of Olives together in their record of the triumphal entry (Mk. 11:1; Lk. 19:29). The descriptions and location of biblical Bethany fit well with the Arab village of el-<Aziriyeh SE of the mount astride the modern Jericho Road. Bethphage is adjacent to Bethany, but nearer the top of the Mount of Olives; it is identified with the village of eṭ-Ṭur on the very top.

As Jesus came over the crest of the hill and caught sight of the Holy City, he wept (Lk. 19:41). When he returned from the city that night he went to Bethany, apparently again to the home of Mary, Martha, and Lazarus or the home of Simon the leper (Mk. 11:11; 14:3). The next day he went into the city again, and on his way cursed a fig tree (Matt. 21:19; Mk. 11:13). It was probably to the Mount of Olives that the Savior referred when he said, "if you have faith and do not doubt…you can say to this mountain, 'Go, throw yourself into the sea,' and it will be done" (Matt. 21:21).

The following day, after having spent the previous night in Bethany and having returned from the temple, Jesus was sitting on the Mount of Olives with his disciples as he discoursed about the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world (Matt. 24:3; Mk. 13:3). In a summary statement Luke says that every night after teaching in the temple Jesus went out to the Mount called Olivet (Lk. 21:37). For a Galilean, the seclusion from the hustle of the city that the groves on the hillside offered undoubtedly was welcome. Furthermore, there was probably no room in the inns of Jerusalem at Passover time.

It was in the Garden of Gethsemane on the W slopes of the Mount of Olives that Jesus agonized with the Father (Matt. 26:30, 36; Mk. 14:26, 32; Lk. 22:39; Jn. 18:1), and there JUDAS ISCARIOT betrayed his Lord. Lastly, it was from the Mount called Olivet that the disciples returned after witnessing the ASCENSION OF CHRIST (Acts 1:9-12; cf. Lk. 24:50).

**IV. The shrines on the mount.** Apart from the city of Jerusalem, there is probably no greater concentration of shrines than on the Mount of Olives. To trace the history, significance, and denominational connection of each would be an impossible task. About the only things that are certain are the location of the hill itself and the location of Bethany to the SE. There are three "Palm Sunday" trails over the hill, three Gardens of Gethsemane, two or three sites for the ascension, two Jericho roads, and so forth. Faithful devotees of Jesus and the land on which he walked have marked with the church of Dominus Flevit the exact spot where he wept over Jerusalem, and have recovered the stone on which he stepped as he mounted the donkey on Palm Sunday in Bethphage. A Muslim shrine called Inbomon, built within the ruins of an octagonal church originally constructed in 375, later destroyed but restored by the crusaders, contains a footprint in the rock floor reputed to be the last footprint of Christ on earth. The credit for the most extravagant enterprise must go, however, to the Arab selling rides on a white donkey which he claimed was a direct descendant of the one Jesus rode!

The first sanctuary on the mount was begun in A.D. 325 by Helena, the mother of Constantine, on the S end of the central hill. Called the Eleona (*Olives*), the structure sheltered a grotto in which Jesus was to have taught the disciples. The Persians destroyed it in the 7th cent., but over it in 1869 was built the Church of the Pater Noster on the assumption that the LORD's PRAYER (the "Our Father") was given there (Lk. 11:1–4). That church has the Lord's Prayer written on panels on the walls of the sanctuary and cloister in forty different languages.

In addition to the Inbomon, with its footprint, is the Russian Orthodox Monastery of the Ascension with its tall and most distinctive bell tower. Another monastery, a Greek Orthodox one called Viri Galilaei, may be named from the words in Acts 1:11, "Men of Galilee, why do you stand

looking into heaven?"

On the W slope of the hill near the bottom are the Gardens of Gethsemane. Three churches with three gardens are there for the pilgrim's choice. Nearer the center of the hillside is the Russian church of Mary Magdalene with its typical Byzantine architecture. Below it is the famous Roman Catholic Church of All Nations sheltering the "Rock of Agony." This site has a long tradition behind it. In the garden to the N are 1,000-year-old olive trees. Farther N is a church built c. A.D. 455 over the supposed tomb of Mary. It is maintained by the Greeks and the Coptics.

On the N end of the ridge of the Mount of Olives is the magnificent Augusta Victoria Hospital built by Kaiser Wilhelm II. It is not intended to mark a biblical site, however, although in the digging of the foundations in 1907 remains of a very ancient settlement were discovered. A modern luxury hotel now dominates the S end of the central ridge overlooking the many tombstones of the centuries-old Jewish cemeteries. (See further G. Dalman, *Sacred Sites and Ways* [1935], 261-70; K. Kraeling, *Bible Atlas* [1956], 396-98; C. G. Rasmussen, *Zondervan NIV Atlas of the Bible* [1989], 188-200.)

R. L. ALDEN

**mount of the congregation.** See CONGREGATION, MOUNT OF THE.

**mourning.** The act of expressing sorrow and grief, especially upon the death of a loved one. Many Hebrew and Greek words in the Bible are used to indicate various aspects and signs of mourning. The most common are Hebrew <ē*bel H65* (Gen. 27:41 et al.) and Greek *penthos G4292* (Jas. 4:9), with their cognates.

**I. Occasions for mourning**

***A. Death.*** The most common occasion for mourning in the Bible is the DEATH of a closely related person. Great detail is given regarding the mourning of ABRAHAM for SARAH (Gen. 23:2); of JACOB for JOSEPH (Gen. 37:34–35); of the Israelites for AARON (Num. 20:29), for MOSES (Deut. 34:8), and for SAMUEL (1 Sam. 25:1); and of DAVID for SAUL and JONATHAN (2 Sam. 1:12), as well as for ABNER (2 Sam. 3:31–32). In the NT there is a more subdued but nevertheless heartfelt sadness when MARY and MARTHA mourn for LAZARUS (Jn. 11), and when devout believers mourn for STEPHEN (Acts 8:2).

***B. National calamity.*** Mourning also comes to expression in a variety of situations other than death. Calamities that have overwhelmed the individual often are presented as occasions calling forth the most abject sorrow and grief (Job 1:20-21; 2:8). In the later phases of OT history there are also numerous examples of mourning due to national disasters. The prophets give vivid expression to the mourning that resulted from the collapse of Judah and the subsequent exile of the people (Jer. 9:1; Joel 1:13; see also Exod. 33:4 and Num. 14:39). In Jer. 14:2 national mourning is called for because of a drought. National mourning is extensively and graphically depicted in the poetic language of the book of LAMENTATIONS.

***C. Before a calamity.*** Trouble and calamity that are threatening and impending also are occasions for mourning (Neh. 1:4; Esth. 4:3). Generally such threats are due to a dissatisfied deity and call for an attitude of penitential mourning in the hope that God's favor might be restored. Mourning in the actual presence of death is spontaneous emotional feeling whose expression custom rigidly prescribed,

while the mourning associated with the prophetic prediction of national disaster is an activity motivated by the hope of altering the path of impending doom. The thought seems to be that to mourn before a disaster is better than mourning afterward, particularly if it is efficacious in averting the calamity. In an era when it was firmly and widely believed that God is present and that he controls human affairs, it can be seen that penitential mourning would be urged upon a nation by the prophets. As in the case of PRAYER, it was sincerely felt that mourning changes things.

It would be one-sided, however, to think of these national expressions of mourning in the OT as hypocritical activities designed solely to change God's mind. On the contrary, national mourning was intended also to be an expression of a heartfelt contrition at having ignored or violated the word of the Lord. To avoid the divine displeasure, return to compliance with God's will was expressed by the ceremonies of mourning marking the death of that which had produced the divine disfavor. The prophet Joel shows the repentant attitude in mourning clearly when he calls for a mourning that is a rending of the heart, rather than a rending of the garment in order to persuade God to turn and repent (Joel 2:12-17).

A good instance of mourning offsetting an impending disaster is in Jon. 3:5 –10, following the prophet's reluctant preaching. JEREMIAH, unsuccessfully, attempted to call the nation to mourning for its sin in order to gain God's favor (Jer. 9:17-19; 14:12; 36:9). More successful was HEZE-KIAH's donning of SACKCLOTH (2 Ki. 19:1–14) to secure God's aid in overruling the Assyrian threat. The same hope of protection was again realized following a period of fasting and mourning (Ezra 8:21; cf. also 1 Ki. 8:33; Esth. 4:16; Mal. 3:14).

David's breach of custom in behaving in a mournful fashion before the death of BATHSHEBA's child, instead of after his death, was probably the definitive example that gave sincere mourning the purposeful character of influencing God rather than remaining simply a spontaneous manifestation of grief (2 Sam. 12:15-23).

## II. Mourning customs

***A. Personal behavior.*** Weeping is a universal expression of mourning; in the Hebrew language the verb for weeping or wailing (*bātâ H1134*) is a common term for mourning. The capacity of the Hebrew for tears is immense, though the psalmist is using hyperbole when he speaks of "flooding" his bed during the night with tears (Ps. 6:6). Loud cries frequently are associated with weeping as a sign of grief (Gen. 50:10; Ruth 1:9; 2 Sam. 13:36). Accompanying these cries is the characteristic action of beating the breast, which is suggested (but not always so translated) in the word *sāpad H6199*. This practice is urged as a token of sincere repentance for an apathetic attitude toward sin (Isa. 32:12).

A similar sign of repentance is the lifting up of hands (Ezra 9:5; Ps. 141:2). Other behavioral traits associated with mourning in the OT are lying or sitting in silence (Jdg. 20:26; 2 Sam. 12:16) and bowing the head (Lam. 2:10). FASTING for varying lengths of time was also common (2 Sam. 3:35). The sprinkling of ashes, dust, or dirt upon oneself seems to be associated more with mourning arising out of personal tragedy (2 Sam. 1:2; 13:19), national calamity (Josh. 7:6; 2 Sam. 15:32; Esth. 4:1-3; Rev. 18:19), or threatening calamity (Jer. 6:26; Mic. 1:10).

Prohibited from being a part of the Jewish mourning rites were certain practices found among pagan neighbors, such as gashing the flesh or shaving the head or beard (Lev. 19:28; Deut. 14:1; Jer. 16:6; cf. the priests of BAAL on Mount Carmel, 1 Ki. 18:28). These pagan customs of propitiating and honoring the spirits of the dead by blood letting or offering hair to them were clearly too much like

the Canaanite agricultural festivals which the Mosaic code castigated. It has been suggested that the practices of covering the head (2 Sam. 15:30; Esth. 6:12; Jer. 14:3) and the beard were introduced to replace the forbidden rituals (*A Standard Bible Dictionary,* ed. M. W. Jacobus [1909], 562), but little evidence can be found in the Bible for making the one a substitution instead of the other.

***B. Clothing.*** The clothing that is worn is another stylized form that confirms the dismal internal feeling. The common mourning garment was a black (Rev. 6:12), coarse article, similar to a grain sack, usually made of goat's hair, which was called a SACKCLOTH (Gen. 37:34; 2 Sam. 3:31; 21:10; Jer. 6:26; Joel 1:8). Adornments were also removed (Exod. 33:4) and the mourner went about barefoot (2 Sam. 15:30; Ezek. 24:17).

"Rending of the garments," or tearing a slit in the bottom of an item of apparel, was a universal sign among the Hebrews signifying grief and distress (Gen. 37:29; 44:13; 2 Sam. 3:31; 2 Chr. 34:27; Joel 2:13). It was also a pious method of showing holy indignation and zeal (Ezra 9:3; Acts 14:14). The high priest pretended to have such feelings when he tore his robe at Jesus' trial (Matt. 26:65). Gaster feels that rending is either "a later form of the more primitive practice of gashing the flesh," or an ancient "method of disguising oneself so that hovering demons may be foiled" (T. H. Gaster, *Customs and Folkways of Jewish Life* [1955], 162). A more biblical interpretation of this rite suggested by R. de Vaux is that it expresses natural sorrow as well as religious piety and duty, but without any thought of forming a cult of the dead (*Ancient Israel* [1961], 61).


Painting from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem depicting those mourning the death of Jesus as they take him to the tomb.

***C. Formal lamentations.*** In the later part of the OT paid professional mourners, generally female, take an important place in the mourning rituals. Known as "wailing women" or "skillful women" (used in parallel in Jer. 9:17) or as "singing women" (2 Chr. 35:25), these individuals embellished the funeral rites with skillfully contrived dirges and eulogies (Amos 5:16). Sometimes they were accompanied by flutes (Matt. 9:23). Their office was passed on from mother to daughter (Jer. 9:20). In due time these mournfully sung elegies became a stylized treatment of a limited number of themes which could readily be applied to almost any individual.

David probably popularized and stylized the practice of formal lamentation with his lengthy elegy sung at the funeral of Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. 1:17-27) and a shorter one at Abner's burial (3:33-34). Some of the features of formal lamentation included sections introduced by "how" or "what," frequent use of "ah" or "alas," extravagant praise, references to the tragic circumstances of the death, vivid imagery contrasting past splendor with present misery, and the consolation that the person's name will be remembered. An interesting reversal of many of these features is found in a satirical lament (Isa. 14:4-21) for the king of Babylon. The book of Lamentations uses these elegiac forms extensively. The form of a funeral elegy is used to express communal despair over national misfortunes and penitential sorrow for personal sins (Jer. 22:18; Ezek. 19:1-14; 26:17-18; 27:2-9, 25-36; Amos 5:16; 1 Macc. 9:21).

**III. The meaning of mourning.** Various explanations are given of mourning. Some scholars speak of the mourning rituals as a token of submission to the dead who are thought to have power to help or hurt the living; others argue that men are disguising themselves from a god or spirits of the dead who may otherwise choose them next after having struck so close (*SHERK,* 8:31-32). Undoubtedly the Hebrew customs were closely related to the universal tradition of the ANE peoples, but there is no foundation in the Scriptures for holding that these outward practices represented any form of a cult for the dead.

In the OT the outward signs of mourning were called for in situations of repentance and supplication as well as sorrow. This would indicate that the rituals were more than natural expressions of sorrow. Paul's words to the Thessalonians, "we do not want you…to grieve like the rest of men, who have no hope" (1 Thess. 4:13), show grief as a natural expression that is transformed by religious belief. Likewise, for the Hebrew aware of the presence of a loving God, mourning rites could be neither mere expressions of sorrow nor forms of cultic veneration.

In the NT tender sympathy is expressed toward those mourning the loss of a loved one (Jn. 11:35; Rom. 12:15; 1 Thess. 4:13), but mourning in its religious aspects is seen also as helpfully uncovering some of the unique facets of the gospel. Thus, Jesus' personal advent brought suffering and lamentation (Matt. 2:16–18) as did his death (Lk. 23:27). Moreover, it is declared that his followers will also weep and lament (Jn. 16:20), and it is even demanded of them that they suffer with him (Rom. 8:17). In a manner more glorious than in the OT, penitential and supplicational mourning turn into glory and rejoicing with Christ as he is found to be the messenger of joy (Jn. 16:20, 22; Rom. 8:17). The NT exalts in an eschatological and existential hope: "Blessed are those who mourn, for they will be comforted" (Matt. 5:4). (See further X. H. Y. Pham, *Mourning in the Ancient Near East and the Hebrew Bible* [1999]; S. M. Olyan, *Biblical Mourning: Ritual and Social Dimensions* [2004].)

T. M. GREGORY

**mouse.** The Hebrew term *ʿakbār H6572,* which may be accurately rendered "mouse" or "rat," was probably applied to a wide range of small rodents. In parts of Africa today, one term includes all uniformly colored rats and mice up to the size of a brown rat. Thus when the Hebrew term is found in a list of unclean animals (Lev. 11:29; see UNCLEANNESS), it likely refers to the whole group, even though in many parts of the world it is usual, and safe, to eat many small rodents. The real object of the ban was probably to exclude black rats, carriers of dangerous diseases. Isaiah speaks of those who deliberately defile themselves by eating mice and other forbidden meat (Isa. 66:17 RSV; NIV, "rats"; NRSV, "rodents").

The word appears in only one other passage, in connection with the plague that afflicted the

A sand rat, common in the Middle East and North Africa.

PHILISTINES when they captured the ARK OF THE COVENANT (1 Sam. 6:4-5, 11, 18). This incident took on new significance in modern times when the relationship between rats, PLAGUE, and humans was discovered. Although rats are not specifically blamed for the epidemic that affected both Philistines and Israelites, the causal relationship between the tumors and the rats was clearly recognized by the priests of DAGON when they sent gifts of golden rats and TUMORS with the ark back to Israel. Bubonic plague began in the E and for many centuries has caused numerous deaths in many countries; the Plague of London was one such outbreak, with 70,000 deaths in London alone. Plague is, in fact, primarily a disease of rats, transmitted by several species of flea, which seek other hosts, including humans, when the rat dies. One of the classic symptoms is the tumor or bubo that forms in the groin and elsewhere. Black rats have now spread all over the world and are the main ship rat. (See A. R. Short, *The Bible and Modern Medicine* [1953].) In addition Palestine has many species of small rodents, some of which become serious pests in the intensive agriculture now practiced. Some believe that the rodent referred to in this passage is the Levant vole (*Microtus guentheri;* see *FFB,* 57); other identify it as the jerboa *(Jaculus jaculus,* a jumping rodent of the family *Dipodidae;* see W. L. Holladay, *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* [1971], 272).

G. S. CANSDALE

**mouth.** The cavity at the beginning of the alimentary tract, located between the jaws and leading into the pharynx (throat). It contains the teeth, gums, and tongue. Into it are poured the secretions of the salivary glands, namely, the parotid glands, the submaxillary glands, and the sublingual glands. These secretions contain enzymes for digestion of food. The mouth contains the organs of taste. It also serves in mastication and impregnation of food with saliva, and in respiration, speech articulation, expectoration and sucking. One of the most astounding statements of fact presented to the writer as a medical student was that the mouth without exception is the dirtiest part of the human body (the nutrients that go into the human mouth are good culture media for growing bacteria that cause diseases, and the saliva in the mouth tends to discourage the growth of all other bacteria except those that are disease-producing in human beings).

Both Hebrew *peh H7023* and Greek *stoma G5125* are used literally (1 Sam. 1:12; Acts 23:2; et al.) as well as figuratively. Among the latter uses, the word “mouth” can refer to an entrance, such as of a cave (Josh. 10:27), the grave (Ps. 141:7), a sack (Gen. 42:27), and a well (29:10). It is used metaphorically to refer to the absolute sovereignty of God in the fiat of his words in judgment, as in the phrases “rod of his mouth” (Isa. 11:4) and “out of his mouth comes a sharp sword” (Rev. 19:15).

Jesus taught that "the things that come out of the mouth come from the heart, and these make a man 'unclean'" (Matt. 15:18 and parallels; cf. also Rom. 3:14).

P. E. ADOLPH

**mow.** To cut down the standing grass or other herbage. The Hebrew noun *gēz H1600* (which twice refers to wool or fleece, Deut. 31:20; Job 31:20), is used of mown grass or a mown field in two passages (Ps. 72:6; Amos 7:1). In the latter, the phrase "the king's mowings" (NIV, "share") refers to the first cut of spring herbage, which was to be given as tribute to the kings of Israel to feed their horses; after that the owner of the field could have his portion. The word occurs in the NT once as the rendering of Greek *amaō G286* (Jas. 5:4).

**Moza** moh'zuh (מוֹצָא *H4605,* "[act or place of] going out"). Some scholars believe that this is a place name, rather than a personal name, and that it possibly should be related to MOZAH. (1) Son of CALEB by Ephah his concubine, included in the genealogy of JUDAH (1 Chr. 2:46).

(2) Son of Zimri and descendant of SAUL through JONATHAN (1 Chr. 8:36-37; 9:42-43). Several of the names in this section of the genealogy correspond to towns within the tribal territory of BENJAMIN.

E. B. SMICK

**Mozah** moh'zuh (מוֹצָה *H5173,* perhaps "[water] source" or "[oil] press"). A town within the tribal territory of BENJAMIN (Josh. 18:26). Because the name is stamped on the handles of vessels excavated at JERICHO and Tell en-Naṣbeh (MIZPAH), it is thought that Mozah was a center for the manufacture of pottery. The town was evidently near such W Benjamite cities as Mizpah and KEPHIRAH, but its precise location is uncertain. Many scholars believe that the site is at or near the Arab village of Qaloniyeh (Qalunyah), about 5 mi. WNW of JERUSALEM on the road to Tel Aviv. The ancient name may survive in nearby Khirbet Beit Mizzah and has been adopted by the Jewish colony of Moṣah W of Qaloniyeh, which some think may also be the EMMAUS of the NT. (See J. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* [1959], 176-77; *ABD*, 4:925.)

P. A. VERHOEF

**muffler.** This English term, referring to a scarf worn around the neck, is used by the KJV to render Hebrew *rĕʾālâ H8304,* "veil," which occurs only once (Isa. 3:19).

**Mugharah, Wadi el-** (Arab. "valley of caves"). A valley S of Mount Carmel where Stone Age remains have been found (see CARMEL, MOUNT). Between 1929 and 1934 an archaeological expedition under the leadership of Dorothy Garrod and Theodore McCown of the British School of Archaeology excavated four caves in the Wadi el-Mugharah. About two miles in from the Mediterranean Sea on the S side of the valley, three of these caves produced extensive artifacts and skeletal remains of several Stone Age cultures. The oldest items were from the Early Paleolithic Period and the most recent from the Mesolithic. A subdivision of the latter known as the Natufian Period (so named from the nearby Wadi en-Natuf, which Garrod also discovered) was also well represented. The subdivision has been redivided on the basis of the artifacts found at the Mugharah caves.

The Natufian people did not make pottery or domesticate animals but raised crops and hunted;

most of their artifacts were flint arrowheads, spearheads, knives, and scrapers. In common with other previous cultures, they left their dead unburied in a contracted position, as evidenced from the skeletons in the es-Skhul and el-Wad caves. These skeletons resembled those of the Homo sapiens of the Upper Paleolithic Period more than the Neanderthal.

The cave of el-Wad represents in its several strata a transition period between the Mousterian and the Upper Paleolithic. These judgments are based on the shape of the flint tools and bone objects found there. In the cave called el-Tabun, some of the earliest artifacts of all appeared in the form of crude scrapers and untoothed knives. Neither Wadi el-Mugharah nor any of its caves are mentioned in the Bible. (See D. A. E. Garrod et al., *The Stone Age of Mount Carmel, 2 vols.* [1937-39]; E. Anati, *Palestine Before the Hebrews* [1963], parts 2 and 3.)

R. L. ALDEN

**mulberry tree.** The Greek term *moron,* referring to the black mulberry (*Morus nigra,* grown for its edible fruit), is used once in the APOCRYPHA (1 Macc. 6:34); its juice was somehow effective in provoking elephants to fight (see J. A. Goldstein, *I Maccabees,* AB 41 [1976], 320). Another term, *sykaminos G5189,* occurs once in the NT (Lk. 17:6). See also BALSAM TREE; FLORA (under *Moraceae*); SYCAMINE; SYCAMORE.

**mule.** The mule is a hybrid, the offspring of a male donkey (see ASS, DONKEY) and a female HORSE (the reverse cross, by stallion and a donkey mare, is called a *hinny*, which is much less useful and rarely bred). Mules are sterile; the few records of fertile mules, mostly old, are not generally accepted. The mule combines some of the size and strength of the horse with the patience, surefootedness, and endurance of the donkey, and can work efficiently in country too hard for horses. The Israelites were specifically forbidden to breed such hybrids (Lev. 19:19), and mules were regularly imported from countries that specialized in this work (cf. 1 Ki. 10:25; *Heb. pered H7234*). They were highly regarded, and their use in the OT is largely confined to the nobility; for example, they first appear in 2 Sam. 13:29, ridden by DAVID's sons (cf. also 1 Ki. 1:33, 38, 44, where the alternate form *pirdâ H7235* is used). The one possible exception is Ezra 2:66, repeated in Neh. 7:68, where 245 mules were part of the transport bringing back the exiles to Judah. (The KJV rendering "mule" is probably incorrect in Gen. 36:24; Esth. 8:10, 14.) The mule's stubbornness is proverbial today, but this characteristic is referred to only once in the Bible (Ps. 32:9, where the mule is classed with the horse as lacking understanding).

G. S. CANSDALE

**Muppim** muh'pim (מֻפִּים *H5137,* derivation unknown). Son of BENJAMIN and grandson of JACOB (Gen. 46:21). This name does not occur in the other genealogies of Benjamin, although many scholars identify Muppim with Shephupham (Num. 26:39 MT; KJV and NIV, "Shupham"), Shuppim (1 Chr. 7:12, 15; NIV, "Shuppites"), and Shephuphan (1 Chr. 8:5). See discussion under SHEPHUPHAM; see also HUPPIM.

**Muratorian Canon** myoor'uh-tor'ee-uhn. Also known as the Muratorian Fragment, this 7th/8th-cent. Latin document provides a very early list of accepted NT books. It was discovered by L. A. Muratori (1672-1750) in the Ambrosian Library of Milan and published by him in 1740. Although some recent scholars have argued that the original Greek work from which it was translated may have been produced in Syria or Palestine as late as the 4th cent., it is widely believed that the Muratorian Canon

is the earliest existing list of its kind, composed originally c. A.D. 180-190 in or near Rome. For a discussion of its significance, see CANON (NT) V.

S. BARABAS

**murder.** See BLOODGUILT; CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS I.B.

**murrain.** This English term, meaning PESTILENCE or PLAGUE, is used once by the KJV to render the common Hebrew word *deber H1822* (Exod. 9:3). See also PLAGUES OF EGYPT.

**Mushi** myoo'shi (מוּשִׁי *H4633,* derivation uncertain; the same form [מוּשִׁי *H4634]* is used as a gentilic, "Mushite"). Son of MERARI and grandson of LEVI (Exod. 6:19; Num. 3:20; 1 Chr. 6:19, 47; 23:21, 23; 24:26, 30); eponymous ancestor of the Mushite clan of Levites (Num. 3:33; 26:58). It has been argued that the name is derived from *mōšeh H5407* (MOSES), and some speculate that the Mushites constituted an early priesthood competing with that of AARON.

**Mushite** myoo'shit. See MUSHI.

**music, musical instruments**

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**I. Introduction.** Words about music are secondary to music itself. This is the dilemma of historians,

whose obligation it is to bring enlightenment and perspective to music making. They are successful only if their work finally draws the reader to music itself, and if they avoid the temptation of allowing word impressions to replace the musical ones.

Music is the most abstract of the arts. Its components—pitch, duration, texture, rhythm, color, and ultimately form—speak their own language. The composing experience, which brings these together in a satisfying wholeness, is to be matched in the listening experience, which then must comprehend this wholeness. Hence, the final meaningfulness of music lies in the aural experience. Other experiences are merely adjuncts or glosses on the acoustical event.

All of this is true whether one is dealing with music for its own sake, a comparatively recent phenomenon in Western culture, or music that is inseparable from function, as in the case of music in the Bible. In either instance, the primary problem is the hearing and understanding of inherent musical sound as it occurs in its cultural contexts. Furthermore, music is gone as soon as it is made. It is a time art: its sounds do not coexist as the parts of a painting do; they succeed each other chrono-rhythmically. Their recapture or repetition does not guarantee entire faithfulness to the original. We cannot return to a performance of a concerto or a folk song the way we can to a painting or an artifact. The advent of electronic media only partially solved this problem, since a very important element, the performer, is still missing, and absolute fidelity to the original sound is unattainable even with the most sophisticated equipment.

The historian's problem is further complicated when the primary data (instances of the music itself) are partly or completely missing, and when the secondary data (the historical contexts) are removed by vast cultural and linguistic distances. The success with which these barriers are overcome determines how accurately deductions can be made as to what the music of another culture in another time might have been, what its instrumentations were, as well as what its formulae and functions entailed.

Many recent archaeological discoveries, coupled with heightened musicological skills and insights, have clarified much of what had been previously obscure or highly romanticized. Still the primary task in the field of biblical music is to be assumed by the biblical scholar, whose insights into ancient history are coupled with a mastery of the languages of biblical contexts. The role of the musicologist comes into play only when judgments are to be made in the presence of musical data that surface one way or another. The danger in such work is apparent. Musicians must avoid betraying their amateurism when speaking biblically or theologically. Biblical scholars must be careful when attempting to speak musically. Incisive scholarship is often pivotal. It is not necessarily to be equated with a single perspective, but conscientiously used to serve whatever perspective is consistently and honestly searched out. While the first two sections of the present article depend to a great extent on the outstanding researches of such scholars as Eric Werner (in *IDB*, 3:457-76), Abraham Z. Idelsohn (*Jewish Music in Its Historical Development* [1967]), and Egon Wellesz (*A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* [1949]), it assumes a different theological and biblical perspective from theirs.

## II. Music in the OT

***A. Community life.*** The book of Genesis mentions JUBAL (a name possibly related to *yôbēl H3413,* "ram's horn") as the protomusician (Gen. 4:21). The distance, both stylistic and chronological, between him and the later music making of the Jewish community can only be a matter of speculation. The real importance of Jubal is in the attention given to music making this far back in sacred history,

and further, that such attention is focused on its natural appearance along with other human and cultural activities. Jubal's brother, JABAL, was a cattle breeder; his half-brother TUBAL-CAIN, the first smith. This is important, for music is first described in a functionally neutral sense. Jubal is the "father of all who play the harp and flute." His music making is not religiously caused or primarily associated with WORSHIP, nor is it necessarily an activity which, by contrast, bears only the association of any number of so-called secular activities. Even though Yahweh was to be worshiped in his sanctuary, the earth with all its fullness was also his; and as man's habitat, and with the command given him to be its steward, the world was to be an arena for praise. Accordingly, the use of music is as much an integral part of the gathering of harvest as the worship in the sanctuary. The uniqueness is that while harvest songs are sung, they are sung to the Lord of the harvest; that while battle songs are sung, Yahweh is to win the battle.

Thus if there is one consistent strand concerning music in the OT, it is that it is inseparable from all of life. Although in its earliest stages, or as related to certain activities, it may have been little more than noise making, music accompanied work, worship, merrymaking, and military activities (Gen. 31:27; Exod. 32:17-18; Num. 27:17; Jdg. 11:34, 35; Isa. 16:10; Jer. 48:33). There are instances of music making connected with specific acts of God: the collapse of the walls of JERICHO (Josh. 6:4-20), the enthronement of kings (1 Ki. 1:39-40; 2 Ki. 11:14; 2 Chr. 13:14; 20:28), music for the court (2 Sam. 19:35; Eccl. 2:8), and for feasting (Isa. 5:12; 24:8-9), as well as for the restoration of prophetic gifts (2 Ki. 3:15) and the soothing of personality disturbances (1 Sam. 16:14-23).

These latter two instances superficially seem to belong to the psychological realm or to the blatantly magical. Along with the narrative in Josh. 6:4-20, in which the combination of trumpet sounds with people shouting precede the felling of Jericho's walls, an immediate relation is seen by some biblical scholars between music and MAGIC. It cannot be denied that this relationship is assumed in the myths and legends of the religious systems surrounding Judaism. Nor can it be denied that music and magic are linked in religious systems of primitive cultures everywhere. Furthermore, the more sophisticated doctrine of ethos which developed within the Greek philosophical system still has overtones in much of today's thinking regarding musical values. In one way or another, the Christian church has to some extent adopted this philosophy. Current uses of music in psychotherapy further seem to suggest that music has somewhat intrinsic powers to change behavior.

Although this is not the place to discuss this problem at great length, it is necessary to mention a few distinctions that speak to both the biblical and the contemporary issues. First, music already has been seen to have accompanied all of Jewish life. Therefore it may be assumed that there is a difference between that which accompanies an event and that which causes it. Second, the parallel practices in other religious systems are only relevant if the basic perspectives of these systems are parallel to the system under discussion. This is patently not the case. Third, the uniqueness of the Jewish religion is seen in the fact that Yahweh is the one who calls all things into being and controls all events. Furthermore, he

Ceramic figures of flute players (Middle Elamite, late 2nd millennium B.C.).

calls and controls purposefully in terms of which people, places, and things are instruments of his purpose. Therefore, God brings walls down while people and their activities participate in the event. Fourth, the fact that music, among other created and cultural things, is purported by primitives and sophisticates alike to have power is more a matter of the dislocation of priorities than anything else.

It is possible to sense in the earliest parts of Scripture that the created order is to be subject to human dominion and that it is good. Human beings are to be sovereign over it and not the reverse; the goodness of creation is a reflection of God's handiwork, but it is a goodness not in the sense of inherently causing good, otherwise it would be sovereign over man and the cultural mandate would be irrelevant. In addition, even though CREATION has been ravished by SATAN, this does not mean that it has become intrinsically bad in the moral sense. Ultimately the Judeo-Christian perspective maintains that human beings are interiorly wrong and that until they are right they will place the blame for their condition outside themselves. Hence, they will assume that created things or activities, as is often the case with music, have power over them and their activities. Consequently the parallels that are drawn in comparative religious studies between Judaism and its contemporary systems are in fundamental error because fundamental perspectives are overlooked.

***B. Temple and synagogue.*** The idea of special creative skills in cultic worship occurs long before the advent of professional musicians. In the building of the TABERNACLE, people were chosen to "make artistic designs" and were given the HOLY SPIRIT to do so (Exod. 31:3-11; 35:30—36:2).The ability to devise these works is interestingly related to intelligence, knowledge, and finally craftsmanship. The mention of music, however, is minimal in the matter of WORSHIP in the tabernacle (Exod. 28:34-35 describes gold bells that were attached to the lower hem of AARON's robe so that their sound could be heard when he entered the Holy Place).

The trained musicians that eventually appear around the time of DAVID and SOLOMON mark a distinctive change in the history of Jewish music. Before this time much of the music was made by women. MIRIAM led a group of her own sex in singing and dancing (Exod. 15:20-21) after MOSES and the Israelites had sung to the Lord in celebration of the overthrow of the Egyptians (vv. 1-18). JEPHTHAH's daughter met her father with timbrels and dance upon his return from battle (Jdg. 11:34). Women sang, danced, and played for the conquering David (1 Sam. 18:6-7).

With the professionalization of music in the royal courts and more especially in TEMPLE worship, music making was restricted to men. This is not to say that in the nonprofessional realm women ceased making music; this continued as before. In the accounts in Chronicles that give the statistics of the temple ministries, 4,000 of the 38,000 Levites chosen by David for temple service were

musicians (1 Chr. 15:16; 23:5). These were the singers who were "to sing joyful songs, accompanied by musical instruments: lyres, harps and cymbals." In 1 Chr. 25:6-7, the number of musicians is listed at 288, divided into 24 orders of 12 each.

The descriptions of the musical activities that occur thereafter give the impression of an awesome spectacle: "The priests then withdrew from the Holy Place. All the priests who were there had consecrated themselves, regardless of their divisions. All the Levites who were musicians—ASAPH, HEMAN, JEDUTHUN, with their sons and relatives—stood on the E side of the altar, dressed in fine linen and playing cymbals, harps and lyres. They were accompanied by 120 priests sounding trumpets. The trumpeters and singers joined in unison, as with one voice, to give praise and thanks to the LORD. Accompanied by trumpets, cymbals, and other instruments, they raised their voices in praise to the LORD and sang: 'He is good; his love endures forever.' Then the temple of the LORD was filled with a cloud, and the priests could not perform their service because of the cloud, for the glory of the LORD filled the temple of God" (2 Chr. 5:11-14).

The parallel between this rich array and the existence of professional guilds of musicians in the neighboring kingdoms of Egypt and Assyria is obvious. In the transition from an unsettled nomadic life to one of a centralized monarchy, there was the opportunity for training and the regulation of a musical system that would serve the needs of the royal court and the worship in the temple. No efforts, it seems, were spared in the full realization of this goal. The importation of musical instruments and musical systems was no doubt carried out. The normal cultural intercourse during Israel's sojourn was formalized in the monarchy. The MIDRASH alludes to a tradition in which King Solomon's Egyptian wife included 1,000 musical instruments in her dowry. More concrete archaeological evidence makes it clear that the instruments of the ancient world were similar from culture to culture. This would imply a similarity of musical systems, although it would not rule out the possibility of indigenous change.

There have been many highly romanticized and exaggerated speculations about a never-to-be-repeated musical situation in the temple. These have distorted a true contextual sense of what might have happened, and since there is no precise knowledge of the full musical style, one must remain content with the central concept of a solemn yet exuberant mode of worship. Moreover, it is important to remember that though these musical activities were quantitatively and qualitatively professional, the matter of functionality mentioned earlier still prevailed. The central importance in temple ritual was sacrificial. All else served this centrality. The system of daily sacrifices, morning and evening, was minutely regulated. The liturgical activities were complex and cumulative. The MISH-NAH (which possibly preserves reliable information from the Second Temple period) gives the number of instruments in the temple as follows: "never less than two harps or more than six…never less than two flutes or more than twelve…never less than two trumpets, and their number could be increased without end…never less than nine lyres, and their number could be increased without end; but of cymbals there was but one" *(m. <Arak.* 1:3, 5).

The choir consisted of a minimum of twelve adult male singers, the maximum limitless. The singers served between the age of thirty and fifty with a five-year training period preceding this. The lack of mention of a large percussion group as well as the absence of a corps of dancers might indicate an attempt to evade a similarity to pagan forms of worship, although this can only be conjecture. It certainly has to be balanced with those occasions in which dance is mentioned as a legitimate way of praise elsewhere in the OT (2 Sam. 6:14; Pss. 149:3; 150:4).

Although a good part of the musical performance must have been left to the trained singers and players, the congregation was also musically involved. There is record in the 1st cent. of three forms

of public singing of the Scriptures including the Psalms, each based on the response principle. *First Form:* the leader intoned the first half verse, repeated by the congregation; the leader then sang each succeeding half line, but the congregation responded with the same first half-line, which became a refrain throughout the entire song. *Second Form:* the leader sang a half-line at a time and the congregation immediately repeated what had just been sung. *Third Form:* the leader would sing the whole first line and the congregation would answer with the second line of the verse; this type was true responsive singing.

Not long after the destruction of the temple instrumental music fell into disuse and for some reason or other was never revived. Vocal tradition and practice however continued, and as such became the central musical feature of SYNAGOGUE worship. In contrast to the temple with its system of sacrifice, the synagogue was primarily for public worship and instruction as well as secular assemblage. It was and is, in Werner's terms, a "layman's institution" in which the Torah, its study and interpretation, readings from the Scriptures, and devotional prayers took the place of the sacrificial ceremonies of the temple. There was only one temple but numberless synagogues. The TALMUD claims that there were 394 synagogues alone in Jerusalem at the time of the destruction of the temple (*b. Ketub.* 105a).

The quantity of synagogues as contrasted to the unique singularity of the temple is explained not only "theologically," in that there was but one place for sacrifice and many places for instruction. It was also logistical. The DIASPORA, a dispersion over a vast geographical spread, deprived the Jew of temple worship. The synagogue helped fill this need for corporate solidarity and for communion with God. It is within the framework of synagogue worship, however, that the vocal elements of temple worship were most likely perpetuated. The intonations of the Psalms and the Pentateuch and perhaps the recitation of prayers were all a part of this perpetuity. Furthermore, these intonations or cantillations, mentioned as far back as the 1st cent., were cast into a system of modes or formulae, one for each of the books of the Bible intended to be publicly read. These are: the Pentateuch, the Prophets, Esther, Lamentations, Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Psalms, and in some communities, Job. As to when the transition from declamatory to musical reading was first evidenced there is little knowledge except that it is known that the PSALMS were sung in the temple worship. Idelsohn and Werner are both convinced that the chanting of Scripture, in one form or another, went back perhaps as far as EZRA, 5th cent. B.C., and that its eventual complexity and organization was the result of hundreds of years of crystallization.

***C. Musical style.*** For a full and informative treatment of this particular subject, the reader is referred especially to Idelsohn and Werner, to whom much of the following is in debt. The crucial task in determining matters of style is one of identifying relationships that are found in available music and that can be shown to have also been present in music which is not available. Through a combination of linguistics, history of culture, and comparative musicology, discoveries have been made that make this possible to quite some extent. Excavations have produced ancient instruments from Ur, Kara-Tepe, Mesopotamia, and Egypt, as well as from Israel. Liturgies, whole or in part, from Sumer, Akkad, Egypt, and Ugarit have been reconstructed. Finally, comparative musicology has endeavored to examine the oldest melodic elements of the ANE and to set forth criteria for their age and locale.

As a result of all these efforts certain distinguishing characteristics of Semitic music are identified by Idelsohn. (1) *Modality.* This is not to be confused with the later Western use of the term. A mode comprises a number of motives within a certain scale, each of which has different functions. The resulting composition is an arrangement and combination of these motives.

(2) *Ornamentation.* The modes and their motivic partials are, within the arrangements of (1), subject to ornamentation and decoration, often very florid and extended. To a large extent this depends upon the skill and training of the singer, whose object it is to keep within the perimeters of the mode itself while at the same time enhancing its basic profile with ornaments. The contour of such ornamentation is basically step-wise; skips of more than a third are rare. Thus the style is eminently vocal.

(3) *Rhythm.* Idelsohn incorrectly uses the term *unrhythmical* to describe Jewish chant. All music is rhythmic in the sense that its sequence of tones is subject to virtually infinite temporal variations. Metrical music is that which is subject to regularly recurring, equally divided measures. Within each of these, rhythmic development takes place. The characteristic of Semitic music is its lack of regularly recurring meters. Nonetheless it is freely and richly rhythmic; its rhythmic structure is as complex as its ornamentation. In fact, it may be said that rhythm is to meter what ornamentation is to scale.

(4) *Scale.* The general nature of melody is diatonic, although this is mixed with a certain feeling for quarter tones, a distinctive foreign to most Occidental music.

(5) *Monophony.* Jewish music is unharmonized and depends for its beauty on elaborate ornamentation of the melody alone. Occasionally in group singing intervals of fourths or fifths appear, more out of limitation in vocal range than an inherent harmonic vocabulary. However, it probably is true that the natural acoustical compatibility of these intervals allows for departure from the unison and, by virtue of this, gives room for speculation as to the relation of this kind of primitive harmony to the development of harmonic procedures. When vocal music was instrumentally accompanied, heterophony (a way of embellishing the basic melodic line; a concurrent decoration) was often employed.

(6) *Improvisation.* The performer and composer were the same person. The modal formulae were elaborated upon as seen in (1) and (2). A combination of long training and inherent ability were necessary to accomplish this.

For several centuries musicians sensed an essential identity between archetypes of Christian chant and Hebrew counterparts, but it has not been possible to substantiate this connection until recently. The French musicologist Amédée Gastoué established the first concrete evidence and support of this claim. Then Idelsohn was able to establish the essential identity of certain melodic archetypes in the Yemenite tradition with the earliest Gregorian chant. The significance of this is that the Yemenites had left Palestine during the beginnings of Christianity and had remained isolated from contact with the church ever since. In addition to the work of Gastoué, Idelsohn, and Werner, the names of Peter Wagner and Egon Wellesz are important in the furtherance of such studies.

## III. Music in the NT

***A. Actual instances of music making.*** Superficially the NT appears almost to disregard music. Outside of the book of Revelation, in which music is part of a rich eschatological drama, there are not more than a dozen passages in the entire canon that shed light on music making. Of these, five mention music metaphorically (Matt. 6:2; 11:17; Lk. 7:32; 1 Cor. 13:1; 14:7-8). The remaining cast important light, especially when seen in broader context—that of the rich heritage of temple and synagogue worship known and practiced by the early Christians.

There are four relevant passages in the Gospels, two of which are parallel: Matt. 26:30 and Mk. 14:26 mention the use of a hymn by Christ and his disciples at the conclusion of the Last Supper (see

LORD's SUPPER). Although there is debate as to the exact nature of the Last Supper with regard to its full content and relation to Jewish traditions and practices, as well as the attendant possibilities of adaptation and change by Jesus himself, it probably is true that the words and music that were used were traditional. This is the only specific mention in the NT of Jesus himself singing, although it is probable that when he read in the synagogue (Lk. 4:16-20) he did so in the accustomed vocal manner.

The other two passages in the Gospels mention instrumental music and dance: the mourning for the death of a girl (Matt. 9:23) and the merriment upon the return of the prodigal son of Jesus' parable (Lk. 15:25). Finally, when PAUL and SILAS were jailed for their activities, they spent some of the time singing (Acts 16:25). It can be readily seen that in all these examples nothing is said about how the music was performed or about other details related to it. Nevertheless, the basic concept present in the OT still obtains: that music accompanied the varied activities in the Jewish community.

***B. Instructions having to do with music making.*** These are found in the Epistles and are embedded in the general instructions and principles that were set forth for the various churches. All but one are given by Paul. They are conceptual rather than literally musical. In 1 Cor. 14:15, Paul seems to be calling for a balance between ecstasy and discipline in music making (as well as praying) by asking that singing be done with the mind (or understanding) as well as in the spirit. He asks also that singing (as well as teaching, revelations, and speaking in tongues) be done for edification (v. 26). Two other passages (Eph. 5:19 and Col. 3:16) are somewhat similar. The Ephesians are encouraged to address one another in psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs as a sign of being filled with the Spirit. The Colossians are encouraged to do the same as a sign of being indwelt by the Word of Christ. JAMES insists that cheerfulness should lead to singing (Jas. 5:13).

Though Paul brings three terms together with particular force (psalms, hymns, spiritual songs), it is almost impossible to determine any musical or textual difference among them. The safest conclusion would be that of considering psalms to be those of the OT, although not without the possibility of Christian additions. Hymns, or songs of praise, would perhaps be those newly composed texts directed to Christ. Songs, the most general of the types—comprising probably all kinds of songs, secular or sacred, accompanied or unaccompanied—are distinguished by the adjective *spiritual,* which seems to set these apart from all other general kinds of songs as in some special sense inspired by the Spirit, and perhaps composed spontaneously.

***C. Supernatural and eschatological mentions of music.*** The bulk of these have to do with the trumpet sound of the Lord at the raising of the dead (1 Cor. 15:52; 1 Thess. 4:16) or the gathering of the elect (Matt. 24:31). They certainly are extensions of the many associations of musical sounds accompanying specific acts of God that appear throughout the OT. The ultimate instances of this are found throughout Revelation, in which the final, cumulative acts in history are announced by trumpet sounds, and where singing would seem to be a part of the eternal round of praise to be rendered to God. If any light can be gathered from these eschatological passages it would be that the literary style of the utterances (as well as other poetic utterances found in the Epistles) would give a clue to the actual style of the composed and spontaneous texts that were actually sung by the new church.

In addition to the foregoing there are a few other passages that have to do with the references to music in a metaphorical way, as in 1 Cor. 13:1, where lovelessness is equated with "a resounding gong or a clanging cymbal." This passage has caused some critics to draw the conclusion that there is some prejudice against instrumental music in Paul's thinking, if not in the church itself. This seems a bit flimsy in view of Paul's directness and outspokenness in cases where he felt that a vital principle

was at stake. The Corinthian passage is too oblique to be considered this way.

***D. Temple and synagogue worship in early Christianity.*** The NT Christians did not consider Christianity antithetical to Judaism, but its fulfillment. Jesus Christ was the ultimate conclusion to the Law and the Prophets, whose essential truth he came to fulfill. Hence, it is not surprising to find that the temple and synagogues were frequented, not occasionally but on a daily basis, by the followers of Christ (Acts 2:46; cf. 9:2,20). Their purpose, in addition to worship, was obviously to establish the fulfillment of Christ with regard to the forms of worship indigenous to these places, and to do so by the exposition and debating that issued from the centrality of Christ and his gospel. There is every reason to believe that except for the rejection of this gospel and its witnesses by the rulers of the temple and synagogue, these places would have become "churches." Instead the Christians were forced to worship and speak of Jesus elsewhere, and for some time, the home, the open air, or any other available place became the forums for worship and witness.

The change of locale, however, did not preempt the influences of the musical and liturgical activities to which the Jewish Christians had been long accustomed. The entire vocabulary of such activities is familiar to the NT. The OT was still the only Scripture from which one could teach. Certainly the prayers were not forgotten. To quote Oesterley: "Nobody, in reading the pre-Christian forms of prayer in the Jewish liturgy and the prayers of the early Church can fail to notice the similarity of atmosphere of each, or to recognize that both proceed from the same mold. Even when one perceives, as often happens, variety in the latter form, *the genus* is unmistakable" (W. Oesterley, *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy* [1925], 125).

In the discussion on musical style (see above, II.C), the important discovery of Idelsohn regarding the similarity of early Gregorian chant and Jewish music was mentioned. The significance of this connection is heightened not only in light of the similarities in prayer forms just mentioned, but in the matter of the cantillation of Scripture, in which a common ground is again struck between Judaism and Christianity. Whatever else the church eventually developed on her own, liturgically, scripturally, and musically, these early bonds cannot be denied. The chief strata, as Werner identifies them, of liturgical music in church and synagogue are: (a) the scriptural lesson; (b) the vast field of psalmody (the singing not only of psalms, but of any text sung in the fashion of psalms); (c) the litany, or congregational prayers of supplication and intercession; (d) the chanted prayer of priest or precentor. These together form the primary areas of liturgical music to this day.

***E. The importance of the NT perspective.*** If one were to take the position of some Christian groups that only those things which Scripture specifically allows are allowable and those which Scripture does not specifically mention are prohibited, then the perimeters of musical practice in the NT would be severely limited. There are two basic reasons why this cannot be the case and why the "philosophy" of church music in the NT is, in fact, exceedingly broad.

First, the OT was still considered the scriptural authority for the early church (2 Tim. 3:16-17). Hence its broad principles and practices were normative, though now Christ-centered. Second, by maintaining the perspectives on righteousness, faith, and lawfulness inherent in God's revelation throughout the OT, the writers of the NT are careful to maintain these by extension. Hence Paul's conclusion in Rom. 14 that nothing is impure in itself is an extension and a further filling out of the concept of the goodness of creation found early in Genesis. To Paul, the ultimate right was to avoid the offense of one's own conscience or that of one's neighbor, by the superiority of quality of life over categories of creation.

The uniqueness of the Judeo-Christian worldview lies in its refusal to locate moral causation in the created order and to place responsibility squarely within the human heart. For this reason, the doctrine of ethos, whether in the sophisticated nuances of Greek thought, or in related forms in the multitudinous non-Christian religions, which ultimately says that either or both the creative and the created order have an inherent power, and which implicitly allows us to locate virtue or its opposite in the created order, is *by principle* out of place in the Judeo-Christian worldview. Therefore, what the NT leaves *unsaid* about music, among other things, has a healthy quality.

First, if ethos were an integral part of Paul's worldview (and he in his brilliance and education probably understood it as well as any of his contemporaries), he certainly would have insisted upon the use of music as a power source in the overwhelming task of witness and persuasion which the church took upon itself. Instead, people were to be persuaded alone by the words and actions of others and ultimately the Holy Spirit. The gospel was to be preached as the "power of God unto salvation." It seems obvious that Paul intended to keep clear of anything which to the presuppositions of the unsaved would have a power of its own and, by virtue of this, tincture the primary, essential power of the gospel.

In the second place, however, the church is instructed to use music; to address itself (one another) in psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs. If there are omissions concerning instrumental music or the dance, they need not necessarily be construed, as some would, as a sign that since these were used in the orgiastic Greek mystery rites (see MYSTERY RELIGIONS), or for that matter, in the worship of the now hostile Jewish cult, they were wrong. For one thing, the primitive church was transient, temporarily quartered in homes, ships, beaches, and public squares. It often was hidden away from those who tried to stamp it out. It had no time for anything but the most simple musical devices and activities in its own worship.

More important, certain types of music might have been avoided, not because of an intrinsic wrongness, but by the strong associations in the minds of some who were brought from pre-Christian experiences, either Jewish or pagan. However, the radically Christian principle which ruled was that certain things were to be avoided because they could offend a weak conscience, not because they were intrinsically empowered to change behavior. The distinction therefore between the pagan concept of the empowerment of things and the Christian concept of discernment among things, none of which are impure *in themselves* (Rom. 14:14) and are not empowered, overrides any claim that the early church set a standard in music that was rigid, unchangeable, and limited. The range of musical practice is rather to be construed as broadly as possible because it is based on a principle that speaks to a total way of life, including music.

**IV. Musical instruments.** The problem is one of correlating the terms apparently denoting musical instruments with the archaeological data in the form of actual artifacts or artistic representations of them on coins, seals, monuments, manuscripts, etc. Particular caution must be exercised so as not to read modern forms of instruments into the biblical terms. Attention throughout is given to the terminology used by C. Sachs (*The History of Musical Instruments* [1940]; *The Rise of Music in the Ancient World* [1943]).

***A. Idiophones (made of naturally sonorous materials).*** (1) *Pairs of similar instruments struck together.* The usual word for cymbals is *mĕṣiltayim H5199* (found almost a dozen times in 1-2 Chronicles; also Ezra 3:10; Neh. 12:27; cf. Ug. *mṣltm*); this Hebrew tern is always translated *kymbalon G3247* in the SEPTUAGINT. It probably denotes the small cymbals portrayed in Assyrian art.

Another word from the same root, *ṣelṣelîm H7529,* is usually taken as a synonym, as it is by the LXX in Ps. 150:5. This verse speaks of cymbals of "sound" (*šema( H9049;* NIV, "clash of cymbals") and cymbals of "shout" *(tĕrû(â H9558;* NIV, "resounding cymbals"); if two different instruments are meant, one possible distinction is between small cymbals that perhaps were held vertically, and large ones held horizontally (W. L. Holladay, A *Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* [1971], 307). The term *selselîm,* however, is used in only one other passage, 2 Sam. 6:5, where the LXX renderings of the various words are confusing (they may reflect textual variants), while another cognate term, *mĕsillâ H5197,* certainly does not mean "cymbal" (it occurs only in Zech. 14:20 and apparently refers to bells). Paul's depreciation of the cymbal in 1 Cor. 13:1 may refer specifically to the use of the instrument in pagan cults (cf. *TDNT,* 1:28).

(2) *Instruments that were shaken.* The Hebrew word *mĕna(an(îm H4983* (from the root *nûa( H5675,* "to quiver, waver, shake") occurs only in 2 Sam. 6:5 and apparently denotes a shaken idiophone. The reference could be either to a rattle (e.g., beads in a hollow gourd; cf. NRSV, "castanets") or to a sistrum (so Vulg.; cf. NIV). The latter, consisting of a small frame with metal pieces loosely attached, was more common, especially in Egypt.

(3) *Instruments that were struck.* Bells are mentioned in a few passages (Exod. 28:33-34; 39:25-26; Zech. 14:20), but apparently not in a strictly musical sense.

***B. Membranophones (drums).*** The main instrument in this class is the *tōp H9512* (for which the LXX usually has *tympanon,* "kettledrum"). The fact that women used it in dance (Exod. 15:20; 1 Sam. 18:6; et al.) suggests that it was usually a small (hand-beaten) drum, that is, a timbrel or tambourine. It has been suggested that the Aramaic word *sûmpōnĕyâ H10507*(Dan. 3:5, 10, 15) reflects Greek *tympanon* and thus designates a drum (cf. NRSV), but the word must rather represent *symphōnia G5246,* which can simply mean "music" (Lk. 15:25) or "in unison" or "musical band," though here it may refer to a kind of bagpipe (cf. NIV) or to the double-flute (for the latter, see P. Grelot in *VT* 29 [1979]: 23-38, esp. 36-38; for further discussion of Nebuchadnezzar's orchestra, see T. C. Mitchell and R. Joyce in *Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel [1965], 19–27).*

***C. Aerophones (blown).*** (1) *Instruments played with lips vibrating.* The Hebrew term *"šôpār H8795,* usually translated "trumpet," refers specifically to a "ram's horn" used as a sound instrument for communicating signals and announcing important events (e.g., 1 Ki. 1:34). The characteristic of this animal horn is its curved shape and relatively wide, conical bore. The same instrument can be referred to with the word *yôbēl H3413* ("ram" or "ram's horn"), used either by itself (Exod. 19:13) or in combination with šô*pār* or *qeren H7967*(Josh. 6:4-8, 13). On the other hand, the common term *hăsōsĕrâ H2956* (Num. 10:2 et al.), also translated "trumpet," designates a tube of straight, narrow bore. The main difference between the two types of instrument was one of tone quality, but it is likely that a secondary difference was the often metallic construction of the *hăsōsĕrâ.* For either instrument only a limited number of pitches (two or three) could be produced, so that they are far removed from the modern trumpet.

(2) *Pipes.* All other blown instruments can be called pipes and fall into two groups. Reed pipes have either one or two reeds (as in the present-day clarinet and oboe, respectively) into which air is blown, while with flutes the air is blown against one edge of the mouth-hole. Flutes can be end-blown (vertical), cross-blown (hole in side, held

Jewish man blowing the shofar or ram's horn trumpet.

transversely like the modern flute), or whistle flutes. Certain Hebrew terms designate instruments belonging to the general class of pipes, but it is difficult to be more specific. The *ḥālîl H2720,* translated *aulos G888* in the LXX and "flute" in modern English versions ("pipe" in KJV), was probably a reed pipe, an interpretation that fits the context of lament in Jer. 48:36. Since in antiquity two reed pipes often were played simultaneously by the same person, this might also have been true of the *ḥālîl* (some believe that the word refers specifically to the double-pipe). The *nĕhîlôt H5704* (mentioned only in the title of Ps. 5) may have been another form of this instrument.

The Aramaic term *mdšrôqî H10446* (cf. Heb. šā*raq H9239,* "to whistle, hiss") probably signifies some type of flute, preferably vertical or whistle (Dan. 3:5 et al.). Of the four occurrences of Hebrew *ʿûgāb H6385,* two passages indicate only that it is a musical instrument (Gen. 4:21; Ps. 150:4), and the other two imply that it is normally used to express rejoicing (Job 21:12 [a verse that also mentions a membranophone and a chordophone]; 30:31).The TARGUM interpreted it as a pipe, but the LXX translated it variously (*kithara,* a stringed instrument; *organon,* a general term for musical instrument; and *psalmos,* music made with a stringed instrument). There is no reason to think that it was a set of pipes or an organ.

***D. Chordophones (strings).*** The Hebrew term *mēn H4944,* "string," occurs in the plural as a general word for stringed instruments (Pss. 45:8; 150:4). Although modern types can be bowed, plucked, or struck, there was apparently no bowing in use in antiquity.

(1) *Lutes* have strings stretched along a neck attached to a resonating body as in guitar-like and violin-like instruments. Although lutes are represented in Egyptian, Mesopotamian, and Hittite art, it is uncertain whether they are mentioned in the Bible. The English term is used by the NIV twice to render two different Hebrew words (1 Sam. 18:6; 2 Chr. 20:28), while the NRSV also uses it twice, but other Hebrew words occur (Pss. 92:3; 150:3; cf. also 1 Macc. 4:54). The simplicity of the lute (possibly originating from the hunting bow being plucked) should caution one against assuming that it did not exist in Israel. In Greece the lute was usually

A silver lyre framc. 2600 B.C.

called *pandoura* (possibly reflecting ultimately the Sumerian *PAN. TUR*).

(2 – 3) *Harps and lyres.* Harps have the neck at an angle to the body, either arched (of the same piece as the body) or angular (neck fastened to body at near right angle), whereas lyres have a body with two arms joined by a crossbar, the strings going from body to crossbar. It is difficult to determine which Hebrew words refer to which of these stringed instruments. The NIV usually has "harp" for *kinnôr H4036* and "lyre" for *nēbel H5575,* terms that are often found in the same context (e.g., 2 Sam. 6:5; 1 Ki. 10:12; et al.). Other translations, however, reverse these two words (e.g., TNIV, NRSV, NJPS). In the historical books, the LXX renders them by means of unhelpful loanwords (*kinyra* and *nabla),* but in the poetic and prophetic literature it uses respectively *kithara* (a triangular lyre or lute with seven strings) *and psaltērion* (psaltery or a type of harp; cf. Aram. *pĕsantērîn H10590* in Dan. 3:5 et al.). The reference to a ten-string lyre or harp (Pss. 33:2; 144:9) probably indicates that normally a different number of strings was employed. According to Bo Lawergren (in *BASOR* 309 [Feb. 1998]: 41-68), *kinnôr* refers to a "thin" lyre, consisting of no more than eight strings, whereas *nēbel* refers to a "thick" lyre, which can have as many as thirteen.

(4) *Other instruments.* Zithers have many strings stretched across a body, either struck (dulcimer) or plucked (psaltery). It is problematic whether such instruments are mentioned in the Bible, although both NIV and NJPS use "zither" to render Aramaic *qîtrōs H10630* (from Gk. *kithara,* Dan. 3:5 et al.). Another Aramaic term in the same passage, *śabbĕkāʾ H10676,* is rendered "lyre" by the NIV, but "trigon" by the NRSV and NJPS (the KJV's "sackbut," referring to a medieval trombone, is wrongly based on the similarity of sound between the Aram. and Eng. words). Hebrew *salts H8956* (from the word for "third"), which may refer to a three-stringed or three-sided instrument, occurs only once and is translated variously (1 Sam. 18:6; NIV, "lutes"; NJPS, "sistrums"; NRSV, "musical instruments"). Another Hebrew word, *nĕgînâ H5593,* which appears in the title of several psalms (e.g., Ps. 4) and elsewhere, may be a general term for "stringed instrument." (For a fine survey of musical instruments in the Bible, including valuable illustrations, see P. J. King and L. E.

Stager, *Life in Biblical Israel* [2001], 290-98.)

**V. Terms relating to performance**

***A. Vocal.*** Several Hebrew terms refer to vocal music. The very common verb šî*r H8876* (Exod. 15:1 et al.) means "to sing," and the cognate noun šî*r H8876* (Jdg. 5:12 et al.; less frequently *šîrâa H8878,* e.g., Num. 21:17) is translated "song," although it may perhaps lose its connection with music and mean simply "poem" (Cant. 1:1). The singing may be to the accompaniment of instruments, typical ones being cymbals, harps, and lyres (Neh. 12:27; 1 Chr. 15:16; 25:6).

The verb *ʿānâ H6702,* which occurs about a dozen times, usually means "to sing"; although it has a different derivation from the very common verb *ʿānâ H6699,* "to answer," the two may have been linked by popular etymology (the former perhaps could suggest "sing in response"; cf. Syr. *ʿny).* One is impressed by the brevity of the texts introduced by this verb (Exod. 15:21; Num. 21:17; 1 Sam. 18:7; 21:11; 29:5; Ezra 3:11), and some have speculated that the piece was sung repeatedly, one person or group answering another rather than singing alternate lines. Another verb, *rānan H8264,* properly means "shout [for joy]," but in various contexts it seems to have a quasi-musical sense and can be translated "sing [for joy]" (e.g., 1 Chr. 16:33; Ps. 5:1). See also the next section (instrumental terms).

Greek terms for vocal music include the verbs *adō G106 and psallō G6010,* as well as the nouns *hymnos G5631*, *psalmos G6011,* and ō*dē G6046* (all five words occur in Eph. 5:19, and four of them in the parallel, Col. 3:16).

***B. Instrumental.*** The verb *nāgan H5594* (usually piel) refers to instrumental music, since it can be done with the hand (1 Sam. 16:23). In Ps. 68:25 it stands in contrast to singing and playing the hand-drum, and whenever the instrument is mentioned, it is a lyre or harp, *kinnôr* (1 Sam. 16:23; Isa. 23:16). The participle *mĕnaggēn* (2 Ki. 3:15; qal ptc. *nōgĕnîm* in Ps. 68:26) may mean "string player, harpist," or more generally "minstrel, musician." The verb *zāmar H2376* (always piel; cf. also the cognate noun *zimrâ H2379*) has a wide semantic range and thus is somewhat ambiguous: in a few passages it seems to have the general meaning of "to make music, play [an instrument]" (e.g., Ps. 33:2), but more often it means "to sing [praise]" (2 Sam. 22:50 et al.), and is always directed to God (see also the next section, VI.A).

**VI. Musical terms in Psalm superscriptions.** Because many of these (semitechnical) terms are of uncertain meaning, the following classification should be regarded as only tentative.

***A. Types of songs.*** The common term *mizmôr H4660*(it occurs in the title of 57 psalms, beginning with Ps. 3) is traditionally rendered "psalm" (following LXX, *psalmos*). Like its cognate verb *zāmar,* it probably has a general meaning, such as "song with musical accompaniment," or perhaps "song with string accompaniment." The meaning of š*iggāyôn H8710* (only in the title of Ps. 7 and the plural in Hab. 3:1) is obscure, and Bible versions simply transliterate it. It probably derives from the verb *saga H8706* ("to go astray, stagger"), so some have suggested the meaning "dithyramb" (i.e., a song with rapidly changing mood or with sporadic rhythm); others appeal to Akkadian š*egû* and translate "dirge, lament," characterized by a wandering style.

Another uncertain term that Bible versions usually transliterate is *maśkîl H5380* (in the title of

14 psalms, beginning with Ps. 32). It derives from the common verb śā*kal H8505* (hiphil, "to understand," but also "act devoutly"), so suggested meanings include "meditation" and "skillful poem." Two other terms are the common noun *tĕhillâ H9335,* which clearly means "praise, song of praise" (e.g., Ps. 40:3), and *miktām H4846* (in the title of Ps. 16 and 56–60), which perhaps means simply "inscription" (see discussion under MIKTAM).

***B. Names of melodies.*** Some phrases, usually introduced by the preposition *ʿal H6584,* "upon," seem to designate the melody to be sung by referring to words commonly associated with the melody, a practice attested in Babylonian music. If so, these phrases possibly do not give any information regarding the psalm itself. Alternatively, these terms have been interpreted as referring to content, mood, or occasion. For example, the phrase *ʿalmût labbēn* in the title of Ps. 9 may mean, "concerning the death of the son," and *ʾel-šōšannîm ʿēdût* in Ps. 80 (notice the use of a different preposition) can be rendered, "concerning the lilies of testimony" (KJV, "Shoshannim-eduth"; cf. also Pss. 45; 60; 69; for other interpretations, see *HALOT*, 4:1455). In the case *of <al-tašhēt* (Pss. 57-59 and 75), the first element is not a preposition but a negative particle; this phrase means, "do not destroy." The difficulty of interpreting the phrases according to the context of the psalm, witnessed to by the multiplicity of renderings by the ancient versions, enforces the impression that they are names of melodies.

***C. Other musical terms introduced by ʿal.*** The similarity of these to the preceding class raises the possibility of their also being explained as melodies. However, other explanations are possible. For example, the phrase *ʿal-haggittît* (Ps. 8; 81; 84) could refer to some musical instrument associated with the city of GATH or it may indicate "vintage time" (see GITTITH). In 1 Chr. 15:20-21 we read that certain musicians "were to play the lyres according to *alamoth,"* while others "were to play the harps, directing according to *sheminith.*"The first of those technical terms (also found in the title of Ps. 46) is apparently the plural form of *ʿalmâ H6625,* "maiden," and some have speculated that the song was set to a higher (woman's) range. The second term (also in Ps. 6; 12) appears to be the feminine form of šĕ*mînî H9029,* "eighth," which suggests either an "eight-stringed instrument" or "the eighth tone, octave" (it is doubtful whether the Israelites had an eight-tone scale, although on the basis of a four-tone scale it could mean "double octave"). Others have thought that the word derives from the verb *sdmen H9042* ("to grow fat"; the hiphil can mean "to make dull") and that it indicates "the dull, heavy range." Both *nĕhîlôt H5704* (Ps. 5) and *māhălat H4714* (Pss. 53; 88) may refer to pipes or flutes, although the second term is particularly obscure (other suggestions for it include "with dancing," "sorrowfully," and "for sickness").

***D. Remaining musical terms in the superscriptions.*** A frequently occurring phrase, *lamnaṣṣēaḥ* (found in fifty-five superscriptions and in Hab. 3:19), is to be interpreted by 1 Chr. 15:21, where the verb *nāsah H5904* is applied to certain men playing stringed instruments. It does not designate the general directing of the music since that is the function of the three cymbalists (v. 19). Rather, it would describe those who provided the musical introduction and accompaniment and thus "led" the singing. If this passage is relied on, the term in the Psalms could mean "to be begun by an accompanist." In this connection, it should be noted that all of the superscriptions containing an indication of the accompaniment (musical instrument or tune; about thirty) have this term, nearly always as the first element. Usually, however, *lamnaṣṣēaḥ* is taken to mean "to the leader" (NRSV)

or "for the director of music" (NIV) in the sense of the person leading the music in the Israelite nation or in a local worshiping community. One wonders, however, why psalms would have to be thus designated, since this would be a matter of course and would be an appropriate designation for many that are not given this term. Others understand the phrase to mean "from the director's collection," but it is not clear why such information would be pertinent. None of these interpretations is supported by the ancient versions, which give meanings like "to the end," "to the conqueror, conquering."

The phrase šîr *hammaʿălôt* or šîr *lammaʿălôt* is found in the titles of Pss. 120-134. It is usually translated literally, "a song of ascents" (from *maʿălâ H5092,* "a going up, a step"; KJV, "a Song of degrees"), and has been taken to refer to the characteristics of the psalm (a shift in theme or key word, but this view cannot account for the definite article), or to origins (going up from Babylon, but the preposition argues against this), or to location (the Levites' going up the temple steps as they sang), or to use (sung when going up to Jerusalem for a feast). Most modern interpretations tend to this last view. If so, these are psalms designated as suitable for those traveling up to the various pilgrimage feasts (the verb *ʿālâ H6590* is used frequently of going to Jerusalem).

The term *lĕʿannôt H4361* (used with *māḥălat in* the title of Ps. 88) is obscure; it appears to be the infinitive of *ʿānâ H6699,* and if so it may refer to antiphonal performance, either of singing or dancing. Two other technical terms occur in the body of various psalms. One of them, *higgāyôn H2053,* elsewhere means "talk, murmuring, meditation," but it can also mean "sounding, melody" (Ps. 92:3), and the technical use in Ps. 9:16 has been taken as "loud, resounding music" or "music of strings." Finally, the word *selâ H6138* occurs seventy-one times in Psalms and three times in Hab. 3. Some scholars, deriving it from *sālal H6148,* suggest that it refers to the "lifting up" of the voice (or raising the pitch) in singing a benediction. Others think that it indicates a pause or instrumental interlude (cf. the LXX rendering *diapsalma),* or that it means "forever," or that it is an acronym, each consonant standing for the first letter of a word (the resulting phrase might be an instruction to go back to the beginning and repeat, or it might indicate a change of voices).

(In addition to the works mentioned in the body of this article, see P. Gradenwitz, *The Music of Israel* [1949]; C. C. J. Polin, *Music of the Ancient Near East* [1954]; C. C. Keet, *A Study of the Psalms of Ascents: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary upon Psalms CXX to CXXXIV [1969]; J. Rimmer, Ancient Musical Instruments of Western Asia in the British Museum* [1969]; A. Sendrey, *Music in Ancient Israel* [1969]; E. Werner, *The Sacred Bridge* [1970]; W. Madge, *Bible Music and Its Development* [1977]; J. Braun, *Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine: Archaeological, Written, and Comparative Sources* [2002]; T. W. Burgh, *Listening to the Artifacts: Music Culture in Ancient Palestine* [2006]; *ABD,* 4:930-39; *CANE,* 4:2601-13.)

H. M. BEST; D. HUTTAR

**mustard.** The Greek term for "mustard," *sinapi G4983,* occurs in two NT contexts: in the kingdom parable of the mustard seed (Matt 13:31 = Mk. 4:31 = Lk. 13:19) and in Jesus' comment about having "faith as small as a mustard seed" (Matt. 17:20 = Lk. 17:6). The tree known in Palestine as the mustard tree *(Nicotiana glauca)* has minute seeds and yellow flowers; it is grown widely in the Mediterranean and is a member of the *Solanaceae* family. Most Bible students, however, agree that the plant mentioned in the NT is the black mustard, *Brassica nigra.* This is the plant grown for the production of the normal mustard, though in our Lord's day it was grown possibly for its oil content.


A field of mustard plants in Israel.

Its seed "has a section of 1 mm and weighs 1 mg" (*FFB*, 145). The plants are usually not large, but when isolated they may grow to a height of 15 ft. and have a thick main stem, with branches strong enough to bear the weight of a bird. Jesus described it as "the largest of garden plants" (Matt. 13:32 = Mk. 4:32), and the black mustard certainly fits this description.

Because of its Greek name, some believe that the plant must be *Sinapis alba,* the white mustard, but this grows only 2 ft. high. The Royal Horticultural Society prefers the evergreen *Salvadora persica,* the kilnel oil plant (sometimes called the mustard tree). This tree grows on the sides of the Dead Sea, and the Arabs give it the name of *khardal,* which could be translated "mustard tree." It does not, however, have tiny seeds, but small "stones," smaller than those of the damson. Such "stones" would not have been broadcast by a farmer as described in the NT.

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

**Muster Gate.** A gate in Jerusalem, not far from the TEMPLE. The Hebrew name *šaʿar hammipqād,* which occurs only once in connection with NEHE-MIAH's rebuilding of the wall of JERUSALEM (Neh. 3:31), is rendered "the gate Miphkad" by the KJV, "the Muster Gate" by the NRSV, and "the Inspection Gate" by the NIV. The Hebrew word *mipqād H5152* can mean both "regulation, appointment" (cf. 2 Chr. 31:13) and "counting" (as when mustering troops, 2 Sam. 24:9 = 1 Chr. 21:5). The exact location of the Muster Gate is uncertain, but it was apparently opposite the temple on the NE part of the city, between the EAST GATE and the SHEEP GATE (Neh. 3:29, 32), and some identify it with the BENJAMIN GATE. According to Ezek. 43:21, the bull for the sin offering was to be burned *bĕmipqād habbayit,* a phrase usually rendered "in the designated [appointed] place of the temple." Some, however, understand it as "the place of review [inspection] in the temple," suggesting a connection with the Muster Gate. See also JERUSALEM II.D.2. and III.A .

**Muth-labben** myooth-lab'uhn. The Hebrew musical term *ʿalmût labbēn* (in the superscription of Ps. 9) is rendered by the KJV and other versions as "upon [NRSV, according to] Muth-labben" (the NJPS has "almuth labben"). The meaning is obscure. Interpreting the phrase as a reference to a particular melody, the NIV renders, "To the tune of 'The Death of the Son.'" See MUSIC VI.B.

**mutilation.** See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS III.B.

**muzzle.** The Israelites were commanded not to muzzle (Heb. *ḥāsam H2888)* the ox when it was treading out the grain, that is, THRESHING (Deut. 25:4). The muzzle was a guard placed on the mouth of the oxen to prevent them from biting or eating. The threshing ox was to have ample opportunity of feeding, thus making the labor more agreeable. The injunction is in harmony with the spirit of the Deuteronomic exposition of the Mosaic law throughout. PAUL quotes this injunction to illustrate, with an appropriate light touch of humor, his view that it is proper to pay the minister for his work in the gospel (1 Cor. 9:8-11 [Gk. *kēmoō G3055*]; 1 Tim. 5:17-18 [*phimoō G5821*]; on the question of whether Paul's use of Scripture here is allegorical and invalid, see D. E. Garland, *1 Corinthians,* BECNT [2003], 409-11).

E. RUSSELL

**Myndos** min'dohs (Μύνδος). KJV Myndus. A city on the coast of CARIA in ASIA MINOR at the far end of the peninsula, noted for silver mines; identified as modern Gumushli. It is one of the places to which the Roman senate, in 139 B.C., sent a letter in behalf of the Jews (1 Macc. 15:23), and it was therefore probably independent of the Carian confederacy.

S. BARABAS

**Myndus** min'duhs. KJV Apoc. form of MINDOS.

**Myra** mi'ruh (Μύρα *G3688,* meaning uncertain). A city of LYCIA, in SW ASIA MINOR. The apostle PAUL visited the town on his journey to ROME, and the fact that he changed ships there indicates its importance as a port (Acts 27:5). The origins of Myra are lost in antiquity; it was known as an ancient town, achieved some importance as the chief city of the Lycian district, and actually was called a metropolis. It is described by ancient writers as the "best and most sparkling" city of Lycia. Its public buildings were distinguished, and included a GYMNASIUM with an arcade furnished with recesses and seats, a theater, a bath, a stoa or roofed colonnade, a temple of Peace, and during the Christian era several churches.

Myra had a large territory, extending 2.5 mi. S to the sea, where the port city Andriaca lay. It spread widely to the N and W as well. Some notion of the influence of the place may be gathered from the fact that many citizens of Myra also held citizenship in other cities. This was a common form of recognition in the Hellenistic world. It is strange that for such an influential city only one product, rue (from which oil was pressed, and a flavoring for wine extracted), is mentioned, and two occupations: something having to do with flax or fishing-nets, and tavern-keeping. Perhaps these are things for which Myra was particularly known and do not represent the sole business activity of the city.

In spite of its importance, little is known of the actual history of Myra. In 88 B.C. PTOLEMY IX of Egypt, fleeing from his mutinous army, took refuge there. In 42 B.C., during the troubled period following the death of CAESAR, the city was attacked and capitulated to Brutus. It suffered extensively

from a severe earthquake in A.D. 141 and was rebuilt largely by the contributions of one of its prominent citizens. Little is known of its subsequent history. (See W. Ruge in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 16/1 [1933], 1083-89; J. Borchhardt, *Myra: Eine lykische Metropole in antiker und byzantinischer Zeit* [1975]; *ABD,* 4:939–40.)

R. C. STONE

**myrrh.** There are twelve instances of the Hebrew noun *mōr H5255,* generally dealing with perfuming, as in Ps. 45:8, "All your robes are fragrant with myrrh"; or in Prov. 7:17: "I have perfumed my bed

Myrrh, a fragrant gum harvested from trees in Arabia.

with myrrh." SOLOMON mentions it again and again in his Song (e.g., "My lover is to me a sachet of myrrh," Cant. 1:13). Oil of myrrh was also used as part of beauty treatment (Esth. 2:12). Another Hebrewterm, lōt *H4320* (only in Gen. 37:25; 43:11), is rendered "myrrh" by some (cf. KJV, RSV, NIV), but others think it is the resin or mastic of the *Pistacia mutica* (cf. NRSV) or else ladanum (the gum of the rockrose *Cistus salvifolius;* cf. NJPS). Myrrh is mentioned also in the NT (Gk. s*myrna G5043,* but *myron G3693 in* Rev. 18:13 [KJV, "ointments"; cf. Jn. 11:2]): the MAGI brought some (Matt. 2:11), and our Lord was embalmed with it (Jn. 19:39).

This myrrh is a fragrant gum that exudes from trees in ARABIA, and particularly from the *Balsamodendron myrrha.* It is said to have been part of the composition of the "anointing oil" (Exod. 30:23-25). There are pictures of these trees on the Egyptian temple of Deir el-Bahari. The inscriptions speak of Punt in Africa as the home of these trees and a source of myrrh.

It is generally agreed, however, that myrrh came from *Commiphora myrrha,* which grows in Somaliland, Ethiopia, and Arabia. The trunk and branches exude a gum that produces the delicious fragrance (according to *HALOT, 2:630, C. abessinica).* This *C. myrrha* is related to *C. kataf.* Both are small trees, often called thorny shrubs, and both bear small

Mysia

plum-like fruits. Though the gum exudes naturally from the branches, any artificial incision will, of course, produce an immediate supply. The sap as it first oozes out is oily, but as it drops onto wooden squares or stones on which it is collected, it solidifies. The gum obtained from the *Commiphora kataf* is not the true myrrh, though it often is mixed with it. (See G. van Beek in *JAOS* 78 [1958]: 143; *FFB,* 147-49.) See also FLORA (under *Burseraceae* and *Cistaceae);* SPICES.

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

**myrtle.** The Hebrew term *hădas H2072* occurs six times, sometimes referring to myrtle branches (Neh. 8:15), often as myrtle trees (Zech. 1:8, 10-11). ISAIAH uses it in eschatological contexts (Isa. 41:19; 55:13). Because they are evergreen, the boughs were used at the Feast of Tabernacles. NEHEMIAH ordered that myrtle branches should be cut to make booths for this festival (Neh. 8:15); they are still gathered in Palestine for a similar purpose. "Myrtle" is the meaning of Queen ESTHER's Hebrew name, HADASSAH.

The myrtle is undoubtedly *Myrtus communis,* a dense evergreen shrub that grows abundantly in Palestine and particularly around the Lake of Galilee and near Samaria and Jerusalem. With age it becomes a small tree, up to 15 ft. tall with equal spread; the leaves are small, shiny, slightly-scented, and leathery. The white or pinkish flowers are scented, and are followed by blue-black berries, which can produce a perfume. The fascinating fragrance of Russian and Turkish leather comes from the fact that the roots and bark of myrtle are used during tanning. The queens of England carry sprigs of myrtle in their wedding bouquets as a symbol of peace. (See *FFB,* 149-50.) See also FLORA (under *Myrtaceae*).

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

**Mysia** mis'ee-uh (Μυσία *G3695).* A region in NW ASIA MINOR bounded by the AEGEAN, the Hellespont, the Propontis, BITHYNIA, PHRYGIA, and LYDIA; it includes the historic TROAS and the areas of Aeolian Greek settlement on the Aegean coast. In Greek times it shared the fortunes of the W stub of the peninsula, fell to the Romans in 133 B.C. as part of the royal legacy of Attalus III, and in

Roman days was part of the province of ASIA. This is why Mysia, never itself an independent political entity, lacks precise boundaries (cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* 12.4.4-6; 12.8.1-3). It was a mountainous and, in early times, well-forested region, traversed by some of the main trade routes. The Troas area was part of Mysia, and PERGAMUM itself lay within its somewhat vague boundaries. The early inhabitants of Mysia were probably of Thracian origin. Like the Trojans, who held their strategic foothold in Mysia near the entrance to the Hellespont, and the HITTITES, whose great empire at times held dominance this far, they probably were an Indo-European stock, an early wave of the great invasions of the peoples who, with their kindred dialects, were to settle all Europe. Mysia was traversed by PAUL in the course of his second journey (Acts 16:7-8), but no pause was made there save at Troas. There is evidence, however, of church foundations of a very early date.

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

**mystery.** In the NT, the Greek word *mystērion G3696* refers to the counsel of God, unknown to human beings except by REVELATION, especially concerning his saving works and ultimate purposes in history. The word occurs in the SEPTUAGINT as a translation of Aramaic *rāz H10661* (Dan. 2:18-19, 27-30, 47; 4:9 [MT 4:6, LXX 4:18]; it also occurs a number of times in the APOCRYPHA, but usually with the meaning "secret"; however, see Wisd. 2:22). This term occurs almost thirty times in the NT, and in none of the passages is its use casual. On the contrary, it is a carefully chosen term of significance for biblical theology. It is relevant to such major topics as REVELATION, ESCHATOLOGY, ecclesiology (see CHURCH), and CHRISTOLOGY. Moreover, it is a significant term in pagan and Jewish religion; but if its interpretation in biblical contexts is to be informed by its nonbiblical usage, it is extremely important that such data be precise and judiciously applied.

## I. Background

***A. Issues.*** The general study of comparative religions and the quest for historical and semantic precedents as an aid to biblical interpretation have resulted in considerable discussion over the meaning of the term. The obvious fact that Christianity was contemporaneous with, and challenged by, the so-called MYSTERY RELIGIONS, has naturally caused scholars to probe the pagan concept of mystery as a background to NT usage. For some time, however, the limitations of this pursuit have been recognized, and attention has turned to Semitic parallels. A combination of sound methodology and adequate data is required. Further, the interpretation of the biblical term must be derived primarily from exegesis of the passages involved. The basic meaning of these passages is clear enough from the respective contexts to prevent overdependence on nonbiblical frames of reference.

***B. Secular and pagan.*** Relevant secular occurrences are rare. The very nature of the word attracts it mainly to discussions on the issues of life, which are basically religious and philosophical (for source references, see G. Bornkamm in *TDNT*, 4:802-28). Conversely, in the apocryphal books of JUDITH and TOBIT the term is used in a secular sense (Jdt. 2:2; Tob. 12:7, 11), referring to the secret counsel of the king. While direct connection is unlikely, there is an interesting similarity between the "king's mystery" in Tobit and the "mystery of the kingdom" in Matthew.

The mystery religions offered the initiates a religious awareness and experience not enjoyed by others. This was imparted at the initiation and possibly in later stages. It has been a natural supposition that the contemporary idea of a mystery or secret revealed only to initiates should find its way into Christian thought. This supposition was apparently supported by other alleged parallels

between Christianity and these cults. The supposed parallels may be challenged, however. Further, while the term *mystery* is common in the NT, related terms are never used (e.g., *mystēs, mystikos, mystagōgos;* see A. D. Nock in *JBL* 72 [1933]: 131-39). The stress in the NT is not on a mystery *hidden* from all except a select few initiates, but rather on the *revelation* of the *formerly* hidden knowledge. The term also lent itself to philosophical and gnostic usage and could not be considered the distinctive property of any one system or belief. It occurs throughout contemplative literature, from Plato (e.g., *Symposium* 249e) to the HERMETIC WRITINGS (*Poimandres* 16).

Later writers have further maintained that the ample usage of the term in Jewish literature causes alleged pagan parallels to lose their significance. R. E. Brown (*The Semitic Background of the Term "Mystery" in the New Testament* [1968]) has concluded from his extensive research in the Semitic materials that Greek parallels need not be seriously considered. Nevertheless, while pagan concepts and cultic meanings have not penetrated NT thought, the widespread occurrence of the term indicates its significance as an expression of the quest for the meaning and purpose of life. The problems of evil and suffering, and the frustrations of man's finitude, cause people in all cultures to seek illumination.

***C. Jewish.*** If the hypothesis of influence from the mystery cults is wanting, what can be concluded from the usage in the literature of JUDAISM? The passages in Daniel referred to above stress the contrast between Daniel and the pagan seers. Only the true God knows and reveals the future, and he reveals such to his chosen prophet. It is noteworthy that the word *rāz* used here is found again in the vocabulary of Qumran (see below). The Greek term occurs twelve times in the Apocrypha and frequently in the PSEUDEPIGRAPHA, showing that there is adequate Jewish precedent for its use in the NT. Some of these passages may show an awareness of the mystery cults (cf. Wisd. 6:22). Other contexts are clearly far removed from such concerns and deal instead with the creative and providential decrees of God (e.g., *1 En.* 41.3). Still others, some perhaps contemporary with Christianity, deal with what is known as the problem of evil, and with God's chosen way of future judgment and vindication (e.g., *1 En.* 68.5; 103.2; *2 Bar.* 81.4; 2 Esd. 14:5). The SON OF MAN will be revealed and will express the hidden counsel of God in the day of judgment *(1 En.* 48.7; 51.3; 62.1-2).

This concern with future vindication was also developed in the literature of QUMRAN (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS). Among the documents discovered, the commentary on Habakkuk (1QpHab) provides a prime example of the sect's attitude to revelation. Taking the word *rāz,* the commentary purports to provide an interpretation (PESHER) of the mysteries and of all the prophetic symbols, which supposedly found their fulfillment in that sect. An example is found in the commentary on the familiar words "so he may run who reads" (Hab. 2:2), which are said to refer to the sect's "Teacher of Righteousness to whom God has revealed all the secrets of the words of his servants the prophets" (1QpHab VII, 1-5).

The universe and the affairs of both men and angels are under the sovereign providence of God, whose ways, known only by revelation, are wonderful (1QS XI, 3-8; 1QH XII, 13-14). At Qumran there existed also a strong dualistic persuasion that pitted the counsel of God against that of the spirit of evil. The mysteries seem in some cases to be related to the devices and fate of the evil beings who reject the mysteries and counsel of God (1QS IV, 18). There is a mystery pertaining to evil ("iniquitous mysteries," 1QH V, 36), which concept may be relevant to the exegesis of 2 Thess. 2:7.

R. E. Brown has also observed the occurrence of the word *sôd H6051,* "plan, counsel, council." It is his particular theory that this word is related to the concept of the mystery, and that in the OT it

refers to a heavenly "council" wherein the conduct of the world is discussed. The prophets are, as it were, given access to the decisions of the council. In the DSS, however, it is the evil counsel of BELIAL that is mentioned (1QS IV, 1). One need not decide completely on Brown's conclusions to recognize that the prophets were indeed granted knowledge of God's counsel in advance of his acts (Amos 3:7). To associate the word *mystery* with the decrees of God is a thoroughly biblical concept and basic to NT usage. Further, the conflict in the DSS between calculated evil and God's benign will constitutes another expression of the problem of evil, which is relevant to the NT use of the term.

To what extent the NT authors were aware of any of the literature or beliefs surveyed thus far is difficult to say. However, where the uses of the term in Jewish and in pagan literature differ significantly in meaning, the Jewish usage should take precedence as being more closely related to (and more consistent with) that of the NT. Inasmuch, however, as the very meaning of the word in the Scriptures signifies divine revelation, the only certain canon of interpretation is to derive the basic sense of the word from its biblical context.

## II. Interpretation of significant passages

***A. The Gospels.*** The context in Matt. 13:11; Mk. 4:11; Lk. 8:10 is twofold: the inability of unbelievers to understand the mystery in its parabolic form, and the issue of the reign of God. These constitute two basic aspects of mystery: (1) human sin and ignorance, and (2) the revelation of God's sovereign decrees. The first problem was expressed in Isa. 6:9-10. It may be noteworthy that in this prophetic context, there is also an expression of the counsel of God ("Whom shall I send? And who will go for us?" v. 8), a participation of the prophet in this dialogue, and the question, "For how long, O Lord?" (v. 11; the element of waiting is important in the mystery passages). It should be observed also that the mystery of God is not capriciously hidden, but is withheld from those who are disposed to reject it anyway. Further, the revelation itself is a sovereign act of grace; as Jesus expressed it, "The knowledge of the secrets of the kingdom of heaven has been given to you, but not to them." So also God made his ways known to MOSES, but spoke to others in enigmas (Num. 12:8 [LXX, *ainigma*]; cf. 1QS I II,20–23; *2 Bar.* 81.4).

The meaning of the mystery of the KINGDOM OF GOD is open to some diversity of interpretation. It is useful to bear in mind that one aspect of Jewish thought on the kingdom is the subjugation of all evil. Conversely, one aspect of the mystery is the persistence of evil in God's world. Therefore, one of the teachings of the kingdom parables seems to be that, unlike Jewish speculation, the kingdom, in its present form, coexists with evil.

***B. Romans.*** The problem of evil is apparent also in the context of Rom. 11. The present state of Israel is, however, temporary. God will work in human affairs to bring about his gracious will for Israel (vv. 17-26). This interim period of Israel's hardening is a mystery (v. 25). Indeed, part of God's mystery, long hidden but now revealed, concerns how he will bring about obedience to the faith, to his own glory, through Christ (16:25-27).

***C. First Corinthians.*** No human rhetoric or sophistry is capable of declaring God's mystery, according to 1 Cor. 1:18—2:16. The mystery, however, is not hidden, but revealed. What no eye has seen God *has* revealed. Once again the mystery concerns human history and the power of evil. It was decreed before the ages began, and the rulers of this age could not discern it. There is a significant connection here between God's mystery, his decrees, and his wisdom. This WISDOM is imparted to the

*teleioi (teleios G5455,* "perfect, mature"), a word which referred in the mystery religions to the initiates. Here, however, the background is more likely the familiar *tāmîm H9459,* used in the OT and Jewish literature to describe "complete"—i.e., devout, mature—believers (cf. 1QS IV, 22; Lk. 1:6).

In 1 Cor. 15:51, Paul further stresses the transcendence of divine wisdom and power over fleshly limitations. The mystery here relates to the newness of the spiritual body, a matter, like other mysteries, known only by revelation and received by faith. The familiar problem of evil, as it relates to death, and the element of apparent delay also find expression. The expected moment comes suddenly, at the end times, which are the focal point of mysteries.

The remaining uses of the term in this epistle are in 1 Cor. 13:2 and 14:2, where it apparently refers in general to inspired utterances of divinely revealed truths. The whole context of chs. 12-14 is concerned with the SPIRITUAL GIFTS that transcend human limitations, and the proclamation of mysteries properly belongs in this category.

***D. Ephesians, Colossians, 1 Timothy.*** The entire letter to the EPHESIANS is an exposition of the counsel of God and his mystery. The first chapter is interspersed with expressions conveying the idea of divine purpose ("chose," "destined," "will," "purpose," "counsel," etc.). Thus "the mystery of his will" (Eph. 1:9) is an appropriate expression. In the fullness of time (note again the element of delay and expectation), all things will be brought into an orderly and meaningful relation to Christ. The present chaotic disorder will be ended, but during this time of waiting it is only by the Spirit of wisdom and revelation that one may understand this "hope" (1:17-18). Meanwhile, God is working out his mystery: by grace (2:8-10), divinely revealed (3:2-3), through Christ (3:4), in the church (3:9-10), which is composed of Jews and Gentiles in one body, a mystery not previously so revealed (3:5-6).

The word *mystērion* appears in all these passages, and is associated in Eph. 3:9-10 with the wisdom of God (cf. 1 Cor. 1-2) and with *oikonomia G3873,* that is, God's administrative plan. The concept of an orderly divine sequence of saving acts and of a meaningful consummation of history is thus introduced. Since *oikonomia* also is used to describe Paul's stewardship within God's administration, it is not difficult to see why Paul considers his preaching of the gospel to be linked with the mystery itself (Eph. 6:19; 1 Cor. 4:1; Col. 4:3).

Not only does Paul preach the mystery, but he also bends every effort by God's grace to present believers mature in Christ (Col. 1:28-29). The reason is that the mystery centers in Christ, and it is in Christ that the future final glorious revelation of the mystery will be realized. The unseen presence of Christ in the church is the hope of this glory (1:26-27). Indeed, the mystery is not only of God but also of Christ (2:2).

Since mystery is related to the perception by faith of God's saving work in history, and since Christ is the agent and center of God's mystery, the creedal statement (1 Tim. 3:16) is called "the mystery of godliness" (NRSV, "of our religion"; cf. "the mystery of the faith" in 3:9). The verbs represent the language of mystery: "appeared," "vindicated," "seen," "preached," "believed," "taken up in glory."

It is generally held that *mystery* in Eph. 5:32 is used to signify an allegorical meaning of Genesis that is here explained (see ALLEGORY). This usage of the term is found later in patristic literature. Likewise the mystery is said to designate the symbols used in Rev. 1:12-20. While this may be true, one must not ignore the fact that in both contexts Christ and the church are the subjects, consistent with the mystery passages in Ephesians and Colossians. The term may, therefore, still refer to the content of the revelation and not to the allegorical element.

***E. Second Thessalonians, Revelation.*** A contrasting negative use is found in 2 Thess. 2:7 and Rev. 17:5, 7. The former passage deals with the mystery of iniquity and the man of lawlessness (2 Thess. 2:3; see ANTICHRIST), while the passage in Revelation discusses the symbolic "mother of prostitutes," BABYLON. While the term *mystery* in Revelation may indeed also relate to the matter of allegory and revelation, the two passages are related by the common concept of a mystery of evil. This may reflect earlier Jewish speculation (e.g., 1QH V, 36). The questions raised are typically those of the mystery: How long must the consummation of God's kingdom wait? How long must the saints wait before they are vindicated and evil judged? Why is evil permitted to continue and how does it flourish? Both passages respond firmly by putting a time limit on the progress of evil and by stressing the judgment of God.

Another verse, Rev. 10:7, makes the definitive statement, "the mystery of God will be accomplished." The passage concerns the SOVEREIGNTY OF GOD over creation, his activity in final judgment, the end of delay (v. 6; KJV, "time"), and the previous revelation to the prophets. These are all familiar elements of mystery, and we may conclude that the book of Revelation presents the consummation of that very mystery that has occupied the thoughts of generations of believers and that is progressively revealed in Scripture.

**III. Mystery as a theological term.** Mystery in the NT does not deal with the unknowable, but with what is imparted by revelation. God has shared his plan, especially regarding the future judgment of unbelievers and the vindication of believers. Since the problem of evil is involved, and the ways of God are vindicated, mystery may also be considered a term of THEODICY. The concept of mystery in the NT owes nothing to the mystery cults. (In postapostolic times, however, the term was employed with conscious reference to cultic usage to describe the SACRAMENTS.)

From the human side, the existence of evil in God's world (even after the coming of Christ and his proclamation of the kingdom) and the seemingly interminable waiting for justice and vindication constitute a mystery. From the biblical perspective, the mystery concerns God's wise counsel and the certain progress toward fulfillment of his decrees and saving work. The revelation of the mysteries to the biblical authors is itself an act of grace, as is the saving work of Christ therein described. Though thus revealed, the content of the mystery is received only by faith: the INCARNATION (1 Tim. 3:16), the presence of the kingdom (Matt. 13:11-17), the presence of Christ in his church (Col. 1:27), the meaning and purpose of the church (Eph. 3:8-12), future resurrection (1 Cor. 15:51), and final judgment (Rev. 14:7).

Mystery thus is related to biblical inspiration and revelation, the providence and decrees of God, the problem of evil, the kingdom, the person and work of Christ, the place of Israel and the Gentiles, the church, and eschatology. (In addition to the works mentioned in the body of the article, see E. Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek* [1889], 57-62; id., *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church,* 2nd ed. [1891], 283-309; K. Prümm in *Sacramentum verbi: An Encyclopedia of Biblical Theology,* ed. J. B. Bauer [1970], 2:598-611; J. Marcus, *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God* [1986]; M. N. A. Bockmuehl, *Revelation and Mystery in Ancient Judaism and Pauline Christianity* [1990].)

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**mystery religions.** Secret cults that flourished in the Hellenistic world several centuries before and after the time of Christ.

**I. Significance.** The mysteries appealed to a deep and growing sense of need, in the Hellenistic period, for a personal religious experience and future salvation. Perpetuating ancient agrarian rites and FERTILITY CULTS , most of these mysteries (sometimes called "oriental") took shape in the eastern part of the Roman empire. MYTHS were developed around locally recognized deities, and such myths were reflected in initiation rites and other celebrations. These latter were repugnant to the Roman mind, and their full acceptance at Rome took centuries. The cults, especially MITHRAISM, offered a challenge to the early Christians. Some of them employed rituals, myths, and terminology that have points of resemblance to Christianity. It has been maintained that the oriental religions had a significant influence on Christian doctrine and worship. The alleged relationship between these mysteries and Christianity will be discussed, following a survey of the cults themselves.

**II. Description**

***A. The Eleusinian mysteries.*** These were well known and honored in classical times, and are mentioned in literature from the time of the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*. Native to GREECE, their center was ELEUSIS, near ATHENS. Evidently growing out of an agrarian festival, the rites celebrated the annual production of crops. Demeter, goddess of the harvest (and naturally of fertility also) and her daughter, Persephone (Kore), were the main figures

In this grave stone of a Roman legionnaire named Aurelius Surus (1st cent.), the deceased is described as having "served the subterranean gods for 18 years."

of the Eleusinian myth. Persephone was abducted by Pluto, god of death. Demeter's mournful quest for her through the underworld and her subsequent withdrawal, followed by the reappearance of Persephone, are reflected in the rites, which connect the myth with the changing seasons. To understand this, or any, mystery cult, the importance of the seasons in daily life must be remembered (including the fact that summer was a time of withering, not growth).

The rites that supported this myth were complex and were performed in several stages. After the initiation (*myēsis*) and dedication (*teletē*), there was a final revelation (*epopteia*). This ritual involved not the inculcation of doctrine or the performance of sacred acts, but the witnessing of a drama, probably the reenactment of the Demeter-Persephone myth. The use of the word *descent* in an ancient description suggests that the initiates went down into a dark area, symbolizing the underworld to which Persephone was taken. From there they ascended into bright light, where with great emotion and a sense of identification they were shown certain sacred objects, probably symbolizing fertility. Participants in this drama received the blessedness of a better life after death.

***B. Dionysus.*** Another ancient festival was that of DIONYSUS, the god of wine. Traditionally Tracian in origin, the religion of Dionysus was widespread. His name has been found even among ancient inscriptions in CRETE. The celebration of rites varied from place to place, but they were generally known to be emotionally excessive. (The terms *bacchic* and *bacchanalian* are derived from the other name of Dionysus, Bacchus.)

The ancient cult of Orphism employed a myth about Dionysus. In it, an ancient COSMOGONY is described in which Dionysus, son of ZEUS, was destroyed by the Titans, who ate his flesh. A new Dionysus emerged from his heart, which had been preserved. From this myth the cult justified a belief in a kind of metempsychosis (the passing of the soul to another body) and ultimate release of the soul. In spite of the crude mythology and rites of Orphism, it did, unlike most other mystery cults, promulgate specific doctrines, urge a consistency of life (even if the practices seem strange to us), and preach retribution for evil.

Sabazios was a hybrid god, symbolized by a snake, who was identified with Dionysus. Various characteristics of other cults were absorbed into his own, which apparently even drew on Judaism. His worship was connected with that of Cybele.

***C. The Magna Mater.*** The remaining cults, unlike the foregoing, are clearly eastern in origin. In the area of Anatolia (see ASIA MINOR), the people of PHRYGIA worshiped Cybele, who came to be known as the Magna Mater, or Great Mother. The goddess of fecundity, she received the sacrifice of the virility of her lover, Attis. He recovered from this, coming, in a sense, back to life. Self-castration became a practice of those who would be his priests. Naturally this was highly objectionable to the Romans, to whose doors all the eastern religions (including Christianity) eventually came. Although Cybele was accorded a place in Roman worship in 205 B.C. (because of an oracle prescribing her acceptance as the only means of victory in the Hannibalic War), severe restrictions were placed on the cult. After the rise of Christianity, the rite of the Taurobolium came to be practiced. A bull was slaughtered on a platform above an adherent. The blood dripped between the boards over the face of the person, even into his mouth. This was alleged to bring rebirth.

***D. The Dea Syria.*** The fertility goddess worshiped in SYRIA was ATARGATIS. She became known as the Dea Syria, the Syrian Goddess, but the merging of deities common in the ancient world meant that in spite of historical and geographical distinctions, Atargatis is but one form of the almost universal

figure. The name of Astarte (see ASHTORETH) also is associated with Syrian worship. ADONIS, who may be compared with the ancient TAMMUZ, bears much in common with Attis. Sexual excesses characterized this cult complex also.

***E. Isis and Osiris.*** The Egyptian Isis stands in some contrast to the preceding goddesses. Her rites and processions were attractive, she was considered a model of wifely devotion, and great saving power was attributed to her. In the myth, her husband OSIRIS was killed, and after the body had been recovered by Isis, it was dismembered by the evil god Set. Isis faithfully searched for the members of his body, which had been widely scattered, and brought him back to life. Identification with Osiris thus was seen as a way of surviving death. Isis was elevated as a representative deity, identified with many other goddesses, in the syncretistic spirit of the day. Adherents of other cults could thus appropriate her also. Osiris likewise was a symbol of syncretism. His very name became hyphenated with that of the bull-god, Apis. Under the resultant hybrid name, SERAPIS, he was widely worshiped.

***F. Mithraism.*** The cult of Mithra was observed across the Empire, especially on the strategic frontiers where Roman troops, its strongest adherents, were stationed. As noted above, it was competitive with early Christianity. The rites were performed in a shrine called a Mithraeum. Those discovered are small, indicating that the local groups were not large, though the movement was widespread.

As with the other cults, details of origin and doctrine are not completely clear. The cult of Mithra is certainly eastern in origin, and was given structure in Persia, but it predated ZOROASTRIANISM and was not fully compatible with it. The myth featured Mithra's slaying of the bull. The rite celebrating this included the representation of sexual power. Mithra was exalted also as the victorious sun-god, and it is clear from the iconography depicting his conquests that the beliefs of the cult included IMMORTALITY and the ultimate triumph of good over evil. This reflects the dualistic nature of the theology, but even more, it portrays the vigor and attractiveness of the cult. Initiates proceeded through a ritual that still is not fully known. They evidently progressed through seven stages in a hierarchical structure, following an ascension theme. This, with the accompanying discipline, had great appeal to the military personnel. See MITHRAISM.

**III. Meaning and relationship to Christianity.** The available data permit several general observations about the mystery religions. While they are diverse in myth and in ritual, they are similar in having an agrarian origin. This gives them a seasonal character, which is seen in the cyclical nature of the motif of dying and rising. This theme does not issue from the death and resurrection of a historical figure, one event at a particular time and place, but from the observed course of nature, celebrated in the experiences of a mythical deity. Closely connected with the agrarian or nature characteristic of the cults is the symbol of fertility in the female deity. Womb and soil are related. While some aspects of the initiations and other celebrations were no doubt beautiful, there is no question about the sexual meaning in much of the symbolism.

Except where there is evidence of conscious modification, the cults had little moral or ethical content. Where this was present, it marked perhaps something of an advance over the "classical" Greek and Roman religions, which were on the whole detached from the moral and personal needs of men and women. The mysteries spread to fill the void left by the other religious forms, a void that was felt increasingly in the Hellenistic period. They were both sexual and sensual in their appeal. Initiation was more a matter of seeing and participating than of believing and accomplishing. They

also appealed to the anxiety and hope of man regarding life after death.

A comparison of these characteristics with those of Christianity has led to the hypothesis that the early Christians, Paul in particular, borrowed much from the mysteries. This theory was stated most forcibly during the decades when *Religionsge-schichte,* or history of comparative religion, was not only establishing patterns but also hypothesizing cause-and-effect relationships. The rite of lustration, ceremonial washing, was seen as a precursor to BAPTISM, that of a sacral meal to the LORD's SUPPER, and the dying and rising of a god to the Christian doctrine of RESURRECTION.

Such assumptions, given plausible form by such scholars as Bousset, Reitzenstein, and Loisy among others, have been negated by competent scholars. The word of A. D. Nock has been especially penetrating. For example, his article on the word *mystērion (Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 80 [1951]: 201-4) is devastating to the aforementioned assumptions, showing that even where similar vocabulary might suggest a relationship, such is not factually supported. Rahner, Bouyer, and Metzger are among more recent scholars who have addressed this issue. The present state of the evidence may be summarized as follows: The NT lacks (and possibly avoids) such key mystery terms as *mystēs* and *katharsis,* while those apparently similar terms that are found (*mystērion* and *teleiōsis*) are different in meaning and usage.

The rites themselves were secret. This means they were not open to scrutiny. Further, the information that has survived is scanty enough as to require caution before sweeping comparisons are made. There are obvious differences between the rites of communal eating and of lustrations. Even where an analogy may appear striking, the probability is that the practice, or at least the evidence for it, is post-Christian. The taurobolium, for example, with its alleged life-giving properties, followed the time of Christ by a hundred years or so.

The foundations of the mysteries were mythical and natural, not historical and revelatory. The "death" of the mythical gods was usually involuntary and meaningless, in contrast to the loving, voluntary sacrifice of Christ. "Dying and rising" was cyclical, not historical and unrepeatable. The "resurrection" of these gods was not in the sphere of history, and the stories are weird and complex. While there were promises of salvific benefits, the nature of the redemption promised was different from that of the NT.

It is alleged that some of the mystery cult ideas and practices did indeed penetrate later Christian religion. This is dealt with especially by the Catholic theologian H. Rahner (*Greek Myths and Christian Mystery* [1963]). The issues are somewhat different from those pertaining to the canonical Scriptures. The NT itself is free from any such formative influence.

(See further F. Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra* [1910]; id., *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* [1911]; H. A. A. Kennedy, *St. Paul and the Mystery Religions* [1913]; F. Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity, 2* vols. [1915]; J. G. Machen, *The Origin of Paul's Religion* [1921]; S. Angus, *The Mystery Religions and Christianity* [1925]; E. Rhode, *Psyche, the Cult of Souls and Belief in Immortality among the Greeks* [1925]; R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen,* 3rd ed. [1927, Eng. trans., *Hellenistic Mystery-Religions,* 1978]; R. Willoughby, *Pagan Regeneration* [1927]; S. Angus, *The Environment of Early Christianity* [1929]; S. J. Case, *Experience with the Supernatural in Early Christian Times* [1929], 106-45, 221-63; V. D. Macchioro, *From Orpheus to Paul* [1930]; A. D. Nock, *Conversion* [1933]; M. P. Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion* [1940]; W. W. Hyde, *Paganism to Christianity in the Roman Empire* [1946]; M. P. Nilsson, *Greek Piety* [1948]; W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* [1935, 1952]; B. M. Metzger in *HTR* 48 I [1955]: 1-20; F. C. Grant, ed., *Hellenistic Religions* [1953], 105-49; M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion, 2* vols., 3rd ed.

[1955-74]; E. O. James, *The Cult of the Mother Goddess* [1959]; id., *Comparative Religion* [1961]; G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* [1961]; A. D. Nock, *Early Gentile Christianity and its Hellenistic Background* [1964], 109-45; M. J. Vermaseren, *The Legend of Attis in Greek and Roman Art* [1966]; A. L. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology* [1968]; R. Duthoy, *The Taurobolium: Its Evolution and Terminology* [1969]; M. J. Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis* [1977]; W. Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* [1987]; M. Giebel, *Das Geheimnis der Mysterien: Antike Kulte in Griechenland, Rom und Ägypten* [1990]; M. B. Cosmopoulos, ed., *Greek Mysteries: The Archaeology and Ritual of Ancient Greek Secret Cults* [2003]; S. I. Johnston, ed., *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide* [2004]; C. Bonnet et al., eds., *Religions orientalles: nouvelles perspectives* [2006]. For an extensive classified bibliography, see B. M. Metzger in *ANRW* 2/17/3 [1984]: 1259-1423.)

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**myth, mythology.** The term *myth* (from Gk. *mythos G3680,* "story, fable") is usually applied to traditional stories about gods, narrated in a communal setting and regarded as occurrences of permanent significance; typically, they presuppose and give expression to a particular view of the world (but see "Problems of Definition" below). The term *mythology* frequently denotes any body of myths, although more strictly it refers primarily to the study of myths.



**I. Problems of definition.** Definitions of myth are notoriously controversial, and they remain acutely relevant to questions about the relationship between myth and the Bible.

### *A. The modern discussion*

**1. Recognizable characteristics of myth.** Some features of myth are less controversial than others, and most writers agree on the following points:

a. *Content and narrative form.* Myths may be distinguished from legends in that they depict gods, rather than people, as their central figures, although some writers admittedly blur this distinction (e.g., M. Dibelius). There is total agreement, however, that myths use only narrative form. They express ideas or events as tales which embody imaginative features; they are never abstract generalizations or analyses.

b. *Communal setting.* Myths emerge from within the life of a community. They answer to some significant feature of its common belief and culture.

c . *Supposed truth-status.* In their own community setting, myths possess, or at least once possessed, the status of believed truth. The popular notion of myth as fabricated fiction is strictly secondary, stemming from the fact that all but their earliest narrators regarded, say, the myths of ancient Greece as notorious falsehood. (Cf. esp. M. Eliade, *Myths, Dreams and Mysteries* [1960], 23ff.)

**2. Disputed characteristics.** a. *Relation to polytheism.* Otto Eissfeldt contends that "a real myth presupposes at least two gods" (*The Old Testament: An Introduction* [1965], 35). But to Emil Brunner (*The Mediator* [1934], 377-96), John Knox (*Myth and Truth,* 2nd ed. [1966]), and other writers, "myth" remains compatible with biblical monotheism. The issues at stake, however, are chiefly (1) whether polytheism constitutes an essential, or merely a usual, feature of myth; and (2) whether, given either definition, writers use it consistently and unambiguously.

b. *Relation to cultus and to primitive attitudes.* Myth presupposes a particular understanding of the world. But is this worldview exclusively the expression of prescientific notions? Positive answers were given in the 18th cent. by Lowth, and in the 19th cent. by Heyne; and G. Hartlich and W. Sachs have shown how deeply their answers influenced 19th-cent. work on the OT from Eichhorn onward (*Der Ursprung des Mythosbegriffes in der Modernen Bibelwissenschaft* [1952], 6-19, 148-64). In the 20th cent., apart from the questions raised by Rudolf Bultmann, the philosopher Ernst Cassirer has elaborated a view of myth as a distinctively prephilosophical tool of knowledge and communication. On the other hand, Mircea Eliade (*Myths,* 23–56, 232–46) follows Jaspers and Jung in insisting that myth remains fundamentally relevant to moderns (cf. also K. Jaspers in H. W. Bartsch, ed., *Kerygma and Myth, 2* [1962], 144). To Eliade, it is certainly not the notion of a three-story universe that constitutes the essence of myth. Rather, it is the mythical concept of time, whereby the great archetypal events of the past can be "repeated" to give fresh shape or meaning to the present (cf. M. Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return* [1954]).

Myth, in practice, is an extraordinarily complex phenomenon (cf. Eliade's definition in *Aspects du mythe* [1963], 14-15). B. S. Childs is almost certainly correct in his general analysis of mythical attitudes to space and to the cultus, as well as to time (*Myth and Reality in the Old Testament,* 2nd ed. [1962], 17-21, 73-94). Normally it is specifically in the drama of the cult that primeval events are supposedly actualized in the present (ibid., 19). Contentions about myth and cult in biblical thought justly encounter controversy. Few Christians would deny that God's saving acts of the past become "contemporary" in the sense of shaping, and giving meaning to, the present; but when Eliade speaks of "reactualizing" the PASSION of Christ specifically in liturgy (*Myths,* 27-31), this is a different matter altogether.

c. *What kind of truth is claimed?* While most writers agree that myth has been narrated as truth, some view this as factual truth, and others as existential truth. The difference is significant. For example, if creation-myths are given "factual" status, most of them would logically exclude the truth-claims of the others. But, if they are merely concrete expressions of man's finitude, one COSMOGONY may be said positively to complement another. Some writers illustrate this difference by comparing the "truth" of a map with the "truth" of a painting. Admittedly a concept emerged in developed Greco-Roman thought of things which "never happened but are eternally true" (e.g. Sallustius and Julian on Attis mythology). Many writers doubt whether earlier cultures were also conscious of this distinction. Knox insists that "it is precisely this distinction which in mythology is obscured or drops from sight" (*Myth and Truth,* 23). On the other hand, if this is so, it is not an outlook which characterizes the OT, with its emphasis on historical event (cf. G. E. Wright, *God Who Acts* [1952], 116-28).

### *B. Greek literature*

**1. Varying uses of the term.** The ambiguity of the term *myth* is not modern. Originally *mythos* could mean "thought," "account," or "account of the facts" (e.g., Homer, *Odyssey* 3.94; 11.492). Quickly, however, the term came to mean "story" or "tale," without implying any particular judgment of its truth. It then functioned increasingly as an antonym of *logos G3364* to mean either "myth" in a fully technical sense, or "fiction," "fable," "allegory," or "fairytale." Two specialized uses significantly developed. First, it came to denote the plot of a drama. The importance of this is that just as a plot dictates its dramatic action and the drama enacts its plot, so myth dictates a ritual, while ritual supposedly actualizes its myth. Second, the term could also denote pictorial or imaged thinking. Thus Suidas in his *Lexicon* defined *mythos* as *logos pseudēs, eikonizōn ten alētheian* ("a false word, giving the semblance of the truth").

**2. Varying attitudes to mythology.** Greek literature reflects a phenomenon roughly parallel to more modern notions of demythologization. Many thinkers—including Plutarch, Euripedes, and Aristophanes—criticized the ancient myths as insults to intelligence and ethics. Others believed that the myths reflected certain insights, and could be of educative value in communicating them in concrete images. The STOICS viewed myths as early philosophy in historical dress, and subjected them to reappraisal by allegorical interpretation. Plato carried the process further, although he himself and especially Aristotle express simultaneous criticism of the traditional myths (cf. G. Stählin in *TDNT,* 4:762-95; Sallustius, "On the Gods and the World," in G. Murray, *Five Stages of Greek Religion* [1935], 200-225; and J. A. Stewart, *The Myths of Plato* [1905]).

## II. ANE mythology and the OT

### *A. Questions about specific OT passages*

**1. The creation accounts in Genesis.** In addition to other foreign creation-myths, two particular epics of the ANE have invited intense comparison with the description of CREATION in Gen. 1:1—2:7. The Babylonian *Creation Epic,* commonly known by its opening words as ENUMA ELISH, was discovered during the 19th cent. and published in 1875 *(cf. ANET,* 60-72; and A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis,* 2nd ed. [1951]). Its main concern is to depict relationships between deities of the Babylonian pantheon. It includes a COSMOGONY in which MARDUK utilizes the body of TIAMAT for creating the world. There is not yet unanimity about its dating, and W. G. Lambert (in *JTS* ns 16 [1965]: 287-300, esp. 291) concluded that it is not a genuine norm of Babylonian or Sumerian cosmology. In spite of these and other difficulties, it has been argued repeatedly that the biblical book of Genesis reflects borrowings from this source. The other writing is the Babylonian *Epic of Atrahasis*. Only about a fifth of it was known before 1965 (cf. *ANET,* 104-6), but up to four-fifths of it can now be recovered (cf. A. R. Millard, *TynBul* 18 [1967]: 3-18).It recounts mythical acts of gods that include both a creation and a cosmic flood. It cannot be dated later than 1630 B.C. For examples of other creation-myths, *cf. ANET,* 3-155. Questions about the relationship between Genesis and these foreign myths turn mainly on the following points.

a. *A questionable argument from etymology.* In Gen. 1:2, the Hebrew word *tĕhôm H9333* ("the deep") suggests an etymological connection with Tiamat, the Babylonian goddess or personified sea

monster.


This terra-cotta plaque (800-500 B.C.) depicts the Babylonian god Marduk in the form of a dragon.

Many have cited this point to support the view that Genesis draws on foreign myth (cf. Childs, *Myth and Reality,* 37-39). But how direct is the connection, and what significance is to be attached to it? It has been pointed out (1) that in OT poetry, this term is roughly equivalent to *yām H3542,* "sea"; and (2) that both terms probably constitute independent derivations from *tiāmtu,* "ocean" (cf. Lambert in *JTS* ns 16 [1965]: 293; Heidel, *Babylonian Genesis,* 98–101; D. F. Payne, *Genesis One Reconsidered* [1964], 10). No firm inference can be drawn from this etymological argument. See SEA.

b. *Contentions about a primeval chaos.* As part of the Tiamat nexus of ideas, Babylonian myth contains the notion of a primeval chaos existing alongside the creator and prior to creation. Other mythologies reflect similar ideas. But can the same be said of Gen. 1:2? Three issues must be considered. (1) The words traditionally rendered "without form and void" *(tōhû wābōhû)* could admittedly denote confusion and waste, or a trackless wilderness, but there is no evidence that they ever signified something personal and active (cf. BDB, 96, 1062; G. von Rad, *Genesis* [1961], 47-48). (2) In terms of syntax, it is possible to translate Gen. 1:1 – 2 as "When God began to create…, the earth was without form and void," thus implying that "the void" was prior to creation; but such a rendering is unnecessary and raises difficulties (see E. J. Young in *WTJ* 21 [1958-59]: 133-46 and 23 [1960-61]: 151-78; for further bibliography, Childs, *Myth and Reality,* 31-43). (3) In addition to its allusion to "the deep," Gen. 1:2 also explicitly mentions "water(s)"; the prominence of "primeval water" in Babylonian mythology has been overestimated (see Lambert in *JTS* ns 16 [1965]: 293).

Two conclusions deserve respect. B. S. Childs argues that Genesis transforms myth into "broken" myth. The purpose of this is to contrast creation with active chaos, not with "nothingness." On the other hand, Young argues that in Gen. 1:2 it would be wiser to abandon the word "chaos" altogether, since the terms in question simply mean that the earth was not yet ready for man (but cf. D. Kidner, *Genesis* [1967], 45).

c. *Theories about primeval conflict.* If Genesis had genuinely borrowed from the myth of Tiamat, why does it not seem to reflect a conflict theme? In 1895, H. Gunkel suggested an answer, and modifications of his theory have been widely held. The OT reflects the conflict, he suggested, primarily in its poetic books. Allusions to RAHAB (MONSTER), LEVIATHAN, and DRAGON (*tannîn H9490*) all look back to the primeval battle. The passages are cited below (section 4), but here it is

perhaps sufficient to point out that none of the passages sets the conflict before creation.

d. *The order of creation.* Although the parallels are not exact, the order of creation is roughly the same in Genesis as in Babylonian myth. Opinions vary as to whether this correspondence necessarily indicates some kind of relationship. For example, no inference can be drawn from the creation of dry land before the appearance of vegetation, which could not otherwise exist. More has been made of the mention of light before the existence of luminary bodies. On the other hand, in many religions "light" is hardly contingent on sources within the world.

e. *Acts of "dividing." In* the Babylonian *Creation Epic* (4.136-38) Marduk "divides" the body of Tiamat. In Genesis God "divides" light from darkness (Gen. 1:4) and heaven from earth (1:6-8). But the giving of form to creation inevitably involves differentiation. Hence, similar "dividings" also appear in Egyptian, Hittite, and other mythology.

f. *The creation of man.* In *The Epic of Atrahasis* man is created by Nintu's mixing clay with the blood of a god, and by the gods' then spitting on the clay. God forms man of dust and breathes life into him (Gen. 2:7). But the parallel does not arise from a common mythological setting. Rather, it expresses the basic recognition that man stands in solidarity with creation, and yet also transcends it.

g. *The Sabbath.* In many Akkadian or Babylonian myths the creation of man brings rest to some of the gods (e.g., *Creation Epic* 7.27-30). God rests from his work on the seventh day (Gen. 2:2-3). But the context of ideas is radically different. In Babylonian myth the gods are relieved of routine chores such as providing food for the pantheon. In Genesis God "rests" only from the work of creation (but see SABBATH).

h. *Further note on the Enuma Elish epic.* Valid assessments of the relationship between Genesis and foreign myths cannot be made by comparing

The centaur was a half-man and half-horse figure that originated in Greek mythology.

preselected parallels only. By contrast, the following will indicate the main outline of the Babylonian *Creation Epic*: The epic depicts domestic tensions between the pantheon, with extreme anthropomorphism. The older gods are given sleepless nights by the noise of the younger (1.22-50). Gods use deceit and spells (1.60ff., 152ff.; 2.42), and have petulant moods (2.75, 117). The high

point of the epic is where Marduk slays Tiamat with the support of winds, a bow and arrow, and a net (4.35-103). Tiamat's corpse provides materials for creation (4.137ff.). And the creation account takes very little space, chiefly introducing the ascription of honorific titles to Marduk (6.45 to the end).

**2. Paradise and the fall.** Myths of paradise occur here and there all over the world, and often reflect such features as harmony with heaven and absence of death (M. Eliade, *Myths,* 57–71). Hence discussions about EDEN (Gen. 2:8–17) focus less on specific myths than on general mythological patterns. Mythology often embodies the *Urzeit-Endzeit* pattern, according to which primeval conditions reappear at the end-time (cf. Childs, *Myth and Reality,* 75-84). In Genesis, however, Eden remains "part of a traveled road that cannot be traversed again" (von Rad, *Genesis,* 73). Biblical ESCHATOLOGY uses the imagery of a renewed nature (Isa. 11:6-9) and sometimes may depict redemption as a reversal of the FALL. As Childs rightly argues (*Myth and Reality,* 90), the new creation contains an additional content above and beyond the original *Urzeit.* In this sense, Eden cannot be regarded as myth.

The serpent has been connected with various myths (Gen. 3:1–5). H. Gressmann associated it with a mythical god of the underworld, on the basis of its "eating dust," and its connection with death. Others have viewed it as part of the general dragon mythology of the E, associating it with Tiamat, Leviathan, or the Ugaritic *Tannin* (see below). One difficulty about all these conjectures is that the serpent in Gen. 3 enters the scene as a created animal; but chiefly the emphasis of the whole narrative is on Adam and Eve rather than on the serpent.

**3. The flood.** Allusions to a great flood appear not only in mythology, but also in the ancient Sumerian king list (*ANET,* 265). Probably the *Epic of Gilgamesh* constitutes the best-known parallel to the flood account (Gen. 6-8). It was published in 1872 and is dated by Speiser and Heidel at about 2000 B.C. (*cf. ANET,* 72-99; A. Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels,* 2nd ed. [1949]; N. K. Sandars, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* [1960]). Much of it tells of ordinary human life and might better be called legend than myth; but the famous tablet 11 tells of a cosmic flood in the setting of polytheistic myth. It includes the following similarities to Genesis: (1) a divine decree is revealed (11.187; Gen. 6:13); (2) a boat is built according to careful measurements, and sealed with bitumen (11.24, 50–69; Gen. 6:14–16); (3) the family and many animals enter (11.84–5; Gen. 6:18-20); (4) the flood rises (11.96ff.; Gen. 7:11ff.); (5) birds are sent out three times and these include a dove and a raven (11.147–154; Gen. 8:6–11); and (6) a sacrifice is made at the conclusion (11.155; Gen. 8:20). Finally, recently recovered material in the *Epic of Atrahasis* adds a further parallel which is lacking in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* (cf. Millard in *TynBul* 18 [1967]: 11–14). Atrahasis, the Babylonian Noah, is saved for his distinctive piety.

Estimates of the significance of these parallels vary. Here we have space to make only a general comment. In terms of history, the similarities are more striking than the differences; while in terms of myth, the differences are more striking than the similarities. For example, the sequel to the flood in Genesis is a solemn covenant (Gen. 8:20—9:17). The mythical sequel in Gilgamesh is that ENLIL is rebuked for having jeopardized the gods' food supply, while the other gods crowd "like flies about the sacrificer" (11.161ff.). On the other hand, the many similarities of narrative detail, together with the inclusion of a cosmic flood in the Sumerian king list may suggest the possible survival of reports and memories of the biblical flood (but cf. Kidner, *Genesis*, 95–97). See FLOOD, GENESIS.

**4. Other OT passages.** Lack of space prevents more than a bare mention of other passages that have been said to reflect foreign myth. Perhaps the most difficult is Gen. 6:1-4. Childs (*Myth and Reality,* 50-59) argues that it embodies what was originally a Canaanite etiological myth explaining the origin of "giants." Biblical writers, he believes, subsequently transformed it into no more than an example of increasing sin. The enigmatic character of such terms as NEPHILIM (KJV, "giants") and SONS OF GOD tends to obscure all but the final significance Childs suggests, and various explanations of the terms have been put forward (see respective articles).

The chief problem in the poetic books is to distinguish between myth and metaphor (see below). A number of passages depict cosmic or historical combat in terms of conflict with "Leviathan" (Job 41:1; Pss. 74:14; 104:26; Isa. 27:1), "Rahab" (Job 9:13; Ps. 89:10; Isa. 51:9), and "dragon/monster" (Ps. 74:13; Isa. 27:1; 51:9). As mentioned earlier, Gunkel's theory that all this imagery reflects the conflict theme of Tiamat mythology has met with difficulties, and the Ugaritic texts suggest a different source for the nexus of ideas. However, the origins of the terms are less significant than their actual functions in the biblical writings. There is abundant evidence that the terms can be used metaphorically (e.g., in Ezek. 32:2, of Pharaoh), and it is doubtful whether the term *myth* would describe this, other than misleadingly. (On the original mythological context, cf. T. H. Gaster in *IDB,* 3:481-84; on the metaphorical use cf. K. Kitchen, *Theological Students Fellowship Bulletin* 44 [1966]: 3-5; Childs, *Myth and Reality,* 65-72; E. Dhorme, Job [1967], 134; and especially W. F. Albright, *New Horizons in Biblical Research* [1966], 32-35; on messianic imagery, cf. also E. J. Young, *The Study of Old Testament Theology Today* [1958], 44-59.) See also JOB, BOOK OF, VII.

### *B. Problems of a more general kind*

**1. Divergent results in modern research.** Modern writings suggest a bewildering variety of conclusions on the present subject. However, their divergences often are due to differences in method and approach, some of which may be distinguished as follows:

a. *Early comparative investigations.* Toward the end of the 19th cent., three archaeological events gave a new impetus to OT studies. (On earlier work, cf. Hartlich and Sachs, *Der Ursprung des Mythosbegriffes.)* The publications of the *Gilgamesh Epic* in 1872 and of the *Creation Epic* in 1875 were followed in 1887 by the discovery of the TELL EL-AMARNA tablets, which suggested close cultural interchanges between ANE peoples. These dis coveries seemed almost to recast the OT as one of many perhaps similar contemporary writings. In the enthusiasm of such inquiry, overstatements often were made. H. Winckler and A. Jeremias tried to explain too much in terms of Babylonian ideas. Robertson Smith and J. G. Frazer investigated a wide range of primitive cultures, but they were hampered both by the anthropology of the time and by inadequate archaeological knowledge, and Frazer sometimes sacrificed accuracy and relevance for sheer quantity of comparative material. Little from this early period is of unqualified value today, although many see a turning point in the more cautious work of H. Gunkel.

b. *Myth and ritual: Mowinckel, Hooke, and Bentzen.* In the 1920s myth figured notably in S. Mowinckel's studies in the Psalms. Noting that certain psalms implied liturgical settings, he claimed that they also involved a ritual which, in turn, looked back to ancient myth. This applied especially to the "coronation psalms," which represented, he believed, an annual reenactment of God's mythical victory over primeval forces. S. H. Hooke is perhaps the best-known writer for wider work on myth and ritual. A symposium he edited (*Myth and Ritual* [1933]) suggests that given patterns of myth and ritual recurred throughout the ANE. In his own words, "The mythology of Israel was largely drawn

from Canaanite…, Mesopotamian, and Egyptian sources," although "it was modified by the outlook inherited from the nomads of preconquest days" (ibid., 173; cf. also his book *The Labyrinth* [1935] and subsequent works). Finally, A. Bentzen spoke of a renaissance of myth in the context of ideas about the Royal Messiah. This Messiah, he believed, fights in the ritual combat of the Creation Drama, eventually becoming the primeval Man and primeval King of mythology (*King and Messiah* [1955], 77-79). Above all, great moments of mythology are "re-lived" in the cult (72ff.).

c. *Newer questions in biblical research.* For many years it had been assumed that external rituals functioned as accurate guides to religious thought, but J. Pedersen and W. Eichrodt already had demonstrated other ways of assessing Hebraic thought. In the 1940s and 1950s writers inquired increasingly about the inner character of Hebraic thinking. Work by W. F. Albright was soon followed by H. and H. A. Frankfort's *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (1946). The authors made a close study of mythopoeic thinking in the ANE; but they also spoke of "the abysmal difference" between the Hebrew viewpoint and that of other contemporary cultures (ibid., 242). P. S. Minear's *Eyes of Faith* (1948), and G. E. Wright's *The Old Testament against Its Environment* (1950) and *God Who Acts* (1952) are further examples of this approach. Wright asserts in the former work that "the God of Israel has no mythology" (p. 26). Since the 1980s, however, there have been renewed claims about the use of myth in the OT tradition (cf. the works by B. F. Batto and N. Wyatt).

**2. Recurring difficulties.** a. *Myth or metaphor?* The question already has arisen over allusions to "Leviathan" or to "the Dragon" (see above, II.A.4). However, the problem is broader than this, depending on conclusions about the logical capacities of Hebraic thinking. Hebrew law, poetry, historiography, and theology show a logical range and flexibility which modern writers have generally ignored until fairly recently (cf. Albright, *New Horizons,* 17-35). This includes differentiation between the literal and the metaphorical. Albright insists that the biblical writers no more thought of heaven as literally "up," than modern man thinks of the sun as literally "rising" (see also below, III.B.1). There is no conclusive evidence to challenge the conclusion that mythical imagery features in the OT only as metaphorical coloring.

b. *Dependence or parallel? Problems of dating.* Similar concepts in different writings do not necessarily imply either direct borrowing or a common origin. E. A. Gardner (in *ERE,* 9:118) cites an illuminating example from the field of art forms. In early Europe and America, identical decorative patterns arose quite independently, presumably from a similarity of technical conditions. Uncertainties of dating add further complications that make suggestions about borrowings often hazardous. Theories about biblical borrowings from developed Gnostic mythology provide a well-known example of this difficulty (see GNOSTICISM).

c. *Vocabulary or language function?* Linguistic philosophers have convincingly shown that terminology alone may serve as an unreliable guide to the meanings of words (cf. L. W. Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations* [1967]; applied sympathetically in W. Hordern, *Speaking of God* [1964]). The decisive factor is how given words function within the total real-life setting of a community that uses them. In the context of the present subject, this means that the theological presuppositions of the OT writers are of greater significance for assessing their attitudes to myth, than are mere terminological parallels with foreign myth. The insights of linguistic research have yet to filter through to biblical studies.

d. *Time and salvation-history.* A radical cleavage between the Bible and mythical thinking emerges in their strikingly different notions about time and history. The biblical view was dictated chiefly by Israel's experiencing progressive and purposive unfolding of God's saving acts in history

(cf. Wright, *God Who Acts;* G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* [1965], 2:99ff.). Mythical views are characteristically connected with the community's experience of recurring cycles of events in nature, and often suggest cyclical views of time (cf. Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return,* 86ff.; id., *Aspects du mythe,* 54-70, 95-115; partly against Childs, *Myth and Reality,* 75-77). Recent criticisms of Oscar Cullmann's *Christ and Time* (rev. ed., 1964) are directed less against this fundamental contrast than against unduly pressing too broad a generalization (cf. Cullmann, *Salvation in History* [1967]). In cyclical notions of time, the mythical "recall" of ancient realities is apparently vindicated in the repetition of natural events. By contrast, in biblical thought, SALVATION depends on acts of God that are historically unique. Thus the view of time that is most conducive to mythopoeic thought stands in tension with biblical attitudes to HISTORY (see also ETERNITY).

## III. Myth and the NT: the debate about demythologization

***A. Bultmann's contentions about myth in the NT.*** Rudolf Bultmann first used the term *demythologization* (German *Entmythologisierung*) in 1941. His classic essay "New Testament and Mythology" began the debate of which samples occur in *Kerygma and Myth* (vol. 1, 1953 [2nd ed., 1964], vol. 2, 1962; hereafter *KM*). In *Jesus Christ and Mythology* (1960; hereafter JCM) he writes for the nonspecialist, and he offers replies to comments in C. W. Kegley, ed., *The Theology of Rudolf Bultmann* (1966; hereafter *TRB*).

**1. The "mythological" worldview of the NT.** Bultmann contends that the NT reflects a worldview that is now obsolete. It depicts a three-story universe, peopled by angels, humans, and demons, in which supernatural forces enter human affairs for good or for ill. It speaks of gods as if they were men and portrays divine transcendence as spatial remoteness "up in heaven." All this, Bultmann believes, is merely the stock-in-trade of prescientific thinking. With the dawn of modern science, it has become incredible. Radio and modern medicine have eclipsed spirits and miracles (*KM,* 1:1-5; JCM, 19-21;35ff.).

**2. Supposed examples of myth in NT theology.** Not only the worldview of the NT but also its account of the event of REDEMPTION is classified by Bultmann as mythological. Myth supposedly involves the following areas of its theology:

a. *Eschatology.* If heaven can no longer be viewed as a spatial actuality, how, Bultmann asks, can the Son of Man be said to come "on the clouds of heaven" (Matt. 26:64) or the faithful be said to meet him "in the air" (1 Thess. 4:15–17)? (See *KM,* 1:4.) Similarly, he contends, the continuing course of world history refutes the myth of the KINGDOM OF GOD, which otherwise demands an eschatological setting (*JCM,* 11–17). So also the last judgment merely expresses a mythical method of "objectifying" human responsibility in relation to God (*TRB,* 264, 267).

b. *The atonement and the resurrection.* Modern science supposedly contradicts the biblical doctrine that death is the punishment of sin (*KM,* 1:7). Bultmann argues, "What a primitive mythology it is that a divine Being should become incarnate, and atone for the sins of men through his own blood!" (ibid.). Citing such passages as Col. 2:13-15, Bultmann claims that the NT combines imagery from law and cult to depict "a mythical process wrought outside of us" (*KM,* 1:35-36).The resurrection is also "mythological." Faith in the resurrection means neither more nor less than faith in the saving efficacy of the cross (*KM,* 1:41). It can no longer mean, in the modern world, a release of supernatural power (*KM,* 8).

c. *Christology.* Bultmann argues that the person of Jesus Christ combines history uniquely with myth. The man Jesus, who lived at Nazareth, and who certainly was crucified under Pilate, was without question a historical figure. But according to Bultmann little else can be said of him which does not belong to mythology. Such titles as "Messiah," "Son of Man," "King," or "Lord" are supposedly Christological myth; and this applies especially to the concept of a preexistent divine Being, sent into the world as "Son of God" (*KM,* 1:2, 8, 34-35; *JCM,* 16-17).

d. *Miracles and supernatural conflict.* Bultmann regards MIRACLES themselves as part of the essence of primitive mythology. Since notions about demonic activity come also in this category, this assessment applies to all language about present conflict with supernatural powers (cf. 2 Cor. 4:4; Eph. 2:2; 6:12-17; see above, III.A.1).

**3. "Demythologization" in Paul and John.** Bultmann stresses that the NT invites demythologization, first by contradictions, and second by its own conscious example. Contradictions are symptoms of myth. For instance, the death of Christ, Bultmann claims, cannot be simultaneously both a sacrifice and a cosmic event, unless it is in the realm of mythical thought. Similar telltale "contradictions" exist between "Messiah" and "Second Adam," or between freedom and predestination. However, at least in eschatology, he argues, Paul and especially John began to become alert to the situation. Paul endeavored to translate the myth of apocalyptic into the existential language of Christ-union. John transposed eschatology entirely into the present. As a concrete example, Bultmann suggests that John reinterpreted the mythological ANTICHRIST into a historical series of "false teachers" (*JCM,* 32-34).

**4. Modern demythologization.** a. *Premises about the function of myth in the NT.* Bultmann claims to the very end that his proposals follow only what the NT genuinely suggests. But he admits, in effect, that his claim rests on premises about the purpose and function of myth. The purpose of myth, he assumes, is not to portray the external world, but "to express man's understanding of himself in the world in which he lives" (*KM,* 1:10). It constitutes a means of arriving at, or expressing, self-understanding. But second, Bultmann suggests, myth functions with an undesirable effect. It obscures and impedes the very purpose which it exists to serve (*KM,* 1:11). In addition to involving "contradictions" such as we noted above, it does appear, after all, to describe external, extrinsic, or "objective" realities. This is perhaps the deepest reason Bultmann cannot leave "myth" as it is. In his view, it positively demands existential interpretation.

b. *Mythology and existential interpretation.* Existentialism serves as an ambiguous label for a number of individual philosophies. Bultmann draws his existentialist categories almost entirely from Martin Heidegger's *Being and Time.* But he insists, "I learned from him not *what* theology has to say, but *how* it has to say it" (*TRB,* 276, Bultmann's italics; cf. 273-78; *KM,* 1:22-33; and J. Macquarrie, An *Existentialist Theology* [1955]). There is certainly a common emphasis both in Heidegger and in the NT on individual challenge and decision, and on human finitude with its consequent pressures. Heidegger, Bultmann argues, speaks also with the voice of modern secularism and thereby provides categories of expression that must be exploited. Thus the NT "myth" of the imminent end can supposedly be translated by taking up Heidegger's language about the pressures of earthly cares and the engulfing onrush of time (cf. *JCM,* 24-29). The "myth" of the new creation can be cashed as letting go the false securities of the "old" and known, to yield oneself to whatever new future God may give (cf. *JCM,* 31; *TRB,* 268-71).

c. *Contrasts between Bultmann and earlier liberalism.* Bultmann notes that the earlier liberals used different methods from his own of dealing with myth. Most of them hoped to extract "timeless

truths" from the historical or mythical husks which they freely discarded. Bultmann strongly insists that his own approach differs from theirs in two decisive ways. First, he does not propose to jettison mythology without trying to replace it with something better. He aims to interpret myth rather than to eliminate it. Second, he does not regard the gospel as a system of timeless truths; it remains, he stresses, the proclamation of a unique *event.* He consistently defends these two points, whatever his critics may have said (*KM,* 1:12-16; *TRB,* 258, 271).

### *B. Difficulties about Bultmann's contentions*

**1. Assumptions about the biblical worldview.** Although Bultmann treats this issue as virtually self-evident, writers have drawn attention to the following difficulties:

a. *Myth and metaphor.* We earlier noted W. F. Albright's timely warning against underestimating the logical capacity of the Hebrew mind (see above, II.B.2). P. S. Minear similarly insists that even the apostle John did not believe naively in a three-storied universe (W. Klassen and G. Snyder, *Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation* [1962], 34). Examining Bultmann's assumptions, G. R. Beasley-Murray (in *ThTo* 14 [1957]: 61-79, esp. 66) asks whether the "horses" of Rev. 19:14,18 had really been groomed in heavenly stables, and how the wife of the Lamb could be a city whose height was 12,000 furlongs, but whose wall, in any case, was a mere 144 cubits (21:16-17). G. B. Caird (in *ExpTim* 74 [1962-63]: 103-5) concludes that while Revelation utilizes mythical imagery, it does so with the insight of a political cartoonist. Facts such as these cast serious doubts on Bultmann's assessment of the NT worldview.

b. *Myth and miracle.* Many have questioned whether a belief in miracles has anything at all to do with an obsolete worldview. J. Macquarrie, whose criticisms of Bultmann are normally moderate, argues that his notion of miracle comes from an outdated pseudoscientific view of the universe as a closed system (*An Existentialist Theology,* 168). The criticism is developed by D. Cairns, who consistently reserves the term *prodigy* to designate Bultmann's *miracle,* because he believes that it has little in common with the concept in the NT and in current thought (*A Gospel Without Myth?* [1960], 112-35; for a strong attack from the conservative viewpoint cf. P. E. Hughes in *EvQ* 20 [1948]: 184-95; id., *Scripture and Myth* [1956],19–20).

c. *The NT and Gnosticism.* According to Bultmann, the NT borrowed much of its myth from Gnostic sources. But quite apart from serious problems of dating, a comparison with GNOSTICISM serves all the more to bring into relief the studied restraint of the NT in avoiding cosmological naiveties.

**2. Ambiguities in Bultmann's concept of myth.** The linguistic philosopher R. W. Hepburn goes to the heart of the matter when he points out that Bultmann defines myth in two very different ways ("Demythologizing and the Problem of Validity," in A. Flew and A. MacIntyre, eds., *New Essays in Philosophical Theology* [1955], 227-42, esp. 229-30). One of Bultmann's definitions is purely formal: "the use of imagery to express the other worldly in terms of this world" (*KM,* 1:10n). The other is in terms of content: "supernatural forces intervene…miracles are by no means rare" (ibid., 1*). The formal* definition, Hepburn reminds us, makes demythologizing "a logically impossible task." For, clearly, it must include symbol and analogy in general, but on Bultmann's own inevitable admission, language about God remains "certainly analogical" (*KM,* 1:197). Hepburn concludes that the two definitions are incompatible, urging Bultmann to "greater logical rigor."

Each type of definition has also invited its own criticisms. Clearly on the basis of the formal

definition, H. Thielicke protests that we can no more abandon myth than we can cease to think in space-time categories (*KM,* 1:141); while H. Gollwitzer asserts that Bultmann vitiates his own discussion by a clumsy confusion between myth and analogy (*The Existence of God as Confessed by Faith* [1965], 43-44). J. Macquarrie examines this question with greater sympathy, but he also concludes that Bultmann's position is unsatisfactory (*The Scope of Demythologizing* [1960], 202-6). A defense, however, comes from S. M. Ogden (*TRB,* 108-16). "Myth" in Bultmann, he claims, is not merely analogy, but a mode of thinking which conceptualizes the divine as though it were an object of scientific observation. Ogden's clarification shows the doubtful relevance of certain criticisms, but it also pinpoints a difficulty about the "narrower" definition of myth. Why does Bultmann refuse to take at face value language which "objectifies" spiritual realities? For as H. P. Owen points out (*TRB,* 47), it is impossible to believe "in" unless one first believes "that"; and to have "objective" concepts *about* someone does not at all imply that one is viewing that person as an "object" rather than as a person. Yet Bultmann explicitly declares, as Owen shows, that any cosmic process which is said to happen objectively "outside" us would be "nothing other than a myth" (*TRB,* 45; see also below).

**3. History, factuality, and language.** a. *Criticisms and replies.* From 1942 onward it has been urged repeatedly that Bultmann's conclusions fail to do justice to the historical factuality of the gospel. H. Thielicke declared that Bultmann had reduced the gospel to the status of a philosophy (*KM,* 1:141ff.), a censure repeated by others, such as W. Künneth (*The Theology of the Resurrection* [1965], 40-107). Finally, "demythologizing" was officially condemned by the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany (cf. E. Kinder, ed., *Kerygma and History* [1962]; and *KM,* 2:1-82). Bultmann replied that his critics had misread the issue, and F. Gogarten published a defense of his attitude to history in the well-known book, *Demythologizing and History* (1955; cf. also *TRB,* 258, 260). Nowadays it is widely recognized that Bultmann did not intend completely to evaporate the gospel's factuality. Indeed this is the point at issue between him and his "left-wing" critics. However, there are many who remain unconvinced that he has logically succeeded in his stated aim (see below, 3.c).

b. *Falsification and criteria of meaning.* We have space only to refer to literature on this subject. A trenchant exposé comes from R. W. Hepburn, who characterizes Bultmann's position as a flight from the evidential ("Demythologizing," 230ff.; cf. also his *Christianity and Paradox* [1958]). In *The Scope of Demythologizing,* J. Macquarrie is sympathetic, but nevertheless critical (see pp. 81-101; 186-221; cf. *TRB,* 141). Heinrich Ott's contentions about the problem of meaning and history are relevant to the concept of "eschatological verification" (*TRB,* 51-64).

c. *Event and interpretation.* Bultmann is rightly concerned that nothing should obscure the existential thrust of the Bible. His account of the function of myth (see above, A.4) tends too easily to suggest that it can be translated into existential terms with almost no factual remainder. An example will serve to throw the problem into relief. How are we to interpret the "myth" of the doctrine of creation? Admittedly, biblical writers intend that it should be cashed in existential terms (e.g., as thanksgiving for life, or stewardship of resources). But does this exhaust its significance? If both God and creation are said to be realities, does this not also imply a relationship between them that is independent of the believer's self-understanding? The biblical doctrine gives certainly *more* than mere information; but it hardly gives *less* than this. One writer complains about the exclusiveness of Bultmann's alternatives, when he speaks of *either* cosmology *or* anthropology, as if a mixture of both could never be found (Minear in *TRB,* 77). In fact, the existential depends on the historical, as effect on cause. Macquarrie pertinently asks how does it make sense to talk of dying and being raised with Christ, unless we first have some assurance that Christ actually died and was raised (*TRB,* 141).

The problem is rooted in the larger question of the relationship between event and interpretation. Ian Henderson (*Myth in the New Testament* [1952], 31) draws an illuminating distinction between two types of interpretation. Some interpretations, like the decoding of a message, will allow the subsequent disposal of their original source; others, like a commentary on a masterpiece, can never substitute for their original. It is arguable that "demythologization" mistakes the second for the first, for there remains an inseparable relationship between the original events of Scripture and the original interpretations that came with them (cf. K. Kantzer's excellent essay in C. F. H. Henry, *ed., Jesus of Nazareth: Saviour and Lord* [1966], 241–64).

**4. Basic theological problems.** a. *Theology transposed into a doctrine of man.* Many have argued that if Bultmann's notions of myth were right, the gospel could give man news only about himself. It becomes virtually impossible to maintain the traditional distinction between knowledge of God and knowledge of man in theology (cf. H. P. Owen in *TRB,* 49). G. Bornkamm, however, emphatically defends Bultmann against this criticism, on the ground that he preserves at all costs the "offense" of the gospel (*TRB,* 15). Since both sides often appeal to the subsequent course of the debate, conclusions are perhaps best arrived at in that context.

b. *Christology transposed into soteriology.* Bultmann and his critics agree on the issue at stake: according to the NT perspective, does Jesus help the believer because he is "Son of God," or is he "Son of God" because he helps the believer? If "Son of God" Christology is myth, it allows only the latter alternative. But many believe that the NT asserts the former (e.g., Karl Barth in *KM,* 2:96ff.; L. Malevez, *The Christian Message and Myth* [1958]).

***C. The subsequent course of the debate.*** If Thielicke and Kinder argued that Bultmann had gone too far, others maintained that he had not gone far enough. Fritz Buri expounded this view in 1952 (cf. *KM,* 2:85-101), and S. M. Ogden developed it in *Christ Without Myth* (1961). Yet, in spite of their arriving at opposite conclusions, both sides, Ogden points out, share the common belief that Bultmann's view is "an uneasy synthesis of two…incompatible standpoints" (ibid., 115). If myth is to be interpreted in terms of human self-understanding, on what logical basis can faith be retained in the uniqueness of an event proclaimed in the NT kerygma? Jaspers describes Bultmann's special pleading as "altogether orthodox and illiteral" (*KM,* 2:174). Buri demands not merely "demythologizing," but also "dekerygmatizing" as its logical conclusion. Similarly Ogden comments in a recent critique of Bultmann, "As I read the NT it knows of no basis for man's authentic existence except the primordial love of God" (*TRB,* 121). Finally, Herbert Braun goes even further than Buri and Ogden. If the language of the NT is no more than a vehicle of self-understanding, cannot the same be said about its postulate "God"? (For a critique of Braun, cf. Gollwitzer, *The Existence of God,* 35-39.)

The claims of Bultmann's "left-wing" critics tend perhaps to vindicate some of the criticisms of his more conservative ones. There have certainly been vigorous reactions against underestimating the biblical concern about history, and these can be seen not only in New Quest School and in emphases on salvation-history, but also in the concerns of such writers as W. Pannenberg. Indeed, it is worthy of note that since the aftermath of the Bultmannian debate in the 1960s, biblical scholarship has shown relatively little interest in mythological issues surrounding the NT.

***D. The five allusions to "myth" in the NT.*** Four occur in the Pastoral Epistles and one in 2 Peter (1 Tim. 1:4; 4:7; 2 Tim. 4:4; Tit. 1:14; 2 Pet. 1:16). In every case myths are repudiated as profitless, but

each passage adds particular characterizations or contrasts. In 2 Pet. 1:16 "cleverly devised myths" (NRSV, Gk. *sesophismenois mythois*) seems to denote the spurious embroidery of speculative prophecies in contrast to the faithful proclamation of historical truth by "eyewitnesses." First Timothy associates them with speculations about "genealogies" (1 Tim. 1:4) and describes them explicitly as "godless" and "silly" (*graōdēs G1212,* "old-womanish," 4:7). They stand in general contrast with "the truth" (2 Tim. 4:4), while in Tit. 1:14 they are specified as "Jewish" and contrasted with health or soundness in the faith (cf. v. 13).

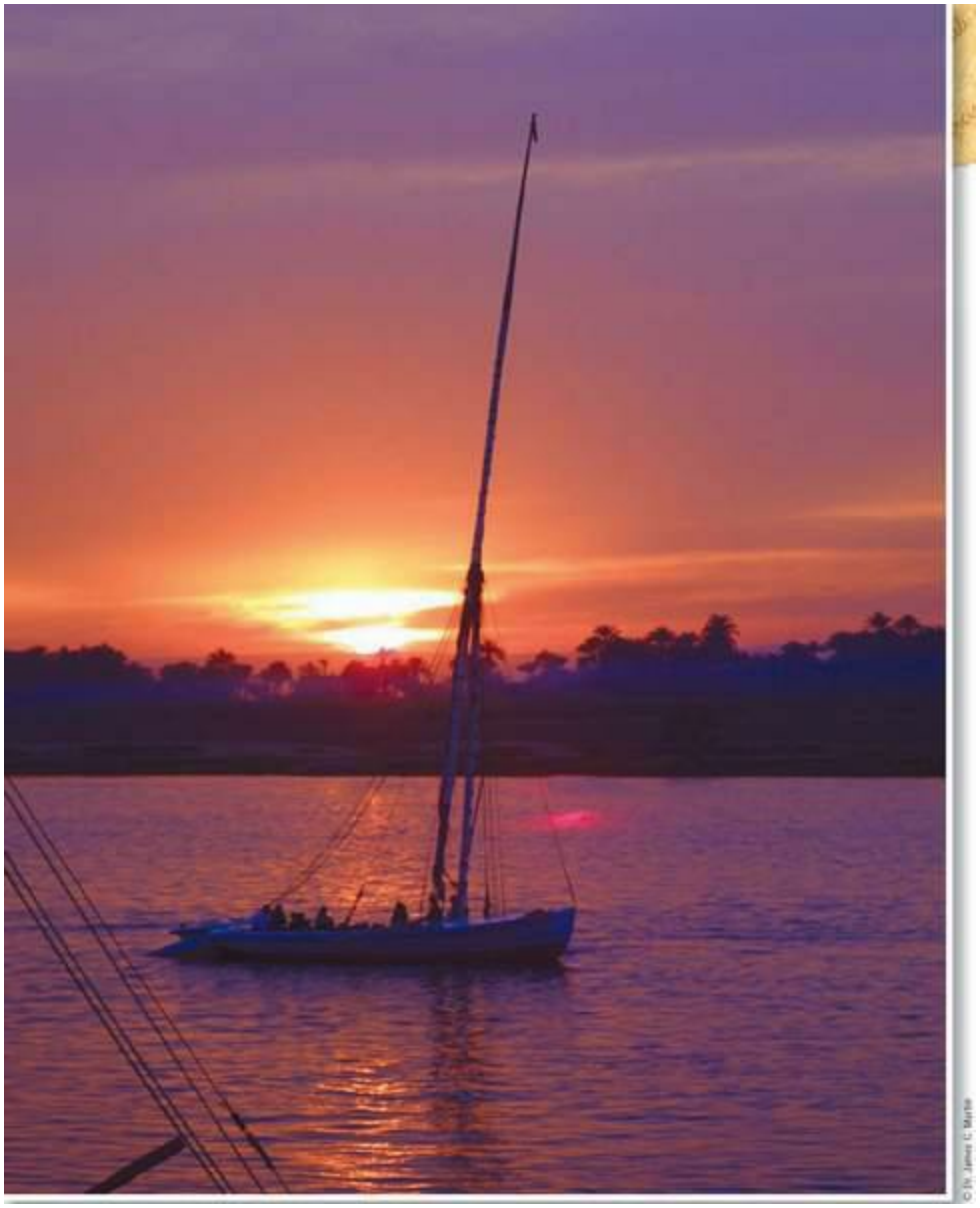
Discussions about these allusions generally turn on (1) whether all have some connection with Judaism, or only the reference in Titus; (2) whether they can be directly associated with Gnostic speculations; (3) whether they might indicate a sincere but misguided attempt by Christians (or Jews) to allegorize pagan myths for homiletical purposes (see above, I.B.). G. Stählin (in *TDNT,* 4:783) considers it "highly probable" that the Pastorals refer to an early form of Gnosticism that flourished on the soil of Hellenistic Jewish Christianity, in some ways comparable with what is reflected in Colossians; while C. K. Barrett (in *ExpTim* 68 [1956-57]: 348) views the third alternative as a strong possibility. There is insufficient data, however, to allow firm conclusions (cf. also D. Guthrie, *The Pastoral Epistles* [1957], 57-58). In the SEPTUAGINT, "myth" occurs only in the APOCRYPHA, and only twice (Wisd. 17:4; Sir. 20:19).

(In addition to the works referred to in the body of the article, see H. Riesenfeld in *The Background to the New Testament and its Eschatology,* ed. W. D. Davies and D. Daube [1956], 81-95; G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends* [1956]; G. V. Jones, *Christology and Myth in the New Testament* [1956]; B. H. Throckmorton, *The New Testament and Mythology* [1960]; H. Ridderbos, *Bultmann* [1960]; E. O. James, *The Ancient Gods* [1960]; G. Miegge, *Gospel and Myth in the Thought of Rudolf Bultmann* [1960]; S. G. F. Brandon, *Creation Legends of the Ancient Near East* [1963]; R. H. Fuller, *The New Testament in Current Study* [1963], 9–32; A. N. Wilder, *Early Christian Rhetoric (= The Language of the Gospel)* [1964], 126-36; J. Macquarrie, *God-Talk* [1967], 168-91; W. Schmithals, *An Introduction to the Theology of Rudolf Bultmann* [1968], 249-72; J. W. Rogerson, *Myth in Old Testament Interpretation* [1974]; A. C. Thiselton, *The Two Horizons: New Testament Hermeneutics and Philosophical Description* [1980]; A. Dundes, ed., *Sacred Narrative: Readings in the Theory of Myth* [1984]; J. N. Bremmer, *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* [1987]; R. A.Johnson, *Rudolf Bultmann: Interpreting Faith for the Modern Era* [1987]; B. F. Batto, *Slaying the Dragon: Mythmaking in the Biblical Tradition* [1992]; N. Wyatt, *Myths of Power: A Study of Royal Myth and Ideology in Ugaritic and Biblical Tradition* [1996]. W. G. Doty, *Myth: A Handbook* [2004]; R. A. Segal, *Myth: A Very Short Introduction* [2004].)

A. C. THISELTON

**Mytilene.** See MITYLENE.

# N



The Nile River at sunset.

**Naam** nay'uhm (נַעַם *H5839,* possibly short form of אֶלְנָעַם *H534,* "God is pleasantness"; see ELNAAM). Son of CALEB and descendant of JUDAH (1 Chr. 4:15).

**Naamah (person)** nay'uh-muh (נַעֲמָה *H5841,* possibly "pleasantness"). (1) Daughter of LAMECH and ZILLAH, sister of TUBAL-CAIN, and descendant of CAIN (Gen. 4:22). She is the only daughter named in the lineage of either Cain or ABEL (Gen. 4:17—5:32).

(2) Ammonite wife of SOLOMON and mother of REHOBOAM (1 Ki. 14:21, 31; 2 Chr. 12:13). See AMMON. An addition to the Greek text of 1 Ki. 12:24 identifies Naamah (*Naanan*) as the daughter of HANUN (*Ana*), son of NAHASH *(Naas),* the Ammonite king (cf. 2 Sam. 10:1-2), but there is no way to confirm this tradition, which would indicate that Solomon's marriage was politically motivated. It is often assumed that Naamah was one of the many foreign women that Solomon married when his heart was turned away from God (cf. 1 Ki. 11:1—8); Rehoboam's age, however, suggests that this

marriage had taken place when Solomon was relatively young, and some have speculated that it was a diplomatic arrangement on the part of DAVID. In any case, it is possible that Naamah played a role in Judahs disaffection from Yahweh and Rehoboam's introduction of "high places, sacred stones and Asherah poles," and "even male shrine prostitutes" (14:23-24).

B. K. WALTKE

**Naamah (place)** nay'uh-muh (נַעֲמָה *H5842,* possibly "pleasantness"). A city in the SHEPHELAH allotted to the tribe of JUDAH (Josh. 15:41). It was apparently near MAKKEDAH, but its precise location is unknown. Proposals have included modern Na<neh (6 mi. S of LOD) and ʿAraq Naʿaman (more properly, Khirbet Fared, near TIMNAH), but the biblical text suggests a site much farther S. See also NAAMATHITE.

B. K. WALTKE

**Naaman** nay'uh-muhn (נַעֲמָן *H5845,* "pleasantness"; gentilic נַעֲמִי *H5844,* "Naamite" or "Naamanite"; the name is attested both as a proper name in the administrative texts from Ras Shamra [see UGARIT] and as an epithet of royal personages). (1) Listed among the "sons" of BENJAMIN in Gen. 46:21, but elsewhere identified more specifically as a son of BELA and therefore as Benjamin's grandson (Num. 26:40; 1 Chr. 8:4, 7 [the Heb. syntax in vv. 6-7 is ambiguous]). He became the eponymous ancestor of the Naamites (Num. 26:40; NJPS, "Naamanites").

(2) The Aramean commander who was cured of a skin disease by ELISHA (2 Ki. 5). Prior to this incident, the king of ARAM, probably BEN-HADAD II (Jos.Ant. 18.15.5), had credited Naaman's victories to his military genius (v. 1). The phrase "highly regarded" (NIV) reads literally "he was lifted up of face," referring to the gesture of the king stretching forth his scepter and touching the face of the suppliant bowed to the ground before him, and raising the face up (cf. Esth. 8:3-4). When the king referred to him as "my servant" (2 Ki. 5:6), he meant that he was a high officer, possibly, though not necessarily, bound to him in feudal service. In any case, Naaman was a "valiant soldier" who suffered from "leprosy" (see below). In spite of the young girl's assertion that the prophet in SAMARIA could cure the leprosy (v. 4), the king took no regard of the prophet, but in accord with the ancient conception of the king as the channel of divine blessing, he made the request directly to the king of Israel, who also ignored the prophet.

Elisha directed Naaman to wash in the Jordan River in order to be healed from his leprosy.

Unaware that Yahweh was using him (cf. v. 1), Naaman was a proud man: (1) he came to ELISHA's house with all the pomp of his status (v. 9); (2) "to me" (v. 11) is in an emphatic position, suggesting, "to a person like me"; (3) the expression "he would surely come out" (v. 11, rendering the Heb. infinitive absolute construction) also emphasizes the fact that Naaman considered it the duty of Elisha, whom he regarded as his social inferior, to come out to him; (4) he refused to carry out a plan not according to his own formulation (vv. 11-12).

Yahweh used several agents to bring about Naaman's conversion from a proud, self-sufficient man to a believing (v. 15), humble (v. 18, "your servant"), and reverent man (v. 18), the qualities Yahweh desires of all, including those he employs to discipline his people. First, Yahweh afflicted him with a skin disease. Leprosy here is not the same as the modern "Hansen's disease" (see DISEASE). In any case, it was not of that kind which debarred him from society. J. A. Gray (*I and II Kings,* 2nd ed. [1970], 452-58) concluded, "the disease of Naaman must have been what Herodotus calls *leukē* as distinct from *leprē."* Only God could cure this disease (v. 7). Second, Yahweh used believing servants of a much inferior social position (the captured Israelite girl, v. 2, and Naaman's own servant, v. 13). Finally, he used the man of God who recognized his authoritative position under God (v. 10), the need for child-like faith in the Word of God (vv. 11–14), and the truth that God's salvation is a free gift (vv. 15-16). Naaman's cure was alluded to by the Lord Jesus as an example of God's gracious concern for the non-Israelite (Lk. 4:27).

B. K. WALTKE

**Naamathite** nay'uh-muh-thit (נַעֲמָתִי *H5847,* "of Naamah"). Descriptive title of ZOPHAR, one of JOB's three friends (Job 2:11; 11:1; 20:1; 42:9). It evidently refers to his place of origin. The Judahite town of NAAMAH (Josh. 15:41) is almost certainly not in view. Since the other two friends (ELIPHAZ and BIL-DAD) apparently came from the Arabian desert, the term Naamathite may point to a place such as Jebel el-Na(ameh, in NW ARABIA, or to a Sabean clan (*n(mt*) in S Arabia (for the latter, see *ABD*, 4:968).

**Naamite** nay'uh-mit. See NAAMAN #1.

**Naarah (person)** nay'uh-ruh (נַעֲרָה *H5856,* "young woman"). One of the two wives of ASHHUR, a descendant of JUDAH; she bore him four sons (1 Chr. 4:5-6).

**Naarah, Naaran (place)** nay'uh-ruh, –ruhn (נַעֲרָה *H5857,* "watermill"; also נַעֲרָן *H5860*). A city listed as marking part of the SE border of the tribe of EPHRAIM (Josh. 16:7 [KJV, "Naarath"]; called Naaran in 1 Chr. 7:28). It is mentioned between ATAROTH and JERICHO. A note from JOSEPHUS (*Ant.* 17.13.1) says that Archelaus (see HEROD IV), after rebuilding JERICHO, "diverted half the water with which the village of Neara used to be watered," thus locating Neara (Naarah) near Jericho and associating it with a good water supply. EUSEBIUS (*Onom.* 136.24) reports that the town of *Noorath* was 5 Roman miles (c. 4.5 mi.) from Jericho. Accordingly, N. Glueck (*Explorations in Eastern Palestine,* 4 vols. [1934–51], 4:412–13) identified Naarah with Khirbet el-(Ayash. Most scholars, however, favor Tell el-Jisr, just below the springs (Ain Duq and (Ain Nu(eimeh at the foot of the Judean hills, less than 2 mi. NW of Jericho. These springs qualify as "the waters of Jericho" lying E

of the border (Josh. 16:1). Other nearby sites have been proposed (cf. Z. Kallai, *Historical Geography of the Bible* [1986], 163-66; see also *NEAEHL,* 3:1075-76).

L. J. WOOD

**Naarm** nay'uhm (נַעֲרַי *H5858,* possibly short form of נַעֲרִיָּה, "young man [*or* attendant] of Yahweh"). Son of Ezbai, listed among DAVID's mighty warriors (1 Chr. 11:37); in the parallel passage he is called "Paarai the Arbite" (2 Sam. 23:35). See discussion under EZBAI.

**Naaran** nay'uh-ruhn. See NAARAH, NAARAN (PLACE).

**Naarath** nay'uh-ruhth. KJV form of NAARAH.

**Naashon** nay'uh-shon. KJV alternate form of NAHSHON (only Exod. 6:23).

**Naasson** nay'uh-son. KJV NT form of NAHSHON (Matt. 1:4; Lk. 3:32).

**Naathus** nay'uh-thuhs (Naaθος). One of the descendants of Addi who agreed to put away their foreign wives in the time of EZRA (1 Esd. 9:31).The name does not occur in the parallel, though some think it may correspond to Adna (Ezra 10:30).

**Nabal** nay'buhl (נָבָל *H5573,* "foolish," possibly by popular etymology; the name originally may have derived from a root meaning "noble"). A wealthy descendant of CALEB who lived in MAON, some 8 mi. SE of HEBRON (1 Sam. 25:2-3). He owned 3,000 sheep and 1,000 goats which he pastured in the vicinity of CARMEL (present Kirmil just N of Maon). He is described as "surly and mean" (v. 3). DAVID, a fugitive from SAUL, had been in the neighborhood for a period when sheepshearing time, normally festive, came for Nabal. David had been giving protection to Nabal's flocks from marauding BEDOUINS (vv. 15-16) and so sent ten of his men now to extend good wishes to Nabal, remind him of his service to him, and request a gift in return.

Nabal showed his ungrateful character in not only refusing the reasonable request but also returning insulting remarks, regarding David as a vagrant, escaped from his master like many others of the era. Immediately David prepared with 400 men to bring retaliation. However, Nabal's wife ABIGAIL, described as "intelligent and beautiful" (v. 3), came quickly to David to make amends. She brought a bountiful gift of food, needed by David and his men, and made humble apology for her husband's conduct, asking David not to inflict his intended reprisal. David agreed. When Abigail later told her husband of his narrow escape, "his heart failed him" (v. 37), and ten days later he died. David then made Abigail one of his wives. (See J. D. Levenson in *CBQ* 40 [1978]: 11-28.)

L. J. WOOD

**Nabariah** nab'uh-r*i*'uh (Naβαριας). One of the prominent men who stood near EZRA when the law was read at the great assembly (1 Esd. 9:44 [KJV, "Nabarias"]; the name does not appear in the parallel, Neh. 8:4).

**Nabarias** nab'uh-ri'uhs. KJV Apoc. form of NABARIAH.

**Nabateans** nab'uh-tee'uhnz (Naßαταῖοι). Also Nabataeans. Although this name does not occur in the OT or NT, the Nabateans were an influential, Aramaic-speaking people who were active in the NW part of ARABIA and TRANSJORDAN from about the 4th cent. B.C. to the beginning of the 2nd cent. A.D. Some earlier scholars sought to link the Nabateans (root *nb*ṭ) with the name of ISH-MAEL's firstborn, NEBAIOTH (*nĕbāyôt H5568,* Gen. 25:13 et al.), and with the Nabayat mentioned in the Assyrian chronicles, but Jean Starcky showed


Aerial view near Ein Avdat along the Nabatean trade route from Petra to Gaza. In the foreground are stone walls located in the valley floor to slow the flow of water over the agricultural fields.

that the identification is not valid (*BA* 18 [1955]: 85-86). However, nonbiblical sources and archaeological evidence indicate that after the close of the OT period, and especially in the 1st cent. of the Christian era, the Nabateans were a significant political power in the ANE.

The Nabateans usually are associated with the magnificent ruins of PETRA, SSE of the DEAD SEA, but their political domain extended at times W to the NEGEV and N as far as DAMASCUS. Their origin is obscure: many scholars have sought it among the Arab tribes inhabiting S ARABIA, while others favor a NW Semitic (Aramaic) context (for the latter, cf. J. T. Milik in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan, ed.* A. Hadidi, 3 vols. [1982-87], 1:261-65). Although their native language was probably an early form of Arabic, they adopted ARAMAIC, the lingua franca of the Persian Empire, as their primary means of communication. Located in the territory of ancient EDOM, the Nabateans controlled some of the rich trade routes linking the major areas of the FERTILE CRESCENT. The first historical reference to them is in connection with their refusal to recognize the authority of Antigonus, the successor of ALEXANDER THE GREAT in this area (Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl. Hist.* 19.94-96). Attempts to subjugate the Nabateans were unsuccessful.

The classical period or Golden Age of the Nabateans was the 1st cent. B.C. and the 1st cent. of this era. In this period they settled extensively in the lands once occupied by the Edomites and Moabites and intensively cultivated the soil. In addition, they incorporated the Negev and Sinai into their kingdom. In this period they developed a brilliant civilization with a dynamic creativity and speed scarcely paralleled in history. The sudden end came with the Roman conquest in the beginning of the 2nd cent.

JOSEPHUS and a few inscriptions provide some information about certain Nabatean kings. The

first king mentioned in the sources is ARETAS I (cf. 2 Macc. 5:8), ruler in the 2nd cent. B.C. at the time of the Maccabean Revolt. About 100 B.C. Aretas II ruled the Nabateans and expanded the territory of his kingdom at the expense of the waning SELEUCID power in Palestine. Aretas II was succeeded by his son, Obadas I, who recovered much of MOAB and GILEAD from the HASMONEAN ruler of Palestine, Alexander Jannaeus, whom he defeated in battle about 90 B.C. Under Aretas III, the Nabateans became a powerful and independent nation in Transjordan and withstood Roman domination for the next century and a half, in spite of attempts by the Romans and the Herodians to subjugate them. About this time they also gained control of the trade of MYRRH and FRANKINCENSE from S Arabia to the Mediterranean (some scholars have speculated that the MAGI were in fact Nabateans or that they shopped in Petra on their way to Judea).

In this period their greatest king was Aretas IV Philodemus, who ruled from 9 B.C. to A.D. 40. Although assisting the Romans in subduing the Jews upon the death of HEROD the Great, Aretas initially had good relations with Herod Antipas, son of Herod the Great and tetrarch of PEREA and GALILEE (see HEROD V), who married Aretas's daughter. About A.D. 27 Herod Antipas divorced her in favor of his brother's wife HERODIAS. This led to two troublesome conflicts in Herod's life. The first was with JOHN THE BAPTIST, who roundly denounced him for his marital activity (Matt. 14:3-5; Mk. 6:17-20; Lk. 3:19-20). The other conflict was with Aretas IV, the father of his first wife. In A.D. 36 Aretas defeated Herod in battle and regained much territory, possibly as far N as Damascus. An attempt by the Romans to avenge Herod by an attack on Aretas foundered upon the death of Emperor TIBERIUS.

At the time of PAUL's escape from DAMASCUS following his conversion (Acts 9:23-25), an ETHNARCH of Aretas was guarding the city (2 Cor. 11:32-33). The exact nature of the Nabatean presence in Damascus is not known, but the text does indicate some type of military or police control of the city. Successors of Aretas IV included Malichus II (A.D. 40-70) and Rabbel II, the last king of the Nabateans, who died in A.D. 106. During the reign of TRAJAN, the legate of SYRIA, A. Cornelius Palma, in a campaign in A.D. 105 to 106 annexed Nabatea to the Roman empire. Bostra became the capital of the new province called Arabia (see BOZRA #3). This was the beginning of the Era of Bostra, frequently used in the datelines of inscriptions in this area in subsequent centuries.

The most extensive ruins of the Nabateans are found at Petra, S of the Dead Sea. In this valley surrounded by virtually impassable mountains are the ruins which illustrate the unique type of architecture developed by the Nabateans. The structures were carved into the living rock and reveal a remarkable engineering skill. The typical Nabatean façade consists of a row of pillars (carved *in situ*) with niches containing sculptures between the pillars, which support a crossbeam decorated with a frieze. Above this is a split gable with a domed structure in the middle similar to an inverted urn. The pendantive type of dome may have been developed by the Nabateans (Safwan K. Tell, *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 14 [1969], 35-37 [in Arabic]). They had a unique method of dressing stones—lines cut diagonally across the face of the stone or rock face. Most of the rock-hewn structures in Petra appear to be mausoleums in connection with a cult of the dead, rather than temples. Another major Nabatean site is located on Jebel et-Tannur (excavated by Nelson Glueck in 1937), SE of the Dead Sea, where a series of successive sanctuaries with numerous carved figures and designs were uncovered—perhaps the most significant being the statues of ZEUS (HADAD) and the goddess ATARGATIS.

The Nabateans have made a unique contribution to Palestinian ceramic ware. "Nabatean ware" is very thin and smooth—almost like porcelain. The shapes were beautifully symmetrical, often with delicate decorations in dark brown or black paint on the red ware. The material is so characteristic

that the presence of a small sherd on a site strongly suggests Nabatean occupation. (See J. Patrich, *The Formation of Nabatean Art: Prohibition of a Graven Image among the Nabateans* [1990].)

Prior to the discovery of the DEAD SEA SCROLLS, which include some papyri in Nabatean, the only literary remains in Nabatean were inscriptions and graffiti in Sinai and Transjordan, especially in Petra. Nabatean was a form of Aramaic with a strong Arabic influence. The Nabatean papyri, dated in the 1st cent. of the Christian era, provide new data for the study of the dialect. The script developed by the Nabateans is similar to the Hebrew and Aramaic scripts of the time, but the letters are strangely elongated vertically—a practice that allows for close packing of the letters. This script is thought to have a been a precursor of the Arabic alphabet.

The principal Nabatean deity was a god named Dushara (hellenized form, Dushares), symbolized by a block of stone or obelisk. At Tannur the chief god was Hadad, the Syrian storm-god, equivalent of the Greek Zeus. Atargatis, equivalent of the Greek ARTEMIS, appears to have been a type of fertility goddess (see FERTILITY CULTS). Evidence of the religious practices of the Nabateans can be seen in the "high places" (open-air sanctuaries of the gods), such as the Conway High Place and the Great High Place of Robinson at Petra, with processional ways, altars, and pools or lavers. Places for the ritual sacrifice of animals are also found, for example, above ed-Deir in Petra. As archaeological research continues, especially in the Negev and Transjordan, more information can be expected about the Nabateans, who in many respects were one of the most remarkable and vigorous people in the eastern Mediterranean world during the Roman period.

(The fundamental work is J. Cantineau, *Le nabatéen, 2* vols. [1930-32]. See further N. Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan,* rev. ed. [1970], ch. 6; P. C. Hammond, *The Nabataeans: Their History, Culture and Archaeology* [1973]; G. W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* [1983]; A. Negev, *Nabatean Archaeology Today* [1986]; A. Kasher, Jews, *Idumaeans, and Ancient Arabs* [1988]; J. F. Healey, *The Religion of the Nabataeans: A Conspectus* [2001]; J. Taylor, *Petra and the Lost Kingdom of the Nabataeans* [2002]; G. A. Crawford, *Petra and the Nabataeans: A Bibliography* [2003]; G. Markoe, ed., *Petra Rediscovered: Lost City of the Nabataeans* [2003]; S. M. Rababeh, *How Petra Was Built* [2005]; *NEAEHL,* 4:1181-92.)

B. VAN ELDEREN

**Nabonidus** nab'uh-ni'duhs (Lat. form of Gk. Ναβόννηδος [*cf. Jos. Ag. Ap.* 1.149-53; in Herodotus *Hist.* 1.74, Ναβύνητος]; from Akk. *Nabū-naʾid,* "[the god Nabu] is to be revered"). The last king of Chaldean Babylonia, 556-539 B.C. See ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA; CHALDEA.

**I. Sources.** An eighty-four line tablet known as the Nabonidus Chronicle (British Museum 35382), three stelae from Haran, and a libelous "Verse Account" of his reign by CYRUS are among the direct historical sources (cf. *ANET,* 305 – 7, 308 – 16, 560 – 63). These may be supplemented by numerous contemporary business and economic documents and by the later accounts of Greek historians, namely, HERODOTUS and Berossus (the latter preserved in *Jos. Apion* 1.20-21 and Euseb. *Prep. Evang.* 9.41). The fall of BABYLON is described in Dan. 5 (on which Jos. *Ant.* 10.11.2 relied). This has been compared with the account of the madness of NEBUCHADNEZZAR (Dan. 4:23-33). Since Herodotus calls both Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus by the same name (Labynetus), it has been argued that the prayer in Dan. 4:23 – 33 may refer to Nabonidus himself (see NABONIDUS, PRAYER OF).

**II. Family.** Nabonidus was the only son of Nabūbalāssu-iqbi, a "wise prince and governor" at Haran,

otherwise unknown. His mother, Adda-guppi', was an influential votary of the gods Sin, Ningal, Nusgu, and Sardarunna, who died in 547 B.C., aged 104, and was given a state funeral and public mourning. Both were probably of royal blood, and Nabonidus possibly was related to Nebuchadnezzar through marriage so that his son and coregent Bēl-šar-usur (BELSHAZZAR) could claim to be a descendant of that illustrious monarch (so Dan. 5:11, 18). He made a daughter, Bēl-šalti-nannar, high-priestess of the moon-god Sin at Ur.

**III. Reign.** If identical with the person of the same name in a contract of the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar, he was then a chief official of a Babylonian city and could thus have been the Labynetus who acted as the Babylonian intermediary, with Syennesis of CILICIA, between Alyattes of LYDIA and Astyages of MEDIA in 585 B.C. Nebuchadnezzar was succeeded by a period of family strife during which the rulers were his son EVIL-MERODACH (for two years), his son-in-law Neriglissar (for four years), and another son, Labashi-Marduk, who was recognized as king only for two months, May-June 556 B.C., in part of Babylonia. Nabonidus, who was supported by other cities, was accepted as sole ruler by the end of June.

Two years later Nabonidus entrusted the rule of Babylon to his son Belshazzar, whom he had made coregent (cf. *ANET,* 313b). He himself moved to Haran, where restoration work on the temple of the moon-god Sin, Ehulhul, was begun after its ruin by the Medes, as indicated to him in a dream. See HARAN (PLACE). From there he moved S to attack Adummu (EDOM) and the sheikh of Teima) (TEMA) in NW ARABIA, who was killed. Here Nabonidus settled with his Babylonian and Syro-Palestinian troops and gained control of an area S to Dedan and Yathrib (Medina).

Various theories have been put forward to explain the ten years Nabonidus spent in this area. It has been considered an act of madness (Dan. 4) or an astute economic move to control the valuable spice routes from S Arabia to the N, to Babylonia, and to Egypt. Commercial tablets show that the king kept in touch with his capital, Babylon, and it is clear that no such sojourn could have been possible without the peaceful relations with the Arabs he claimed. It is possible that the move was connected with the dire famine that was rife in Babylonia and attributed by Nabonidus to the impiety of the people. Prices there increased by fifty percent during the decade between 560 and 550, while in Teima) the rains never failed. It is unlikely that the voluntary exile was due to any desire to avoid close contact with the increasing power, since Astyages was not captured by Cyrus till 549 B.C.

According to the Haran stela, there was a change in the attitude of the kings of Egypt (Amasis II) and of the Medes (at this time Cyrus). The Arabs and other rulers were said to have also resumed good relations. On the seventeenth day of Teshrit in 545, Nabonidus therefore returned to Babylon, where he carried out work on various shrines, including that of the sun-god Shamash at Sippar. The weakness of the state was evident in both its economy and defense. The Medes overran the zone E of the Tigris River; the Elamites, parts of southern Babylonia. In 547 he brought the gods of the principal cities into Babylon in an attempt to save them from the advancing enemies, now aided by the defector Gobryas of Gutium.

The Persians moved on Babylon in 539. The city was entered by a stratagem and without a battle on October 12. On that night Belshazzar was put to death (Dan. 5:30). Nabonidus, who had fled to Borsippa, reentered the city and was taken prisoner. According to one tradition, he died in exile in Carmania (Jos. *Apion* 1.20). Seventeen days later Cyrus himself entered the city and took over the throne. The political power at Babylon now passed from Semitic into Persian hands.

**IV. Religion.** It has been customary to see in Nabonidus a reformer who aimed to replace MARDUK

and make the worship of the moon-god Sin paramount in Babylonia. On this view he was thwarted by a priestly party in the country that forced him into exile in Arabia, where he was able to indulge in such worship unhindered. Against this, his inscriptions show that while interested in Sin shrines for family reasons he showed the customary piety in restoring the temples of other deities, including that of Marduk at Babylon and Shamash at Sippar. Due regard is paid also to other deities in his building inscriptions. His activity in the work of restoration has led him to be designated a "royal archaeologist," but his interest in the past, exemplified by the copies of earlier texts found in the course of restoration work, especially at Ur, only follows ancient Babylonian tradition.

The account of Cyrus certainly aims to vilify Nabonidus, accusing him of injustice, lack of regard for property, and the failure to observe the correct rites of the New Year Festival. This may well be a later attempt to justify the Persian conqueror in the eyes of the vanquished, though some of the historical information included is no doubt accurate. Evaluation of the two points of view must await the discovery of further texts.

(See further S. Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts Relating to the Capture and Downfall of Babylon* [1924], 27–123; R. P. Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar* [1929]; J. Lewy in *HUCA* 19 [1946]: 405–89; J. T. Milik in *RB* 62 [1956]: 407ff.; C. J. Gadd in *Anatolian Studies* 8 [1958]: 35–92; P.-A. Beaulieu, *The Reign of Nabonidus, King of Babylon, 556–539 B.C.* [1989; cf. also his summary in *CANE,* 2:969–79]; R. H. Sack in *ABD,* 4:973-76; D. J. Wiseman in *CAH* 3/2, 2nd ed. [1991], 243–51; P.-A. Beaulieu, *Legal and Administrative Texts from the Reign of Nabonidus* [2002].)

D. J. WISEMAN

**Nabonidus, Prayer of**. A fragmentary ARAMAIC MS discovered in Qumran Cave IV (4QPrNab = 4Q242) and dated to the 1st cent. B.C., though the original composition may be one or two centuries older. The reconstruction of this brief text is problematic in some of its details, but it evidently relates a prayer of King Nabonidus (*nbny*) when he had been smitten by a severe skin disease for seven years while in Teiman (Teima<; see TEMA). After the king has confessed his sin, a Jewish exile tells him to worship the God Most High. Scholars have been intrigued by the similarities of this document with the account of the madness of NEBUCHADNEZZAR (Dan. 4:23-33), and some argue that the latter derives from the former or that both reflect a common tradition. (See F. M. Cross in *IEJ 34* [1984]: 260-64; F. Garcia Martinez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* [1992], 116-36; E. Puech in *Targumic and Cognate Studies: Essays in Honour of Martin McNamara,* ed. K. J. Cathcart and M. Maher [1996], 208-27.)

**Nabopolassar** nab'uh-puh-las'uhr (Akk. *Nabū-apla-uṣur,* "may [the god] Nabu protect the son!"). First king (626-605 B.C.) of the Neo-Babylonian ("Chaldean") Dynasty, and the father of NEBUCHADNEZZAR II. See ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA; CHALDEA. Nabopolassar was originally a petty chieftain in S Babylonia, but at the death of King ASHURBANIPAL of Assyria in 626 B.C., he became king of BABYLON and quickly thereafter seized NIPPUR and Uruk (ERECH) from Sin-šar-iškun of Assyria. In a few years he had control of all Babylonia and made a significant alliance with Cyaxares, king of the Medes (see MEDIA).

In 615 B.C. he failed to seize ASSHUR, but when it fell in 614 to the Medes he shared the spoils. To bind a treaty made between Nabopolassar and Cyaxares, king of the Medes, the latter gave his daughter Amytis in marriage to Nabopolassar's son, Nebuchadnezzar. After this treaty with Cyaxares, there was no fear of the mountain tribes, and Nabopolassar was able to compel the former vassals of

Assyria, as far as Palestine and Cilicia, to pay tribute to him. His army was well-trained in Assyrian methods of fighting, and eventually in 612 he and his ally took NINEVEH. This conquest meant that the Assyrian empire was divided, with the southern part falling to Nabopolassar. In 609 Haran, the last Assyrian stronghold, fell to the Babylonians. See HARAN (PLACE).

In 606 Nabopolassar took up the EUPHRATES front, where the Egyptian hold on CARCHEMISH posed a threat to the entire western part of his newly won empire. Pharaoh NECO II of Egypt had invaded Palestine and Syria in order to get his share of the fallen Assyrian empire, and it was Nebuchadnezzar, the crown prince, acting for his ailing father, who achieved the conquest of Carchemish and drove the Egyptian army back home in 605. King Nabopolassar had returned to Babylon in the spring of the same year, and died there on 15 August.

Nabopolassar represented himself as a pious man who rose from humble origin to kingship, but he referred with great pride to his victory over Assyria. He started various constructions at Babylon and elsewhere that were completed by his son Nebuchadnezzar. These included improvement of the irrigation around Babylon, as well as beautifying the city itself.

Although Nabopolassar is not mentioned in the Bible, JOSIAH of Judah may have been friendly with him (as HEZEKIAH had been an ally of the Babylonians), for Josiah lost his life at MEGIDDO in a futile attempt to stop Pharaoh Neco II from going to the aid of the Assyrians. (See further D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of the Chaldean Kings* [1956], 5–21; G. *Roux, Ancient Iraq,2nd* ed. [1980]; S. Zawadzki, *The Fall of Assyria and Median-Babylonian Relations in the Light of the Nabopolassar Chronicle* [1988]; P.-A. Beaulieu, *The Reign of Nabonidus, King of Babylon 556-539 B.C.* [1989]; J. Oates in CAH 3/2, 2nd ed. [1991], 162-93.)

L. L. WALKER

**Naboth** nay'both (נָבוֹת *H5559,* "growth, sprout," possibly short form of a theophoric name, such as "scion of Yahweh" [cf. LXX Naßουθαι]). The owner of a vineyard desired by King AHAB because it lay near his alternate royal palace in JEZREEL (1 Ki. 21:1-29), probably on the E side of the city (2 Ki. 9:25-26). Ahab offered Naboth either money or the exchange of a better vineyard. Naboth refused on the valid ground that it was part of his paternal INHERITANCE. Patrinomies belonged to families, not individuals, and Naboth would have wronged his descendants by selling it, as well as having broken God's law (Lev. 25:23-28; Num. 36:7-9). Ahab himself did not force the issue, but his wife JEZEBEL did. She showed her cruel, ruthless character by arranging a "legal" method by which to take Naboth's life, and apparently also the lives of his sons (2 Ki. 9:26). She ordered Jezreelite officials to suborn false witnesses and so bring about the death-deserving conviction because Naboth had blasphemed both God and king. Her orders were carried out, revealing the strength of her control in the land. This gave Ahab access to the vineyard,

Arial view of the remains of Jezreel from the SE. Adjacent to this town was Naboth's vineyard.

but when he came to possess it, ELIJAH met him and pronounced God's judgment upon him and the entire royal house. When Ahab repented, temporary respite was given (1 Ki. 21:27-29) until his death at RAMOTH GILEAD. Dogs then licked his blood at the pool of SAMARIA when it was flushed off his chariot (22:38). Complete fulfillment came through JEHU when he slew Ahab's second son, JEHORAM (2 Ki. 9:24), caused the death of Jezebel in Jezreel (9:33), and then the execution of Ahab's remaining sons in Samaria (10:1-11). (See C. F. Keil, *The Books of the Kings* [1872], 269-73; F. I. Andersen in *JBL* 85 [1966]: 46-57; Y. Zakovitch, addendum in M. Weiss, *The Bible from Within* [1984], 379-405; P. T. Cronauer, *The Stories about Naboth the Jezreelite* [2005].)

L. J. WOOD

**Nabu.** See NEBO (DEITY).

**Nabuchodonosor** nab'uh-kuh-don'uh-sor. KJV Apoc. form of NEBUCHADNEZZAR (Jdt. 1:1 et al.).

**Nachon** nay'kon. KJV form of NACON.

**Nachor** nay'kor. KJV alternate form of NAHOR (only Josh. 24:2; Lk. 3:34).

**Nacon** nay'kon (נָכוֹן *H5789,* possibly "established"). KJV Nachon; 'TNIV Nakon. The owner of a threshing floor next to which UZZAH died because he touched the ARK OF THE COVENANT while it was being transported toward JERUSALEM (2 Sam. 6:6; 4QSam[a] has *nwdn*, and the parallel passage in 1 Chr. 13:9 reads *kîdōn*). Some have speculated that the form here is not a proper name and that the phrase should be rendered "a certain threshing floor" or "the threshing floor of striking" (i.e., destruction). See discussion under KIDON.

**Nadab** nay'dab (נָדָב *H5606,* possibly short form of נְדַבְיָה *H5608,* "Yahweh is willing"). (1) Eldest son of AARON and ELISHEBA (Exod. 6:23; Num. 3:2; 26:60; 1 Chr. 6:3; 24:1). He and his next younger brother, ABIHU, were permitted to accompany Aaron and seventy Israelite elders while ascending

Mount Sinai to see a representation of God and to eat and drink in God's presence (Exod. 24:1, 9-11). This official group represented Israel in intimate fellowship with God in keeping with the new covenantal relationship just ratified earlier the same day (24:3-8).

Nadab and his brothers, Abihu, ELEAZAR, and ITHAMAR, were admitted to priestly office with their father, Aaron (Exod. 28:1; Lev. 8:1-36). After several days of consecration, on the eighth day when official service began, Nadab and Abihu sinned in offering "unholy" (NIV, "unauthorized") fire before the Lord. They were immediately consumed in death by fire from the Lord (Lev. 10:1-2; Num. 3:4). To emphasize the seriousness of the sin, MOSES forbade Aaron and the two living sons to observe customary mourning ceremonies for them (Lev. 10:6). Both men died without offspring (Num. 3:4; 1 Chr. 24:2).

The exact nature of the sin is not clear. Moses' words (Num. 3:3) imply that the sin issued from hearts that were not in tune with God's HOLINESS and GLORY. Apparently their hearts were proud. The term *zār H2424* ("strange, unlawful"), designating that which they offered, suggests error in the nature of the fire used. Some passages (Lev. 16:12; Num. 16:46) imply that fire from the brazen altar was to be used in offering incense. Nadab and Abihu may have taken live coals from elsewhere. Their act is described as putting fire in censers and laying INCENSE on it while yet in the censers. This was to be the procedure on the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:12–13), but otherwise incense was to be offered on the golden altar (Exod. 30:7–8; see INCENSE, ALTAR OF). Further, they seem to have offered at a wrong time. Incense was to be offered morning and evening (Exod. 30:7–8), but the time implied was some other period during the day, between the sacrificial activity of Lev. 9 and the ceremonial eating of Lev. 10:12–20. Further still, the injunction of Lev. 10:9–10 perhaps suggests that the brothers were under the influence of strong drink at the time.

(2) Son of Shammai and descendant of JUDAH through JERAHMEEL (1 Chr. 2:28, 30).

(3) Son of JEIEL and descendant of BENJAMIN; apparently a great-uncle of King SAUL (1 Chr. 8:30–33; 9:35–39).

(4) Son of JEROBOAM I and king of Israel about 910–909 B.C. (1 Ki. 15:25-31). His two years of rule (v. 25) were really only parts of two years (cf. vv. 25, 28, 33). It is said that he laid siege to GIBBETHON (v. 27), a city belonging to the tribe of Dan (Josh. 19:40-46) and assigned as a Levitical city (Josh. 21:23). At this time it was held by PHILISTINES (1 Ki. 15:27; 16:15). Though comparatively small, Gibbethon must have been considered important, for twenty-six years later OMRI, then general under King ELAH, laid siege to it again (16:15-17). SARGON too besieged it, even picturing the city on a panel in his Khorsabad palace, calling it Gab-bu-tu-nu. Nadab was killed by his successor, BAASHA, during his siege of Gibbethon. Baasha exterminated the whole house of Jeroboam, thus fulfilling AHIJAH's prophecy (14:10-11).

(5) Nephew of Ahikar who attended the wedding of TOBIT's son, Tobias (Tob. 11:18). Later Nadab, having plotted to kill Ahikar, received God's condemnation (14:10). He is called Nadan in the Mesopotamian legend known as *The Words of Ahikar* (see AHIKAR).

L. J. WOOD

**Nadabath** nad'uh-bath (Naδaßaθ). A place mentioned once in the APOCRYPHA (1 Macc. 9:37). Jonathan and Simon MACCABEE, avenging the execution of their brother John by the "children of Jambri," a NABATEAN tribe, ambushed a wedding procession. The bride was brought from Nadabath to MEDEBA. This Transjordanian city is perhaps the ancient Moabite town of NEBO, referred to as Nabatha in JOSEPHUS (*Ant.* 13.1.4). Others identify it with the modern Khirbet et-Teim, just S of Medeba. (For a different approach, see J. Goldstein, *I Maccabees,* AB 41 [1977], 384-85.)

**Naggai** nag'i (Ναγγαι *G3710*). KJV Nagge. Son of Maath, included in Luke's GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Lk. 3:25).

**Nagge** nag'ee. KJV form of NAGGAI.

**Nag Hammadi Library** nahg'huh-mah'dee. In 1945, a dozen Coptic MSS (plus part of a thirteenth) were accidentally discovered near the modern Egyptian town of Nag Hammadi. These leather codices apparently were found by the village of Faw Qibli (near al-Qaṣr, ancient Chenoboskion); they had been hidden in a jar behind a large rock at the base of a cliff called Jebel al-Ṭarif. Over time they were acquired by the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo. The significance of these MSS soon became clear when they were shown to date to the 4th cent. A.D. and to contain more than fifty tractates that give expression to what may be called Gnostic Christianity. It appears that these writings had originally been composed in Greek a century or two earlier.

Prior to this discovery, our knowledge of Gnostic ideas in early Christianity had been largely limited to partial (and hostile) descriptions in the patristic literature. Now, however, it became possible to read firsthand, and in context, the writings associated with that movement. The various tractates are quite diverse in character: some have a strong tie to Jewish traditions, others reproduce non-Christian philosophical treatises, still others consist of HERMETIC texts. Many of the documents contain obscure myths, made even more difficult by their fragmentary nature and by the fact that in the course of transmission numerous copying and translation errors were introduced. Still, these writings have opened up a new world to students of early heterodox Christianity, shedding considerable light on religious developments after the apostolic period. In addition, some scholars have argued that a few of the texts provide a direct and independent link to the teachings of Jesus (see LOGIA; THOMAS, GOSPEL OF).

Following is a complete list of the tractates in each MS (NHC = Nag Hammadi Codex); note that copies of several of the tractates are preserved in more than one codex. See separate articles for a brief summary of individual tractates. (An authoritative and convenient English translation of all the tractates may be found in *NHL*. For a more complete edition, which includes the Coptic texts and commentaries, see J. M. Robinson, ed., *The Coptic Gnostic Library* [2000]. See also K. Rudolph, *Gnosis: The Nature and History of Gnosticism* [1984], esp. 34 – 52; S. Giversen et al., eds., *The Nag Hammadi Texts in the History of Religion* [2002]; *ABD*, 4:982 – 93.) For a discussion of the Gnostic worldview and further bibliography, see GNOSTICISM.

I, 1: Prayer of the Apostle Paul
I, 2: Apocryphon of James
I, 3: Gospel of Truth (cf. XII, 2)
I, 4: Treatise on the Resurrection
I, 5: Tripartite Tractate
II, 1: Apocryphon of John (cf. III, 1 and IV, 1)
II, 2: Gospel of Thomas
II, 3: Gospel of Philip
II, 4: Hypostasis of the Archons
II, 5: On the Origin of the World (cf. XIII, 2)

II, 6: Exegesis on the Soul
II, 7: Book of Thomas the Contender
III, 1: Apocryphon of John (cf. II, 1 and IV, 1)
III, 2: Gospel of the Egyptians (cf. IV, 2)
III, 3: Eugnostos the Blessed (cf. V, 1)
III, 4: Sophia of Jesus Christ
III, 5: Dialogue of the Savior
IV, 1: Apocryphon of John (cf. II, 1 and III, 1)
IV, 2: Gospel of the Egyptians (cf. III, 2)
V, 1: Eugnostos the Blessed (cf. III, 3)
V, 2: Apocalypse of Paul
V, 3: First Apocalypse of James
V, 4: Second Apocalypse of James
V, 5: Apocalypse of Adam
VI, 1: Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles
VI, 2: The Thunder, Perfect Mind
VI, 3: Authoritative Teaching
VI, 4: Concept of Our Great Power
VI, 5: Plato's Republic (only 588B – 589B)
VI, 6: Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth
VI, 7: Prayer of Thanksgiving
VI, 8: Asclepius (only 21 – 29)
VII, 1: Paraphrase of Shem
VII, 2: Second Treatise of the Great Seth
VII, 3: Apocalypse of Peter
VII, 4: Teachings of Silvanus
VII, 5: Three Steles of Seth
VIII, 1: Zostrianos
VIII, 2: Letter of Peter to Philip
IX, 1: Melchizedek
IX, 2: Thought of Norea
IX, 3: Testimony of Truth
X, 1: Marsanes
XI, 1: Interpretation of Knowledge
XI, 2: A Valentinian Exposition
XI, 2a: On the Anointing
XI, 2b: On Baptism A
XI, 2c: On Baptism B
XI, 2d: On the Eucharist A
XI, 2e: On the Eucharist B
XI, 3: Allogenes
XI, 4: Hypsiphrone
XII, 1: Sentences of Sextus
XII, 2: Gospel of Truth (cf. I, 3)
XII, 3: Fragments

XIII, 1: Trimorphic Protennoia
XIII, 2: On the Origin of the World (cf. II, 5)

It should also be noted that a Coptic papyrus codex in Berlin (BG 8502) contains the *Apocryphon of John* (NHC II, 1, et al.) and *Sophia of Jesus Christ* (NHC III, 4), as well as two additional tractates, *Gospel of Mary* and *Acts of Peter*.

**Nahalal** nay'huh-lal (Heb. נַהֲלָל *H5634*, also נַהֲלֹל *H5636* [Jdg. 1:30], "water place"). A city allotted to the tribe of ZEBULUN (Josh. 19:15; KJV, "Nahallal"), later given to the Levites descended from MERARI (21:35). Zebulun was unable to expel the Canaanite inhabitants who dwelt among them, but the latter became subject to forced labor (Jdg. 1:30; here the name occurs in the form "Nahalol"). Nahalal was evidently close to SHIMRON, but the precise location is uncertain. There is a modern town named Nahalal about 6 mi. N of MEGIDDO, and some sites near it have been identified with the biblical town (cf. J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* [1959], 182). W. F. Albright had earlier favored Tell en-Naḥl, which is much further W (c. 6 mi. E of the Mediterranean, N of the KISHON River near the S end of the Plain of Acco; see AASOR 2 – 3 [1923]: 26), but this identification requires that the tribal territory of Zebulun had expanded to include part of ASHER. There is not sufficient evidence to confirm the various suggestions.

P. A. VERHOEF

**Nahaliel** nuh-hay'lee-uhl (נַחֲלִיאֵל *H5712*, "river [*or* palm-grove] of God"). A stopping place of the Israelites in TRANSJORDAN toward the end of their wanderings (Num. 21:19). Nahaliel was evidently between MATTANAH and BAMOTH, but the precise location of these sites is unknown. If the name alludes to a wadi, it might be one of the northern tributaries of the ARNON.

**Nahallal** nuh-hal'uhl. KJV alternate form of NAHALAL (only Josh. 19:15).

**Nahalol** nay'huh-lol. Alternate form of NAHALAL.

**Naham** nay'ham (נַחַם *H5715*, "comfort"). Brother of HODIAH's wife, included in the genealogy of JUDAH (1 Chr. 4:19).

**Nahamani** nay'huh-may'n*i* (נַחֲמָנִי *H5720*, "comfort," possibly short form of נְחֶמְיָה *H5718*, "Yahweh has comforted," with double ending *-ān* and *–î* [Noth, *IPN*, 39, 175]; see NEHEMIAH). An Israelite mentioned among leading individuals who returned from Babylon with ZERUBBABEL (Neh. 7:7; apparently called "Eneneus" in 1 Esd. 5:8 [KJV, "Enenius"; RSV conjectures "Bigvai"]; the name is omitted in the parallel in Ezra 2:2).

**Naharai** nay'huh-r*i* (נַחְרַי *H5726*, perhaps "diligent" or "gaunt"). A man from BEEROTH who served as armor-bearer for JOAB and who was included among DAVID's mighty warriors (2 Sam. 23:37 [some eds. of KJV, "Nahari"]; 1 Chr. 11:39).

**Nahari** nay'huh-r*i*. KJV alternate form of NAHA-RAI.

**Nahash** nay'hash (נָחָשׁ *H5731*, "serpent"; but cf. also Akk. *Naḫšu*, from *naḫāšu*, "to be luxuriant"). (1) King of AMMON in the late 11th cent. B.C. Soon after SAUL became king of Israel, Nahash besieged JABESH GILEAD and agreed to make a treaty with its inhabitants "only on the condition that I gouge out the right eye of every one of you and so bring disgrace on all Israel" (1 Sam. 11:1 – 2). This incident caused Saul to prove himself as king in the way he rallied Israel against Nahash and defeated him (1 Sam. 11:4 – 11; cf. 12:12).

One of the DEAD SEA SCROLLS (4QSam[a]) precedes this story with a paragraph that many scholars consider original. It is included in the NRSV as follows: "Now Nahash, king of the Ammonites, had been grievously oppressing the Gadites and the Reubenites. He would gouge out the right eye of each of them and would not grant Israel a deliverer. No one was left of the Israelites across the Jordan whose right eye Nahash, king of the Ammonites, had not gouged out. But there were seven thousand men who had escaped from the Ammonites and had entered Jabesh-gilead. About a month later…" (here the scroll picks up the text at 1 Sam. 11:1; cf. Jos. *Ant* 6.5.1 §§68 – 70). If this material is indeed authentic (but see, e.g., T. L. Eves in *WTJ* 44 [1982]: 308 – 26), it indicates that the siege of Jabesh Gilead was only one (the last) in a series of repressive acts by Nahash against the Transjordanian tribes of Gad and Reuben.

According to 2 Sam. 10:1 – 2 (= 1 Chr. 19:1 – 2), after "the king of the Ammonites died," DAVID said to himself, "I will show kindness to Hanun son of Nahash, just as his father showed kindness to me." Many scholars assume that Nahash must have aided David when the latter was fleeing from Saul, their mutual enemy. One scholar has speculated that the specific kindness mentioned here refers to a much later time when David, during ABSALOM's rebellion, received provisions from Nahash's son SHOBI (2 Sam. 17:27; see P. K. McCarter, Jr., *II Samuel*, AB 9 [1984], 273 – 74). The chronology is problematic, however; in addition, some have thought that the Nahash in the latter passage is a different individual altogether (cf. KD, *Samuel*, 434). It has also been suggested that the Nahash referred to in 10:2 was a descendant of the one mentioned in 11:1, though the biblical text gives no indication that two different people are meant. See also #2 below.

(2) Father of ABIGAIL, the sister of ZERUIAH (2 Sam. 17:25). Both women are called sisters of David (1 Chr. 2:16), even though David's father was named JESSE, not Nahash. Perhaps the best explanation is that Nahash was the first husband of David's mother; if so, these two women were half-sisters of David and stepdaughters of Jesse. Some have argued that this Nahash is the same as #1 above, in which case David would have had a connection with the Ammonite royal family even before the conflicts between Saul and Nahash (note that the Ammonite crown was placed on David's head after he captured RABBAH, 2 Sam. 12:30; see *ABD*, 4:496).

(3) Possibly the name of a town in Judah. See IR NAHASH.

P. A. VERHOEF

**Nahath** na'hath (נַחַת *H5740*, possibly "rest" or "pure"). (1) Son of Reuel and grandson of ESAU by BASEMATH; an Edomite clan chief (Gen. 36:13, 17; 1 Chr. 1:37).

(2) Son of Zophai, descendant of LEVI through KOHATH, and ancestor of SAMUEL (1 Chr. 6:26; possibly the same as TOAH in v. 34 and TOHU in 1 Sam. 1:1, both of whom are identified as being a son of ZUPH).

(3) A Levite who, in the time of King HEZEKIAH, was a supervisor of the temple offerings (2 Chr. 31:13).

S. BARABAS

**Nahbi** nah'b*i* (נַחְבִּי *H5696*, possibly "timid"). Son of Vophsi, from the tribe of NAPHTALI, and one of the twelve spies sent out by MOSES to reconnoiter the Promised Land (Num. 13:14).

**Nahor** nay'hor (נָחוֹר *H5701*, meaning uncertain; Ναχώρ *G3732*). KJV also Nachor (only Josh. 24:2; Lk. 3:34). (1) Son of Serug, descendant of SHEM, father of TERAH, and grandfather of ABRAHAM (Gen. 11:22 – 25; 1 Chr. 1:26); included in Luke's GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Lk. 3:34). After the birth of Terah in his twenty-ninth year, Nahor "lived 119 years and had other sons and daughters" (Gen. 11:25).

(2) Second son of Terah, and brother of Abraham and HARAN (Gen. 11:26 – 29; Josh. 24:2). A list is given of the twelve children of Nahor (Gen. 22:20 – 24), eight by his wife MILCAH, who was the daughter of his brother Haran (Gen. 11:29; 24:15, 24, 47), and four by his concubine REUMAH. The contention that these "children" of Nahor must have represented the names of twelve Aramean tribes or places does not necessarily follow from the text. LABAN is once called the "son" of Nahor (29:5 NRSV) but the Hebrew word *bēn H1201* can refer to a descendant, thus a grandson (cf. NIV). In concluding the covenant at MIZPAH, Laban called upon "the God of Abraham and the God of Nahor, the God of their father" (31:53). The indication is that Laban distinguishes between the deities of JACOB and himself (cf. vv. 29 and 42; this distinction, however, does not apply to the God of the patriarchs, as was proposed by A. Alt, *Der Gott der Väter* [1929]).

(3) A city mentioned in Gen. 24:10. The reference may be either to a city called Nahor, or else it may be understood as the personal name, referring to #2 above; in the latter case, the passage may be rendered, "the city where Nahor lived," that is, Haran. See HARAN (PLACE). The Akkadian name *Naḫur*, however, occurs frequently in the MARI texts, referring to a location in northern Mesopotamia. It must have been near to Haran (Gen. 27:43; 28:10; 29:4 – 5; cf. J. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* [1959], 219).

P. A. VERHOEF

**Nahshon** nah'shon (נַחְשׁוֹן *H5732*, "little snake"; Ναασσών *G3709*). KJV also Naashon (Exod. 6:23) and Naasson (Matt. 1:4; Lk. 3:32). Son of Amminadab, descendant of JUDAH, grandfather (or ancestor) of BOAZ, and ancestor of DAVID; included in the GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Ruth 4:20; 1 Chr. 2:10 – 11; Matt. 1:4; Lk. 3:32). Nahshon was the leader of the tribe of Judah as they camped in the wilderness (Num. 2:3). As such, he assisted MOSES in taking a census of the Israelites (1:7) and brought offerings to the Lord on the first day of the dedication of the TABERNACLE (7:12 – 17). Since this tribe led the way when the whole nation moved, Nahshon was an important man (10:14). His sister ELISHEBA married AARON (Exod. 6:23).

R. L. ALDEN

**Nahum** nay'huhm (נַחוּם *H5699*, possibly "[God] comforts" or "comforter"; Ναούμ *G3725*). (1) An ELKOSHITE, author of a prophetic book (Nah. 1:1). See NAHUM, BOOK OF.

(2) Son of Esli, included in Luke's GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Lk. 3:25; KJV, "Naum").

**Nahum, Book of**. The seventh book among the Minor Prophets. It belongs to that class of prophecies known as the *prophetiae contra gentes* (prophecies against the nations); it foretells the fall and destruction of NINEVEH, the haughty capital of the mighty Assyrian empire (see ASSYRIA AND

BABYLONIA).

**I. Unity**. The consensus of critical scholarship regards only Nah. 2:3—3:19 as original. It is argued that 1:2 – 10 is a secondary addition mainly because this passage is construed partly as an alphabetic (ACROSTIC) psalm, and because it is supposedly not related to the central theme of the book. These arguments, however, are not decisive. First, it is evident that the acrostic is incomplete and that the opening letters of vv. 2 – 10 have a disturbed order: 1, 10, 3, 5, 12, 9, 6, 13 and 11. "Only by the most radical emendations and reshuffling of verses can the acrostic theory be made out" (G. L. Archer, Jr., *A Survey of Old Testament Introduction* , rev. ed. [1994], 392). The theory that this type of acrostic poetry did not become popular until the 4th cent. B.C. presupposes a late dating of Lam. 1 – 4 and of Pss. 34; 37; 111; 112; 119; 145.There is no reason why someone with such a distinguished poetical ability as Nahum could not have written this passage. Second, the charge of the absence of a reference to Nineveh is, of course, contradicted by the fact that Nineveh is mentioned in the title and alluded to especially in v. 8. This section is, indeed, an appropriate introduction to Nahum's prophecy, emphasizing both RETRIBUTION toward God's enemies and consolation toward those who take refuge in him.

Division of opinion exists in regard to the intervening passage (Nah. 1:11—2:2). According to some, this section is partially redactional and partly an original section of Nahum's prophecy. The main objection against its originality is the "artificially balanced" representation of judgment upon the enemy and of promise toward God's people. These two aspects of the prophecy, however, belong together in the sense of cause and effect.

**II. Authorship**. The second part of the title (Nah. 1:1) assigns "the book" to Nahum of Elkosh (see ELKOSHITE). According to some scholars (Smit, Goslinga), this part of the title was added to preserve the name of the prophet and to characterize the oracle as "book." There is however no reason to doubt the validity of the title in connection with Nahum's authorship of the prophecy. The name Nahum (*naḥûm H5699*, signifying "comfort, consolation") occurs nowhere else in the OT, but is found in Lk. 3:25 and on OSTRACA. Nothing is known of this prophet outside the book that bears his name.

**III. Date**. Two major events define the approximate date of this prophecy: the fall of THEBES (Walter Maier, *The Book of Nahum: A Commentary* [1959], 34) in 668/7 B.C., and the fall of NINEVEH in 612. The first event is referred to in Nah. 3:8 – 10 as a fact of history, and the fall of Nineveh is predicted as a future occurrence. Within these limits a wide range of conflicting dates has been advocated. Most critical scholars prefer a date shortly before the fall of Nineveh. According to Pfeiffer "the poem was undoubtedly written between 625 and 612, and probably between 614 and 612" (*Introduction to the Old Testament* [1941], 596). The main reason for this viewpoint is the supposition that the fall of Nineveh is thought of as imminent. According to J. M. P. Smith, "the invasion of Assyria has already begun" (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Nahum*, ICC [1911], 275).

This imminence, however, is read into the text. The internal evidence of the book itself points to

The book of Nahum foretells the collapse of the Assyrian Kingdom and the fall of Nineveh.

a much earlier date. The description of Nineveh presupposes a city bathing in grandeur and might, and this could hardly have been applied to Nineveh shortly after the death of ASHURBANIPAL in about 626. It is known that Assyria had lost its authority over the territories in the W during the reign of JOSIAH, king of Judah (639 – 609). When Nahum wrote his prophecy Judah was still subjected to the Assyrian tyranny (Nah. 1:13) and plundering (2:2, cf. 1:15). During the reign of Josiah, however, there was no occasion for the prophet to represent the deliverance and rejoicing of Judah as a result of the fall of Nineveh, for at that time Judah was no longer experiencing the rule of Assyria (cf. 2 Ki. 23).

Two other dates have been advocated, one shortly before 626, in connection with a supposed attack on Nineveh led by Cyaxares, the Median king, and one shortly before 652 – 648, with reference to the Babylonian rebellion led by Shamash-shum-ukin. These theories are hypothetical, based upon the assumption that the prophecy of Nahum must have had a basis in specific historical events. The present writer prefers a date shortly after the fall of Thebes. The reference to this event as an argument against Assyria gains in effectiveness under the assumption that the prophecy was uttered shortly after Thebes was captured and destroyed by Ashurbanipal. Perhaps it would be safe to date the prophecy before 654, because at that time Thebes began to rise from its ruins (cf. Maier, *Nahum*, 36). Extreme positions have been taken by scholars who date Nahum *post eventum* (Sellin, Humbert), or even in the Maccabean age (O. Happel).

**IV. Place of origin**. Contrary to the rendering of the TARGUM, according to which Nahum was from the "house of Koshi," scholars are agreed that "Elkoshite" is a designation of his native town (cf. Mic. 1:1).There are, however, four different theories in regard to the identification of this place: (1) an unlikely Islamic tradition from the 16th cent. refers to the supposed grave of Nahum in el-Qush near Mosul; (2) Jerome identified it as Elcesi (apparently modern el-Kauze) in GALILEE; (3)

according to others CAPERNAUM really signifies "the village of Nahum"; (4) the theory that is favored by many identifies Elkosh with Elkesei, which according to Pseudo-Epiphanius was in the vicinity of "Begabar"

A pedestal from Nineveh with mythological creatures (c. 2250 B.C.). Nahum prophesied against Nineveh, capital of the Assyrian empire.

in the territory of Simeon. Begabar or Beth Gabre is the modern Beit Jibrin (ancient Eleutheropolis), in the SHEPHELAH, not far from GATH; the internal evidence of the text does suggest that the author lived somewhere in Judah (Nah. 1:15; cf. Raven, Young, Archer et al.).

**V. Background**. During the first half of the 7th cent. B.C. the international scene was dominated by Assyria. ASHURBANIPAL (669 – 626), the son of ESARHADDON (680 – 669), played a high hand in international affairs. He conquered Egypt the first year of his kingship (669), and repeated his victory in 663 (or 661). Some scholars apply the reference in Nah. 3:8 – 10 to this occasion. Little is known of the last part of Ashurbanipal's reign. His country was surrounded by mighty enemies: the SCYTHIANS in the N, the Medes in the E (see MEDIA), and the Chaldeans in the S (see CHALDEA). Egypt had previously regained its independence (645). The hour of Assyria's fall was drawing near. In the year 612, Nineveh was conquered and destroyed by the Medes and Chaldeans, and in 609 the mighty Assyrian empire vanished from the map.

Judah's internal situation was determined by the long reign of MANASSEH (c. 696 – 641). Being a vassal of Assyria (cf. the relevant inscriptions in *ANET*, 291, 294, 295), he introduced into Judah the official cult of the Assyrians (cf. 2 Ki. 21:1 – 18; 23:8 – 9; 2 Chr. 33:3), along with a whole host of heathen practices. Later he was taken captive (2 Chr. 33:11), and afterward was brought back to Jerusalem, where he repented of his sins and tried to undo his evil work (2 Chr. 33:10 – 13, 15 – 17). His son AMON (641 – 639) also "did evil in the eyes of the LORD" (2 Ki. 21:20). During the reign of JOSIAH (639 – 609), however, the heathen cult was abolished, the suzerainty of Assyria ended, and the reformation extended even into the territory of Israel (2 Ki. 23:15 – 20; 2 Chr. 34:6 – 7).

**VI. Canonicity and text**. The canonicity of the book was never seriously questioned. It occupied the same order in both the Palestinian and Alexandrian canons. See CANON OF THE OT. Moreover, Nahum was evidently a valued book in QUMRAN (cf. G. L. Doudna, *4Q Pesher Nahum: A Critical Edition*

[2001]). Apart from minor difficulties in the translation (e.g., Nah. 1:10, 12; 2:7 – 8), the text of Nahum is on the whole well preserved. A number of alterations in the RSV are unnecessary (e.g., 1:8; 2:3). Note that 1:15—2:13 in the English Bible corresponds with 2:1 – 14 in the Hebrew.

**VII. Content**. The book may be outlined as follows:

A. The title (Nah. 1:1) characterizes the prophecy as a burden or oracle (*maśśāʾ, H5363*) concerning Nineveh.

B. In an introductory statement (1:2 – 8) Nahum describes the power and patience of God, his wrath toward his enemies, and his goodness for those who seek refuge in him. The divine resolve to destroy Nineveh (v. 8) is implied.

C. The prediction of Nineveh's doom on account of her sins is meant as a consolation for Judah (1:9 – 15).

D. The next section (2:1 – 13; Heb. 2:2 – 14) depicts in a vivid manner the conquering of Nineveh. The precautions to defend the city against the instrument of doom (2:1 – 5) will be in vain. The city will be flooded (2:6), her people taken captive (2:7 – 8), and her treasures plundered (2:9). Terrifying fear will prevail (2:10), and Nineveh, that self-assured lion's den (2:11 – 13), will be destroyed.

E. In ch. 3 the fall of Nineveh is again announced, and described in highly poetical language. The murderous city (3:1) will be captured by the instrument of God's judgment (3:2, 3). Since this city acted like a harlot, she will be treated in like manner (3:4 – 7). She will fare no better than the mighty and well-fortified Thebes in Egypt, which went down in bloody defeat (3:8 – 10). Nineveh's defense will be in vain (3:11 – 14). Her multitudes of merchants and military leaders will desert the doomed city (3:16 – 17). Its inhabitants will be scattered, never to be gathered again (3:18). Amid universal applause Nineveh will disappear forever (3:19).

**VIII. Theology.** Some scholars unjustly degrade the religious significance of Nahum's prophecy on the ground that the prophet was "filled with a detestation of foreign oppressors." The allusion to Nahum's supposed chauvinistic attitude and concern with the sins of foreign nations only is extremely subjective. His prophecy was concerned primarily with the "consolation" for the people of God, who at that time were in subjection to the Assyrians. The affliction of Judah (Nah. 1:12) presupposes her sins, and the deliverance out of the bondage of Assyria (1:13) must be seen as an act of God's mercy (2:2).

The main point, however, is that this prophecy has its roots in the preceding history of the divine revelation (cf. Nah. 1:2 – 3a with Exod. 20:5; 34:7; Num. 14:18; Nah. 1:4 with Pss. 18:16; 104:7; Nah. 2:1 with Isa. 52:7; and Nah. 3:7 with Isa. 51:19). In the prophecy of Nahum the history of God's judgments in connection with Assyria (cf. Isa. 10:5 – 19; 14:24 – 27; 17:12 – 14; 18:4 – 6; 29:5 – 8; 30:27 – 33; 31:5 – 9; 33; 37:6 – 7, 21 – 35) reaches its climax. At the same time the prophecy of Nahum links up with the subsequent history of revelation, inasmuch as the antithesis between Assyria and Judah is deepened to represent the world power as enemy of God and his kingdom. This is especially evident in the description of Nineveh as harlot, which figure is again reflected in the visions of Rev. 17:1, 2, 15, 18; 18:23. In the announcement of judgment upon this enemy the people of God are "consoled."

(Important commentaries include O. Happel, *Das Buch des Propheten Nahum* [1902]; J. M. P. Smith et al., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Micah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habak-kuk, Obadiah and Joel*, ICC [1911]; W. A. Maier, *The Book of Nahum: A Commentary* [1959]; R. L.

Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, WBC 32 [1984]; O. P. Robertson, *The Books of Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah*, NICOT [1990]; R. D. Patterson, *Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah* [1991]; J. J. M. Roberts, *Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah*, OTL [1991]; T. Longman III in *The Minor Prophets: An Exegetical and Expository Commentary*, ed. T. McComiskey [1992 – 98], 2:765 – 89; K. Spronk, *Nahum* [1997]; K. L. Barker and W. Bailey, *Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah*, NAC 20 [1998]; J. K. Bruckner, *Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah*, NIVAC [2004]; H.-J. Fabry, *Nahum übersetzt und aus-gelegt*, HTKAT [2006]. See also P. Haupt in *JBL* 26 [1907]: 1 – 53; C. Goslinga, *Nahum's Godsspraak tegen Ninevé* [1923]; P. Humbert in *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 12 [1932]: 1ff.; A. Haldar, *Studies in the Book of Nahum* [1947]; K. K. Cathcart, *Nahum in the Light of Northwest Semitic* [1973]; and the bibliography compiled by W. E. Mills, *Nahum-Malachi* [2002].)

P. A. VERHOEF

**Naidus** n*i*'duhs (Ναιδος). One of the descendants of Addi who agreed to put away their foreign wives in the time of EZRA (1 Esd. 9:31); the parallel list (Ezra 10:30) differs considerably, but it is often thought that Naidus may correspond to BENAIAH.

**nail**. This English noun is used to render several Hebrew terms, such as *masmēr H5021* (1 Chr. 22:3 et al.). The nails of the carpenter and cabinet maker were widely used from ancient times and differed little in size and shape from those used today. Made usually of bronze or iron, they were hand-forged and tapered more gradually than the machined nails of today. Nails with gold or silver heads have been found that were used for decorative purposes. Six different words are used in the Bible for nails.

In the sense of the heath that protects the human finger, Hebrew has the term *ṣippōren H7632*. In the ANE, women in time of MOURNING let their persons go uncared for, sometimes as long as a year. The end of mourning was marked by dressing the hair and cutting the nails. The captive woman was given a month to mourn her separation from her people (Deut. 21:12). Then to indicate the end of her mourning, and perhaps the putting off of her heathenism, she cut her nails, groomed herself, and joined the community of Israel.

In the NT, "nail" renders Greek *hēlos G2464*, which occurs in only one passage with reference to the iron spikes used in the CRUCIFIXION of Jesus (Jn. 20:25; but cf. the verb *prosēloō G4669* in Col. 2:14). Such large nails have been found dating to Roman times.

P. C. JOHNSON

**Nain** nayn (Ναΐν *G3723*). During his great Galilean ministry, following the healing of the Roman CENTURION's slave in CAPERNAUM, Jesus journeyed about 25 mi. S to a city called Nain (Lk. 7:11 – 17). As he approached the city, he met the funeral procession of a widow's son, apparently a well-known person, since the procession consisted of a large crowd from the city. Touched by the desolate state of the widow, Jesus miraculously restored the young man to life to the astonishment and gratitude of the whole city and neighboring territory. Luke is the only evangelist to report this episode.

About 6.5 mi. SE of NAZARETH, near Kefar Yeladim, is the modern village of Nein, identified with the NT city. The present village is a Muslim settlement. It lies at the foot of the lower N slope of the hill Mount MOREH (at the northern edge of the Plain of ESDRAELON). It is intriguing that on the S side of the same hill lies the OT town of SHUNEM, where ELISHA also restored a child to life (2 Ki.

4:8 – 37). At Nein, a small chapel erected by the Franciscans in 1880, supposedly upon the foundations of an ancient sanctuary, marks the site of one of the most touching scenes in the life of Jesus—the raising of the widow's son.

JOSEPHUS (*War* 4.9.4 – 5) mentions a village called Nain, which a revolutionary named Simon fortified in an attempt to usurp the command of the Jews shortly after the death of Galba in A.D. 69. This, however, is located in IDUMEA, S of MASADA, and obviously is not the village referred to in Lk. 7:11.

B. VAN ELDEREN

**Naioth** nay'yoth (נָיוֹת *H5766*; the *Ketib*, however, is נרית, prob. to be pointed נָרִית, and in 1 Sam. 20:1 many MSS, including Leningradensis, have the common noun נָוֹת, which is the form preferred by *HALOT*, 2:679, with the meaning "grazing place, township"). A place in RAMAH to which DAVID fled from SAUL (1 Sam. 19:18—20:1). When Saul went to this location, "the Spirit of God came even upon him, and he walked along prophesying until he came to Naioth. He stripped off his robes and also prophesied in Samuel's presence" (19:23 – 24a). The site is unknown, however, and many believe that the word is not a proper name, but rather a common noun to be rendered "camps" or the like (cf. P. K. McCarter, Jr., *I Samuel*, AB 8 [1980], 328). Since SAMUEL lived in Ramah (modern er-Ram, c. 5 mi. N of Jerusalem), some think that "the camps/dwellings at Ramah" described the domicile of Samuel and his school of prophets (v. 20).

R. L. ALDEN

**nakedness**. The first use of the word *naked* (Heb. *ʿārôm H6873*) in the Bible gives insight into the meaning in many other contexts: "The man and his wife were both naked, and they felt no shame" (Gen. 2:25). In the unfallen state the exposure of the body would not provoke TEMPTATION. The sense o f SHAME at nakedness is illustrated graphically in the account of NOAH's drunkenness and the reaction of his sons to his consequent exposure (Gen. 9:20 – 23).The expression "to uncover nakedness" (*lĕgallôt ʿerwâ*) is used to describe forbidden degrees of cohabitation (Lev. 18:6 et al.).

The terms *naked* and *nakedness* are used figuratively in many ways. "To be naked" may mean to be without full covering ( Jn. 21:7; Gk. *gymnos G1218*), or destitute ( Job 22:6), or impoverished (Gen. 42:9). JOB used the word to indicate the transience of earthly possessions (Job 1:21). The expression "nakedness of the land" (Gen. 42:9 NRSV) indicates exposure and helplessness. The spiritual state of the church in LAODICEA was "wretched, pitiful, poor, blind and naked" (Rev. 3:17) —a vivid characterization of its utter bankruptcy.

D. L. BLAIKLOCK

**Nakon** nay'kon. TNIV form of NACON.

**name**. The first and most important experience that a newborn Hebrew underwent was the receiving of a name. Just as God in his CREATION named "day" and "night," "seas," and so on (Gen. 1:3 – 10), and even each star (Isa. 40:26), so he likewise gave to ADAM, the creature made in his image, this high privilege of naming each of the animals (Gen. 2:20) and each of his children (Gen. 4:1, 2, 26).

1. Terminology
    1. Hebrew

**I. Terminology**. In the OT, "name" is usually the rendering of Hebrew *šēm H9005* and Aramaic *šum H10721*, which occur over 770 times. The Greek *onoma G3950* (used in the LXX to render *šēm*) appears almost 200 times in the NT. There are a few related words that will be discussed below, but the statistical data for this concept is indeed impressive and thereby indicates its importance in the Bible.

***A. Hebrew.*** In 1872 Redslob (in *ZDMG*, 751 – 56) argued that *šēm* was derived from the root *šmw*, "to be high," and that therefore its basic meaning was one of height and then (1) a monument (Gen. 11:4; 2 Sam. 8:13; Isa. 55:13) or mausoleum (Isa. 56:5), and (2) excellence or majesty (Ps. 54:1). However, P. Lagarde (*Uebersicht über die im Aramäischen, Arabischen und Hebräischen übliche Bildung der Nomina* [1889], 160) and W. R. Smith (*Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, new ed. [1903], 248 – 49) argued for the Arabic root *wšm*, "to mark or brand," indicating that *šēm* originally meant a "sign" or "token." Which was the original meaning of our root is uncertain, but the development of the word includes both sets of ideas in its range of meanings.

The prepositional combinations with *šēm* are instructive. The idiom "to call the name (of someone) over" (preposition *ʿal*) is found eighteen times. Isaiah describes a future day in a depopulated Jerusalem when seven women shall ask one man, "only let us be called by your name," that is, the husband's protection and ownership as signalized by his name (Isa. 4:1). In 2 Sam. 12:28, DAVID speaks of calling his name over a conquered city. In Amos 9:12 God's name is called over the heathen just as it extends over Israel (Isa. 63:19). Other prepositions used with the noun include *lĕ-*, "to, for" (over 50 times, usually with reference to the name of Yahweh), *bĕ-*, "in" (some 130 times), *min* partitive and comparative (3 times), *lĕmaʿan*, "for the sake of" (16 times), *kĕ-*, "as" (7 times), and once *baʿăbûr*, "for the sake of" (cf. H. Bietenhard in *TDNT*, 5:252 – 53).

A less frequent noun is *zēker H2352*, "memory, remembrance," which sometimes is used in parallel with *šēm* (cf. Exod. 3:15; Job 18:17; Prov. 10:7; Isa. 26:8), and in some cases is properly rendered "name" (e.g., Pss. 30:4; 97:12). The verb *zākar H2349*, "to remember," appears in the hiphil stem as a set formula with the noun *šēm* as a direct object six times (Exod. 20:24; 24:21; 2 Sam. 18:18; Ps. 45:17; Isa. 26:13; 49:1), and in four other cases it appears with the preposition *bĕ-* and the noun *šēm*. These uses have led scholars like B. Jacob, J. Begrich, and B. S. Childs to interpret the hiphil of this verb as a denominative of *zēker*, thus "to name the name," an act of utterance rather than an act of remembering, as in the qal stem.

Roman marble cinerary chest in the form of an ancient tomb with names inscribed (1st cent. A.D.). The names of those who have died are often preserved on tombs and monuments as memorials.

(The etymology of the root *zkr* still remains unsolved even though a great deal of effort has been expended on solving the problem. Gesenius's first edition of his *Thesaurus* represented the major consensus up to that time when he connected it with the noun *zākār H2351*, "male," since the male was thought to be the sex by which the memory of parents and ancestors was preserved. Gesenius changed that opinion in later editions of his lexicon and argued that the root idea was one of pricking or piercing, and from that came the noun used with reference to the *membrum virile.* Memory was, on this theory, a penetrating or fixing in the mind. This theory and others have all failed due to a lack of positive evidence.)

***B. Greek.*** The SEPTUAGINT consistently translates Hebrew *šēm* and Aramaic *šum* by the Greek *onoma*, "name." This Greek term also was used to render other Hebrew words (e.g., Gen. 21:23; Num. 14:15; Josh. 6:27), including *zēker* (Deut. 25:19). Then the LXX sometimes adds *onoma* before mentioning a name of a person or place for stylistic reasons (e.g. Gen. 21:31; 1 Chr. 2:1). For the Hebrew term *zēker*, it usually prefers Greek terms meaning "memory, remembrance" (*mneia G3644, mnēmē G3647, mnēmosynon G3649*).

The NT writers used *onoma* much as the Hebrews used their words for "name." Thus a name is a "reputation" (Mk. 6:14; Phil. 2:9; Rev. 3:1); the "authority" and "power" by which one acts (Matt. 7:22; Mk. 9:39; Acts 4:7); the "character" of its possessor (Matt. 6:9; Jn. 12:38); the "whole system of divine doctrine," the "content of revelation," or "divine truth" ( Jn. 17:16, 26; Heb. 2:12 quoting Ps. 22:22); the "rank" or "category" (as of a prophet, Matt. 10:41); and in the plural, "persons, people" (Acts 1:15; Rev. 3:14; 11:13; Acts 18:15).

The prepositional combinations will be treated in more detail below, but these also show the

same Semitic influence rather than the typical classical meanings. The dative form of *onoma* is found with *en* (40 times) and *epi* (at least 14 times). These forms are used almost as a formula for "by the authority of" or "in the power of" God or Jesus Christ. The genitive (3 times) and the accusative (4 times) is found with the preposition *dia*; the former designating the means and agency for the results described, while the latter has the name as the grounds and basis upon which the action rests. It would appear that *eis* with the accusative often functions like *lĕšēm* "with regard to, in thinking of, for the sake of, to the benefit or account of." Some of the other prepositions are *heneka* (Matt. 19:29; Lk. 21:12); *peri* with the genitive (Acts 8:12); *pros* with the accusative (Acts 26:9); and *hyper* with the genitive (Acts 5:41; Rom. 1:5).

**II. Biblical onomatology**. Neither the unscientific etymologies of Plato and Aristotle nor the more systematic but nevertheless speculative wordplays of PHILO JUDAEUS provide a solid base for the study of biblical names (they were effective, however, in setting the tone for some fifteen centuries). The STOICS, led by Zeno and Chrysippus, developed a whole doctrine of speech, but still included etymologizing as the means of unfolding the moral, religious and metaphysical truth in words.

With the advent of scientific lexicography and grammar and comparative Semitics, major contributions to the subject began to appear (e.g., M. Hiller, *Onomasticum sacrum* [1706]); J. Simonis, *Onomasticum Veteris Testamenti* [1741] and *Onomasticum Novi Testamenti* [1762]; E. Nestle, *Die israelitischen Eigennamen* [1876]; G. B. Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names* [1898]; and several others, esp. M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung* [1928]). Through the 20th cent., such studies were significantly complemented by detailed comparisons between Hebrew and other Semitic languages (e.g., J. J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung* [1939]; I. J. Gelb et al., *Nuzi Personal Names* [1943]; H. B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* [1965]; F. Gröndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit* [1967]; and many others). Added to these materials are Jewish names recorded in the 5th-cent. B.C. Aramaic papyri from ELEPHANTINE, the LACHISH letters, and the Samaritan OSTRACA. Nevertheless, some questions remain, and not all of the meanings attributed to the names listed below are accepted by all specialists.

***A. Names of persons.*** The Hebrews were a mononymous people; that is, each child received only one name at birth without a family name or middle name. If a distinction was necessary, the individual could be identified easily by adding the name of his father and any other ancestor's name in ascending order as these occasions required. Most scholars classify Hebrew names according to their formation: simple and compound.

**1. Simple names**. These are the most difficult, since there is only one element and it is generally some being, object, description, or circumstance known in this cryptic form by the contemporaries but not as easily known to us. Single-element names are often *hypocoristic*, that is, they are shortened forms of names that originally consisted of more than one element (see *ABD*, 4:1017 – 18; however, as noted by J. D. Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew* [1988], 149, this label is not the most appropriate one, since it technically refers to diminutives or pet names). A simple name may be an adjective, or an abbreviation of a compound name (with the divine element omitted in some instances or the noun of kinship in other cases), or a verb in the third person singular (e.g., Nathan, "he has given"). Sometimes one element simply is replaced by an ending on the remaining element, and these abbreviated and apocopated forms then become simple names.

a. *Nature names.* There are three groups of nature names: (1) animal, (2) plant, and (3) meteorological. The first group is represented by twenty-two preexilic southern names of which some of the better known are: Deborah (bee), Rachel (ewe), Caleb (dog), Huldah (weasel), Acbor (mouse), Shaphan (rock badger), Jonah (dove), and Tola (worm). In addition to these examples of Hebrew animal names, there are eleven foreign names in the OT of this type, including Zeeb (wolf), Eglah (calf), Oreb (raven), Hamor (ass), Jael (mountain goat), Nahash (serpent), Epher (young gazelle), and Zipporah (lady bird). Plant names, however, are rarer. Illustrations of this class are Tamar (date palm tree), Hadassah (myrtle), Elon (oak), Zethan (olive), Rimmon (pomegranate); in the Apocrypha and NT, Susanna (lily).

While one cannot dogmatically affirm just what the intention was in every case, it is possible to parallel these names with a plethora of animal and plant names from other lists of names of high antiquity in the ANE. It must be said that a theory that is equally as justifiable as the totem theory for which there is some support is the idea of endearment and tenderness as the reason for using these names; this might be especially true where small animals, albeit unclean ones, are used for names!

People in the Bible are sometimes named after animals. For example, the name Rachel means “ewe.”

Some meteorological names are Barak (lightning), Samson (little sun), and Nogah (sunrise). This class may be wholly derived from pagan theophorics or slight modifications thereof.

b. *Physical characteristics.* These few names seem to divide easily into four categories: (1) color, (2) size, (3) defects, and (4) sex. Some examples are: Laban and Libni (white), Zohar (reddish white), Haruz (yellow), Edom (red), Phinehas (bronze-colored Nubian), Hakkatan (small one), Korah and Kareah (baldy), Heresh (dumb), Ikkesh (crooked), Gareb (scabby), Gideon (maimed?), Paseah (halting), and Geber (male).

c. *Circumstances at birth.* Often the name indicates something about (1) time of birth, (2) place of birth, (3) order of birth, and (4) events at birth. Some examples are: Haggai and Haggith (festal, i.e., born at feast time), Shabbethai (sabbatical, i.e., born on the Sabbath), Judith and Jehudi ( Jewess or Jew, perhaps originally, of Judah), Cushi (Ethiopian), Beker (firstborn), Yathom and Yathomah (fatherless, orphan), Azubah (forsaken, perhaps by mother at birth?), and Thomas (twin).

d. *Miscellaneous*. There are a few additional simple names that refer either to the qualities of the person, such as Nabal (fool) and Naomi (perhaps pleasant), or to various objects like Peninnah (corals), Rebecca (cord for tying sheep), Rizpah (pavement), Bakbuk (pitcher), and Acsah (anklet).

Other names in this category are active or passive participles, such as Saul (asked), Baruch (blessed), Menahem (comforting); names with the diminutive (affectionate) endings *–on*, *–an*, *–om*, or *–am*, such as Nahshon (small serpent), Samson (small sun); names ending in *–ai* or *–i* for possession or gentilics, or for abbreviation, such as Mordecai (votary of Marduk), Omri; and those ending in *–a*, such as Gera (guest).

**2. Compound names**. This class of names by far exceeds the former class. Especially numerous are the theophorous names, that is, names that explicitly mention Deity. Compound names in the OT consist of two or more independent words. The relationship between these words may be: (1) two substantives functioning as nominative and genitive, the so-called construct state; and (2) a complete sentence. In the construct bond, often the first element ends in *-i*. This usually is regarded as a survival of the old case ending system, but occasionally it does indicate the presence of the first person singular suffix, "my." Infrequently, a preposition may appear before this noun in the construct, for example, Bezalel (in the shadow of God). Sentence names are common in the Semitic languages, and Hebrew has its share of them. Some that quickly come to mind are the names of Isaiah's children, Shear-Jashub (the remnant shall return) and Maher-Shalal-Hash-Baz (plunder has hastened, spoil has sped), as well as Hosea's children, Lo-Ruhamah (she has found no mercy) and Lo-Ammi (he is not my people). The name Hephzibah (my delight is in her, 2 Ki. 21:1; Isa. 62:4) also illustrates this usage.

a. *Theophorous names*. Generally these names are sentence names formed with the divine names EL or Yahweh (see I AM). The sentence may appear with a nominal predicate indicating assurance or confidence, such as Joel (Yahweh is God); or with a verbal predicate, for example, in the perfect tense expressing thanksgiving, such as Jonathan (Yahweh has given). Since the subject may come at the beginning or the end (contrast Nathanael and Elnathan), often it is difficult to decide which is the subject and predicate; this is especially true when the MT vocalization may be in question on a particular name. Some verbs are in the imperfect tense or the jussive, and thereby can express a wish or desire, such as Jehoiachim (may Yahweh establish). Some authorities even claim to find an imperative form of the verb in these names (e.g., Hoshea, save!) but this is by no means clear.

The greatest number of these compounds contain the element for Yahweh either at the beginning or end of the name. It appears as *yĕhô* or *yô* (Eng. Jeho-, Jo-) in the first position, and *yāhû* or *yâ* (Eng. –iah, –jah) in the second position. Gray (*Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, 149) has counted 156 different names of over 500 persons in the OT with this divine name. The Elephantine papyri give evidence of this same high frequency, with as many as 170 Jews bearing a Yahweh compound name. Ranking second in the number of occurrences is the El compound name. The OT has, according to Gray (p. 163 – 65), 135 names compounded with a form of El, of which 113 are Hebrew personal (or tribal) names.

The meanings found in these theophorous names cover almost the complete range of God's being, person, gifts, and works for human beings. T. Nöldeke, in his monumental article on "Names" in *Encyclopedia Biblica* (1902), arranges these meanings according to the following groupings: God's sovereignty—he is just, rules, judges, is possessor, is the Lord; God's gifts—he gives, increases, opens the womb, gives freely; God's graciousness—he blesses, has mercy, loves, helps, saves, is good, confers benefits, is with man; God's creating ability—he makes, builds, sets up, establishes, accomplishes; God's knowledge—he remembers, knows, weighs, sees; God's salvation —he delivers, comforts, heals, redeems, preserves, keeps in safety, conceals; God's power—he holds fast, is strong, is a refuge, strengthens; God's immanence—he hears, answers, speaks, swears,

promises; and God's being and attributes—he is great, perfect, high, glorious, lives, is incomparable, dwells, comes, passes by, meets, contents, shoots, thunders, rises, is glad, is light, is fire. This is just a sample of the many roots and ideas. (For a thorough and more recent investigation, see J. D. Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew* [1988]; cf. also *ABD*, 4:1018 – 19.)

b . *Kinship names*. The compounds denoting kinship are *Ab(i)*=father, *Aḥ(i)*=brother, *Am(mi)*=kinsman, *ben*=son, and *bath*=daughter. The most important are the first two: the element *Ab(i)* appears in thirty-one names of which three are foreign names, four are family names, and the remaining twenty-four represent forty-one individuals (Gray, *Studies*, 26). *Aḥ(i)* appears in twenty-six names of which five are either foreign or family names and twenty-one represent thirty-three Israelites (ibid., 37). The other names are even less frequent and represent about a dozen examples each. Examples of kinship names are *Abi*hud, *Ahi*hud, *Amm*inadab, *Ben*jamin, and *Bath*sheba.

c . *Dominion names*. These names include nouns designating the sovereignty of the one mentioned in the name and are therefore of great value in determining the religious character of Israel in the various periods of history. They embrace the name Melech=King; Adoni=Lord; and Baal=Owner (e.g., Abi*melech, Adoni*ram, and Jerub*baal*). These forms are very frequent in other Semitic languages, especially in Phoenician and Punic, but the OT has fourteen examples of Melech names, and even fewer examples of the other two forms: twelve Baal names, of which two are an Edomite and a Phoenician, and nine Adoni names, of which two are Canaanite. The reason seems obvious now in light of the comparative onomastica of Phoenicia, Ugarit, and Assyria: the names were decidedly Canaanitish in their origin and formation.

***B. Names of places.*** The rarity of sentence names and the obscurity of many of the pre-Israelitish place names make them much more difficult to explain. Some of these ambiguities now are being met by the onomastical lists from Egypt, but the problem often remains perplexing since many places just have a single simple name and the compound names are chiefly in a genitival relation.

**1. Descriptive names**. Frequently a site received its name from some topographical feature for which Hebrew has a rich vocabulary. These might include references to (1) height: Ramah, Ramoth, Rumah (height), Geba, Gibeah, or Gibeon (hill), Shechem (shoulder or ridge), and Sela (cliff); (2) locality: Sharon (plain), Mizpah (watch tower), and Bithron (ravine); (3) the presence or absence of water: in compound names of En (spring), Beer (well), Me (water), Gihon or Giah (spring), Zion (waterless), and Abel (meadow); (4) the color and beauty of the site: Lebanon (white), Adummin (ruddy or red), Kidron (very black), Zalmon (dusky), Jarkon (yellow), Carmel (garden land), Shapir or Shepher (beautiful), and Tirzah (pleasing); (5) the condition of the soil: Argob (rich earthy soil), Arabah (desert and Jabesh or Horeb (dry); and (6) the size, products, or industries of the place: Zoar (small), Rabbath (large), or waste land), Bozkath (plateau of volcanic stone), Bezer or Bozrah (fortified place), Gath (wine press), Kir (wall), and Hazor, Kiriath, or Ir (city). Not all of the foregoing names are absolutely certain, but these seem to be the better documented meanings.

**2. Nature names**. G. B. Gray's work on animal names still stands essentially unchanged. He noted that out of some 100 animal names, 33 (23 of them Hebrew) are names of places, 34 (23 Hebrew) are names of clans, and 33 (22 Hebrew) are individuals; all the rest are foreign (*Studies*, 97). The largest proportion of animal names came from the S (at least 47 out of the 67 town and tribal names), and 22 tribal and individual animal names came from foreigners.

Some of the 33 town names are: Aijalon (stag), Arad (wild ass), Beth Car (lamb), Eglon (calf),

Ephron (gazelle), En Gedi (spring of the kid), Laish (lion), Zeboim (hyena), Parah (cow), Hazar Susah (city of the horse), Ir Nahash (city of the serpent), Beth Hoglah (house of the partridge), Zorah (hornet), and Shaalbim (fox). Names of plants, trees, and shrubs also are found: Abel Shittim (meadow of the acacia), Beth Tappuah (house of the apple tree), Tamar or Baal-Tamar (date palm tree), Elah, Eloth, Elim, or Elon (oak or terebinth), Rimmon (pomegranate), Dilan (cucumber), Eshcol, Abel Keramim or Beth Hakkerem (vine), and Luz (almond tree). (See further Y. Elitsur, *Ancient Place Names in the Holy Land* [2004]; E. Gass, *Die Ortsnamen des Richterbuchs in historischer und redak-tioneller Perspektive* [2005]; *ABD*, 6:601 – 5, s.v. "Toponyms and Toponymy").

**III. Name in the OT**. Essential to the being, existence, and character of God is his name; the same is true of human beings. A person is concentrated in a name (NABAL was like his name, a "fool"; 1 Sam. 25:25).

***A. The giving of a name.*** Both persons and places receive names, and significance is attached to them.

**1. To a person**. Usually the first experience a newborn child underwent was the naming custom. It was only in later times that this event was withheld until the eighth day after birth when the child was circumcised (Lk. 1:59; 2:21; but the OT gives no evidence of this custom). Hebrew has a set expression or formula for "to give a name" or "to call one's name": it consists of the verb *qārāʾ H7924*("to call") with the direct object *šĕm* ("name," sometimes preceded by the direct object sign) and the inseparable preposition *lĕ-* before the person, place, or thing. This expression for giving a name is to be distinguished from the formula "to appoint a name" (with the verb *śîm H4892*; cf. 2 Ki. 17:34; Neh. 9:7), which is used in the sense of conferring a new name.

The OT records approximately 1,400 different names. In some forty-six cases, it mentions the part that the parents played in naming the child: in twenty-eight instances, the child received its name from the mother (e.g., Gen. 4:25; 16:11; 19:37 – 38; 20:35; 30:6, 8, 11, 13, 18, 20, 24, 29; 1 Sam. 1:20), but the father participated and named the child in eighteen passages (e.g., Gen. 5:3; 16:15; 17:19; 21:2; 1 Chr. 7:23; Job 42:14; Isa. 6:3; Hos. 1:4, 6, 9). A few cases are noted where someone else beside the mother or father gave the child a name: Pharaoh's daughter (Exod. 2:10), Naomi's neighbors (Ruth 4:17), and Nathan the prophet (2 Sam. 12:25).

Ideally, the name was either descriptive of the parents' wishes or prophetic of the personality to be manifested by one so named. These types of names are particularly in evidence when individuals are renamed, as when JACOB was given the new name ISRAEL (Gen. 35:10). They are integral parts of one's character and fortune. Other names are given for incidental reasons or a particular circumstance that attended the birth of a son: RACHEL, as she died in childbirth, called her son BEN-ONI, "son of my sorrow" (Gen. 35:18); MOSES, as a "resident alien" (*gēr H1731*) in a foreign land, named his son GERSHOM (Exod. 2:22).

Frequently, the OT supplies names and then comments on the name in such a way as to pun on the name. This usually takes the form of assonance or similar sounding words or ideas that make a particular point. Many classify these names as folk or popular etymologies, but there is no need to resort to this explanation. The custom of punning and using wordplay on names is seen also in ancient Egypt; for example, the Westcar Papyrus gives the names of each of the triplets born to the wife of a priest. These three children are marked for the kingship of Egypt and each does take the throne,

according to the story, as the 5th dynasty begins, but the interesting feature repeated elsewhere is that each receives his name as he is born, accompanied by a punning statement that plays upon the sound or idea of that name. The Hebrew prophets are examples of this love for punning and word play (Mic. 1:10 – 15; Jer. 1:11 – 12; Hos. 1:4 – 5 et al.). Taking all proper names at once, there are seventy-nine passages where a name is given and some specific explanation, comment, or wordplay is given along with the name (see A. F. Key in *JBL* 83 [1964]: 55 – 59).

It would appear that there may be evidence for patronymy existing in Israel earlier than previously had been suspected. Certainly by the time of Christ, children were being named after ancestors, usually a grandfather, and so it continued every other generation. In Lk. 1:59 – 61, the relatives of Elizabeth and Zechariah express surprise that they named their son JOHN, since "There is no one among your relatives who has that name." In the 3rd and 4th cent. B.C., the Phoenician and Punic inscriptions record many examples of this type. Biblical examples are the following: (1) Abiathar—Ahimelech—Abiathar II—Ahimelech II (1 Sam. 21:1; 22:9, 22; 2 Sam. 8:17); (2) Maacah, the mother of Absalom and later the name of the wife of Rehoboam (2 Sam. 3:3; 1 Ki. 15:2); (3) Tamar, the sister of Absalom and later the name of the daughter of Absalom (2 Sam. 13:1; 14:27); (4) Mephibosheth, Saul's grandson by Jonathan and later the name of Saul's son by his concubine Rizpah (2 Sam. 21:7 – 8); and (5) Ahaziah (1 Ki. 22:40; 2 Ki. 8:16 – 18, 26).

**2. To a place**. Many of the place names in Canaan are older than the Israelite contacts or occupation of that land. The chief evidence for this statement comes from the EXECRATION TEXTS, the TELL EL-AMARNA letters written by the city-state kings of Canaan to Egypt, the Karnak inscription of THUTMOSE III, Amenhotep II's two military expeditions, and the lists of Seti I, RAMSES II, and MERNEPTAH. In the Thutmose III list alone, which is the most detailed information extant on the land of Canaan, there is evidence for some fifty place names found in the OT in a list extending to 119 names in two copies and 350 in a third.

The OT traces the names of some of these places back to the eponymous hero who settled in that region or who captured the site (Gen. 4:17 [cf. 10:2 – 7 et al.]; Num. 32:42; Deut. 3:14; Josh. 19:47). When JOAB was about to defeat the Ammonite capital, RABBAH, he warned DAVID to capture the city lest he should do so and the city then be called after his name (2 Sam. 12:28). Thus the proclaiming of one's name over a place signified one's ownership of that town.

***B. The change of a name.*** There are about a dozen examples of a change of a name in the OT. These each signalized the introduction of a new relationship, a new quality of character, a new phase of life, and perhaps a new vocation. Just as ANE monarchs assumed a new name expressive of a new era or policy at its inauguration, so God renamed his men and women when they inaugurated new aspects of the promise of God. This was so for Abram, whose name became Abraham (Gen. 17:5), and Sarai, who was renamed Sarah (Gen. 17:15). Other examples are: God renamed Jacob as Israel (Gen. 32:28; 35:10); Pharaoh renamed Joseph as Zaphenath-Paneah (Gen. 41:45); Moses changed Hoshea into Joshua (Num. 13:16); Pharaoh Neco turned the name Eliakim into Jehoiakim (2 Ki. 23:34); Nebuchadnezzar changed Mattaniah into Zedekiah (2 Ki. 24:17); and the Babylonian prince of the eunuchs renamed Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah as Belteshazzar, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego respectively (Dan. 1:7). In every case, there is a change of position expressed; either an exaltation to a new dignity or a reduction to dependency. These examples remind one also of "the new name" to be given to Jerusalem at its future restoration (Isa. 62:2) and of the fact that God will give his servants "another name" (Isa. 65:15; LXX, "new name"), announcing a corresponding change

of dignity. (See further *ABD*, 4:1011 – 17, s.v. "Names, Double.")

***C. The significance of a name.*** As it already has been indicated in some of the above discussion, the name is more than the distinguishing title of God or a person. The people of Israel were aware of the significance that could be attached to a name, and therefore their usage of the concept demonstrates this broad range of meanings.

**1. The name and personality**. It would appear that the Hebrew term that comes closest to our modern Western concept of "personality" (i.e., the total picture of a person's organized behavior) is *šēm,* "name." Thus the sum total of a person's internal and external pattern of behavior was gathered up into his or her name. In this way, one could give honor to the person of God (Pss. 5:11; 7:17). Knowing someone's name was equivalent to knowing that person's essence: "Those who know your name will trust in you" (Pss. 9:10; 91:14).

To change the name was to imply a change in the character and mission, thus the dozen or more examples referred to above. Not only does the changing of the name indicate the close ties that the name has with the person and his personality, but the person was so intimately connected with his name that "to cut off the name" was tantamount to destroying the person or the place (1 Sam. 24:21; 2 Ki. 14:27; Ps. 83:4; Isa. 14:22; Zeph. 1:4). One's existence in his earthly form was bound in with his name. When the name had been destroyed, the person had for all intents and purposes also been dealt a death blow. What else does a person actually own, in the last analysis, beside his personality?

This connection is best seen in the plural forms of the Hebrew and Greek words for "name" that could actually be rendered as "persons" (Num. 1:2, 18, 20; 3:40, 43; 26:53; Acts 1:15; 18:15; Rev. 3:4; 11:13). Perhaps this was part of David's problem in taking the census of 2 Sam. 24. To list the names of the persons was in effect to muster the men into the servitude of military missions not explicitly commanded by God.

The name, since it was the person, also could act and speak. Often Israel, as representatives of the name of God, fought and acted magnificently with his strength. God's name was more than mere approbation of the mission; it was the power, strength, courage, and presence of God himself. Thus Israel was successful because the name acted and won (Ps. 44:5; Mic. 4:5; 5:3). The name of God can support, defend, hide, and give comfort to the righteous, and all who will run to it (Ps. 20:1; Prov. 18:10). So also was the matter of speaking in his name. Frequently this expression meant that one was God's representative, but it also meant in reality that if one would dare speak in the name of the Lord, this would be the same as if the person whose name was being used had actually spoken himself (Deut. 18:19; Jer. 26:20; 44:16).

Even the names of cities had a personality inherent in their names. For example, Jerusalem is called "the City of Righteousness" (Isa. 1:26), "the City of the LORD" (60:14), "My Delight Is in Her" (62:4 NRSV), and "Sought After, the City No Longer Deserted" (62:12)—new names for an old city, giving a new character and pattern of behavior.

**2. Name and authority**. When one gives a name to another, he thereby establishes a relation of dominion or possession to him. Already in Eden, ADAM demonstrated that part of the *imago Dei* which promised to him the subjugation and rulership over all things upon the earth by naming the animals (Gen. 2:19 – 20; see IMAGE OF GOD). This right is held on loan from God, who already has not only made the world, but named it as well (Gen. 1:5, 8, 10). Man in turn names his wife "woman" (Gen. 2:23). The psalmist (Ps. 8) cannot contain himself as he reflects on the magnificence of

humanity in this capacity as sovereign over the works of God's hands. The excellence of God's name (Ps. 8:1) is witnessed in all the earth, yet he has set all these things under human authority!

Whatever a man owns, he names, whether it be a conquered city (2 Sam. 12:28), his land (Ps. 49:11), or his wives (Isa. 4:1). Even children are important to one's name, for they preserve the memory of that name (Ps. 72:17). The whole institution of LEVIRATE marriage was just for this reason: to keep the family name and the family alive in Israel (Deut. 25:5 – 10; Ruth 4:5).

Likewise Yahweh not only gives to the stars their names (Ps. 147:4; Isa. 43:1), but he also has his name called over the ARK OF THE COVENANT (2 Sam. 6:2), the temple (Jer. 7:10), Jerusalem ( Jer. 25:29; Dan. 9:18), and Israel (2 Chr. 7:14; Isa. 63:19). God also promises to "put his Name" in a place he will "choose as a dwelling for his Name" (Deut. 12:5, 11). This promise was made to the Israelites before they entered Canaan and is just a continuation of the older promise that wherever God should cause his name to be honored, he would come and bless his people (Exod. 20:24). Contrary to G. von Rad's suggestion (and all of modern criticism) that the Deut. 12 passage represents the key issue of the centralization of the Jerusalem temple, this passage in an indefinite and anticipatory way (with regard to the actual place, whether in Jerusalem or elsewhere) betokens only the equation of the name of Yahweh and "the place."The authority to worship at this place which will be declared is to be found in the presence of the Name. Linked with the concept of authority is the idea of protection. What God or people own, they must thereby protect (e.g., 1 Ki. 8:43; 2 Chr. 7:14; Jer. 7:10, 11, 14, 30; 14:9; 34:15; Dan. 9:18, 19; Amos 9:12).

**3. Name and reputation**. Names can grow, be great, be bad, and collect honor and praise. This is simply an extension of the equation of the person and his name. The name comes to have a reputation, fame, renown, and glory all its own. In Gen. 6:4 the aristocracy ("the sons of God") took wives, and these "heroes" (or "mighty tyrants," from *gibbôr H1475*) had children who also became "men of renown" (lit., "men of the name"). Again, the builders of the tower had as their motivation the acquisition of a name (Gen. 11:4). Moses was later to be confronted by 250 princes of Israel who were "well-known" (lit., "men of a name," Num. 16:2). The guests and witnesses at the marriage of Ruth and Boaz wished this couple God's blessing when they prayed that their family would do courageous things and "be famous" (lit., "a name be called") in Bethlehem (Ruth 4:11). Certain "brave warriors" are described as "famous men" ("men of names," 1 Chr. 5:24). By the same token, "nameless" people were "disreputable" (NRSV) men who were infamous by virtue of their lack of a (good) name (Job 30:8). Indeed, "A good name is more desirable than great riches" (Prov. 22:1), and "A good name is better than fine perfume" (Eccl. 7:1; cf. Cant. 1:3). Even the way one speaks and acts toward a name affects the reputation and character of that name and thereby some have given "a bad name" to others (Deut. 22:14, 19).

**4. The name of Yahweh** . A great theological theme is to be found in the name of Yahweh. It appears most frequently with the Hebrew inseparable prepositions "to" and "in." One may "call upon," "speak in," "prophesy in," "bless," "serve," "walk in" the name of the Lord. See GOD, NAMES OF; I AM.

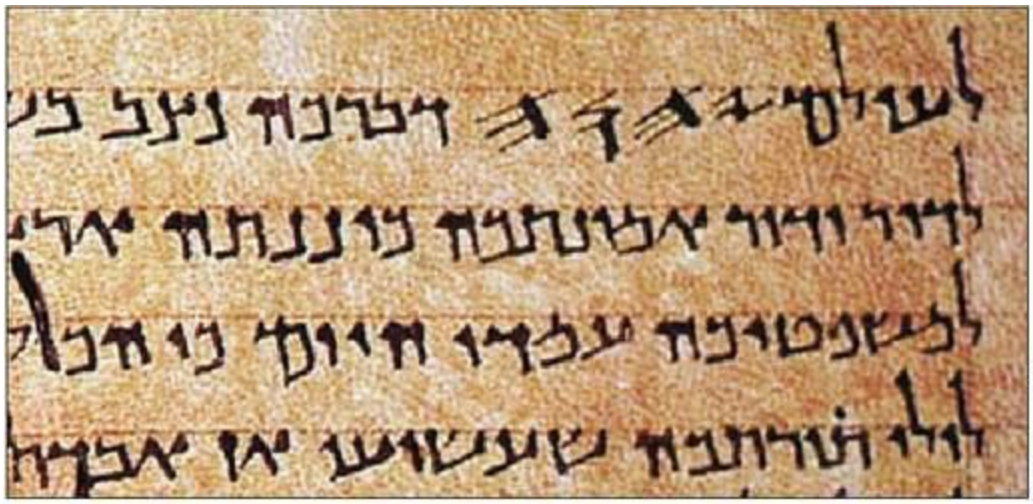
a. *The revelation of the name.* Few passages in the Bible have been made so pivotal for our modern understanding of the OT as Exod. 6:2 – 3. The passage was indeed a crucial one for Moses and Israel as they received a further development to the promise theology of the patriarchs: God now would redeem his people from the bondage of Egypt. The modern question is, simply put, had God previously withheld his name Yahweh from the patriarchs in favor of using as his self-designation the

name EL SHADDAI? Does he here declare that only now will he make himself known as Yahweh?

The proper answer to this question lies in denying to the patriarchs the knowledge of the *significance* of the name Yahweh, not in denying to them the knowledge of the name itself. The two verbs "to appear" and "to make known" are both in the niphal stem, which here conveys a reflexive sense, that is, "I showed myself" and "I did not make myself known." The Hebrew preposition *b* before El Shaddai and the absence of any Hebrew preposition before Yahweh is most crucial. An English translation will demand some preposition in the second case as well, and we believe those renderings to be best which view both prepositions as having the same force. Although the Hebrew preposition most frequently means "in," its use in contexts such as this one is often designated *beth essentiae*, to be translated "as." The meaning is, "I showed myself to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob *in the character of* [with the attributes of] El Shaddai, but *in the character of* my name Yahweh, I did not make myself known to them." The name plays an important function here: it reveals the character, qualities, attributes, and essence of the name.

The correctness of this interpretation can be checked by noting the question asked earlier by Moses when God promised that he would be with him. He queried: "Suppose I go to the Israelites and say to them, 'The God of your fathers has sent me to you,' and they ask me, 'What is his name?' Then what shall I tell them?" (Exod. 3:13). As Martin Buber and others have noted, the interrogative *mâ H4537* ("what?") is to be distinguished from *mî H4769* ("who?"). The latter asks only for the title or designation of an individual, while the former, especially since it is associated with the word "name," asks the question of the character, qualities, power, and abilities resident in the name. The thrust of their anticipated question was, "What does the 'God of our fathers' have to offer in a situation as complex and difficult as ours?" This is precisely the question God answers by declaring his name to be Yahweh, that is, the God who will be present there in that situation for them.

b. *The being of God.* Often the expression "the Name [of Yahweh]" and the name Yahweh itself are used interchangeably (Deut. 28:58; Job 1:21; Pss. 18:49; 68:4; 74:18; 86:12; 92:1; Isa. 25:1; 26:8; 48:9; 56:6; Ezek. 20:44; Amos 2:7; Mal. 3:16). At times "the Name" functions almost like an appearance of Yahweh. The surest passage leading to this conclusion is Exod. 23:20 – 21, where God says of the




God's covenant name YHWH (Heb. יהוה) is written with early Hebrew characters in some Jewish MSS (see first line, second word from the right).

ANGEL whom he sends before Israel, "my Name is in him." Israel is to beware of the angel and to obey him, because "he will not forgive your rebellion." In Isa. 30:27, what is normally credited to

Yahweh is attributed to his name. The Name of Yahweh comes from afar and burns with his anger, while his lips are full of indignation and his tongue is as a devouring fire! The Name then, like the angel of God (of the Lord) or the GLORY of the Lord, is the one who will be present for them and who is to be feared and obeyed just like Yahweh himself, if indeed he is not Yahweh himself.

c. *The doctrine of God.* At times the name of God is used to indicate the whole system of divine truth and doctrine revealed in the Scriptures. The psalmist seems to have intended this when he wrote, "I will declare your name to my brothers" (Ps. 22:22; quoted in Heb. 2:12). The messianic psalm refers to the life and doctrine of the promised One who was to come. When he came, he said, "I have manifested you [*lit*., your name] to those whom you gave me," and "I made you [your name] known to them" (Jn. 17:6, 26). Obviously the proclamation of the name was the declaration of the doctrine of God. Thus it was possible for the people to live according to the teaching appointed and approved by God: "All the nations may walk / in the name of their gods; / we will walk in the name of the LORD / our God for ever and ever" (Mic. 4:5).

d. *The theological development.* G. von Rad (*Studies in Deuteronomy* [1953], 37 – 44) views the appearance of a "name-theology" as the distinctive contribution of the Deuteronomic movement that replaces the older "Glory-of-the-Lord Theology" associated with the ark and the phenomena of the cloud and fire. Yet he too (p. 38) is aware of passages like Exod. 20:24, which appear earlier. Rather than saying with von Rad that the ideas move from a crude concept of Yahweh's material presence to a more sophisticated tendency toward hypostasis, we believe the concepts of the ark, the angel, the face, the glory of God, and the name of God are intended as a representation and pledge (earnest) of Yahweh's presence. This removes the developmental idea away from an identity concept to a representation concept. Thus the name comes to represent the presence of God himself, for example, in the temple; but while he is there present, he is not contained within that temple (Th. C. Vriezen, *An Outline of Old Testament Theology* [1958], 248).

(The APOCRYPHA has about a hundred verses illustrating the uses of *onoma* that are almost identical to those seen in Hebrew *šēm*. Neither does the PSEUDEPIGRAPHA illustrate any new features when compared to the OT. Its most frequent reference is to the name of God; otherwise it does not exhibit any noteworthy features for the purposes of this article. See *TDNT*, 5:261 – 64, 266 – 67.)

**IV. Name in the NT**. Often when the NT gives instances of "name," it actually is quoting the OT and therefore the above discussion would hold true for this section of the Scriptures as well (Matt. 6:9; 12:31; 23:39; Jn. 17:6; Acts 2:21; Rom. 15:9; Heb. 2:12). A few distinctive examples can be given now.

***A. Name and personality.*** "Name" again appears in the plural meaning "persons" (Acts 1:15; Rev. 3:4; 11:13). It also denotes the character or work that someone does or will do, such as the name of JOHN THE BAPTIST (Lk. 1:13, 59 – 63) and that of JESUS (meaning "Yahweh is salvation"), because "he will save his people from their sins" (Matt. 1:21). Jesus has "the name that is above every name" and "at the name of Jesus every knee should bow" (Phil.
2:9 – 10). A change of name meant a corresponding change of character, vocation, or status. For example, Simon is changed to PETER (Matt. 16:17 – 18); James and John are renamed BOANERGES, that is, "sons of thunder," men characterized by a bombastic temperament (Mk. 3:17).

***B. Name and authority.*** The name of Jesus is his authority given to his disciples so that they might work miracles, preach, or pray to the Father. When the question arises "by what name have you done

this?" the answer is always in terms of the authority and power of Jesus (Matt. 7:22; Mk. 9:39; Lk. 24:47; Acts 4:7; 16:18; 19:17). That name was authoritative and powerful enough to justify sinners (Acts 10:43; 1 Cor. 6:11) and to forgive them their sins (1 Jn. 2:12).

***C. Name and reputation.*** This usage is rare in the NT. The only references are Mk. 6:14; Lk. 6:22; Rev. 3:1; and perhaps Phil. 2:9.

***D. The name of Christ***

**1. Belief in the name**. In the Johannine writings, the expression "believe in his name" appears five times (Jn. 1:12; 2:23; 3:18; 1 Jn. 3:23; 5:13). In two of the cases, it is used in close parallelism with believing in the Son of God, Jesus (Jn. 3:16 with v. 18; 1 Jn. 5:10 with v. 13). The name here is his person, and the belief in that name is not magical, but it is an acceptance or "receiving" of his messianic person and mission and thereby acquiring the right to enter into a new relationship with the heavenly Father (Jn. 1:12).

**2. Baptism in the name**. Four times Christian BAPTISM is performed in the name of Christ (Acts 2:38; 8:16; 10:48; 19:5), and in two cases it is just "baptized into Christ" (Rom. 6:3; Gal. 3:27). In one instance it is performed in "the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" (Matt. 28:19). "Baptism into the name" therefore means that the subject, upon confession of his "belief in the name," now experiences actual union with God's name—that is, with God himself—of which baptism is just the outward symbol. The fact that the three persons of the TRINITY are referred to as having one common name points at once to the unity and fullness of the Godhead as well as to the ministries and fellowship signified by those "persons" of "the name" and enjoyed by the subject of baptism.

Three prepositions are used. In Acts 2:38, *epi* indicates that the grounds or basis for baptism is "the name of Jesus Christ" (but note the link with FORGIVENESS as well). The other two prepositions are *en* (Acts 10:48), representing Semitic *bĕšēm* and meaning "[to do something] in someone's name or on his authority," and *eis* (Matt. 28:19; Acts 8:16; 19:5), representing *lĕšēm* and meaning "with respect or regard to the name" in a final or causal sense. Baptism then was the beginning of discipleship with Christ.

**3. Prayer in the name**. Jesus taught his disciples to pray, "hallowed be your name" (Matt. 6:9; cf. Isa. 29:23; Ezek. 36:23). Further, believers were to pray "in his name" (Jn. 14:13 – 14; 15:16; 16:23, 26), which simply meant that they were to invoke his name and thereby recognize that Jesus was God's son on God's mission. PRAYER in the name of Jesus is prayer that is in accordance with the character and mind of Christ. As Jas. 5:16 says, the fervent prayer worked-in by the Holy Spirit is effectual! This was to be no magical formula tacked on the end of prayers, but a recognition of the person, character, and here especially the authority, purpose, and will found in that name. The unity of the Father and Son in that name is stressed in Jn. 14:13 – 14.

**4. Miracles in the name**. As the disciples acted in the name of Jesus, that is, in his power and on his authority, they found that the devils and evil spirits were subject to that name (Matt. 7:22; Lk. 9:49; 10:17). This power extended to those outside the circle of the disciples (Mk. 9:38; 16:17). By this name, people are healed and made strong (Acts 3:6; 14:10). In Acts 4:7 *power* and *name* are parallel concepts, as in Ps. 54:1. Sick believers are anointed with oil in the name of the Lord (Jas. 5:14). This

name is not to be used as a "theurgic formula" (so Conybeare), for it is only when the user of this name is joined by faith and belief in that name that Jesus shows its power. The Jewish exorcists use the right formula but get the opposite results in Acts 19:13 – 16.

**5. Persecution in the name**. Believers may be hated and persecuted "for his name's sake," that is, because of their confession of Jesus Christ as their Lord and Savior (Matt. 10:22; 19:29; 24:9; Mk. 10:29 [here linked with the gospel]; 13:13; Lk. 6:22; 21:12, 17; Acts 5:41; 9:16; 15:26; 3 Jn. 7; cf. 1 Pet. 4:14, 16).

**6. Proclamation in the name**. The content and theme of the message preached by Philip (Acts 8:12), by Paul (Acts 9:27; Rom. 1:15), and by all missionaries (3 Jn. 7) was "the name of Jesus Christ." Preaching on the basis of the name (Lk. 24:47), "carrying" the name (Acts 9:15) and admonishing by the name (2 Thess. 3:6; 1 Cor. 1:10; 5:4) all focus on the person, authority, and message of Christ.

(In addition to the titles mentioned in the body of this article, see J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture*, 2 vols. [1926 – 40], 1:245 – 59; J. A. Motyer, *The Revelation of the Divine Name* [1959]; G. T. Manley, *The Book of the Law: Studies in the Date of Deuteronomy* [1957], 33 – 34, 131ff.; B. S. Childs, *Memory and Tradition in Israel* [1962], 9 – 30; N. G. Cohen, "Jewish Names as Cultural Indicators in Antiquity," *JSJ* 7 [1976]: 97 – 128; M. Garsiel, *Biblical Names: A Literary Study of Midrashic Derivations and Puns* [1991]; F. H. Nuessel, *The Study of Names: A Guide to the Principles and Topics* [1992]; J. Schwennen, *Biblische Eigennamen: Gottes-, Per-sonen- und Ortsnamen im Alten Testament* [1995]; Y. Elitsur, *Ancient Place Names in the Holy Land: Preservation and History* [2004]; *NIDOTTE*, 4:147 – 51; *NIDNTT*, 2:648 – 56; *DDD*, 611 – 12.)

W. C. KAISER, JR.

**Nanea** nuh-nee'uh (Ναναία). Also Nanaea. The name given to a Persian goddess. She is not mentioned in either the OT or the NT, but her temple in the city of ELYMAIS is referred to in the APOCRYPHA (2 Macc. 1:13). Other names by which she was known are Anaea (Anaitis) and Nana, the latter used especially in Babylon. She eventually became identified with the Greek goddess Aphrodite.

The writer of 2 Maccabees gives an account of the death of ANTIOCHUS, which occurred in the temple devoted to worshiping Nanea (2 Macc. 1:13 – 17). The description is complicated by a confusion of historical events and an intermingling of the mythological, so that it is impossible to determine which Antiochus is in view. Some have suggested Antiochus III (d. 187 B.C.) while others postulate Antiochus VII (d. 129 B.C.), but to some degree Antiochus IV (Epiphanes) is also in the writer's mind. Some details are erroneously drawn from 1 Macc. 6:1 – 4, where the unsuccessful attempt of Antiochus IV to extract the riches of ALEXANDER THE GREAT from this temple is recounted. Regardless of which Antiochus is in view in 2 Macc. 1, a conflicting story of his death is given in 2 Macc. 9:1.

The leader described in 2 Macc. 1:13 – 17 arrived at Nanea's temple under the pretext of marrying her, hoping to receive the riches of the temple as a dowry. The deception was discovered by the priests of the temple, who in turn laid a trap for Antiochus. When he and a small number of his men had entered the treasure room, the door was shut and locked. Then the victims were stoned to death from a hole in the ceiling, dismembered and their heads thrown to those who waited outside. This fate is depicted by the writer of 2 Maccabees as an act of God's justice against this unrighteous king. (See further *DDD*, 612 – 14.)

**Nannar** nan'ahr. The name by which the Sumerians worshiped the moon-god. The Akkadians called him Sin. The original form of the name, *Nar-nar*, means "light-giver." The moon-god was prominent in Mesopotamia.

**Naomi** nay-oh'mee (נָעֳמִי *H5843,* "pleasant[ness]" or possibly "my pleasant one"; see J. M. Sasson, *Ruth: A New Translation with a Philological Commentary and a Formalist-Folklorist Interpretation,* 2nd ed. [1989], 17–18). Wife of ELIMELECH and mother-in-law of RUTH. Naomi is one of the major characters in the book of Ruth, and at the beginning the narrative centers on her. She and her husband, who were originally from BETHLEHEM, had two sons, MAHLON and KILION (Ruth 1:1–3). Because of a famine in Judah they moved to MOAB, and when Naomi was widowed, her sons married Moabite wives, namely ORPAH and Ruth (v. 4).

After ten years the two sons died, so Naomi and her two daughters-in-law left Moab for her native land of Judah, since they understood that food was again available there (Ruth 1:5–7). Apparently on the way Naomi suggested that the two girls find security with their families rather than stay with her. Orpah took the advice of her mother-inlaw, but Ruth responded with the famous words: "Where you go I will go, and where you stay I will stay. Your people will be my people and your God my God. Where you die I will die, and there I will be buried" (vv. 16b–17a).

When Naomi and Ruth arrived in Bethlehem, Naomi asked the women of the town not to call her Naomi, meaning "pleasant," but rather MARA, meaning "bitter"—"because the Almighty has made my life very bitter" (Ruth 1:20). Naomi counseled Ruth to work for Elimelech's relative, BOAZ, and seek his favor. Boaz pointed out that there was a nearer "kinsman-redeemer" (3:12; see GOEL), but when the latter found the arrangement unsuitable, because it involved redeeming or "buying" not only Naomi's land but also Ruth herself (4:5–6), Boaz agreed to act as redeemer "in order to maintain the name of the dead with his property, so that his name will not disappear from among his family" (v. 10). Boaz married Ruth, and she bore him OBED, grandfather of King DAVID (vv. 13–17). Thus Naomi was mother-in-law to an ancestress of Jesus the Messiah (cf. Matt. 1:5).

R. L. ALDEN

**Naphath, Naphath-dor** nay'fath, nay'fath-dor'. See NAPHOTH DOR.

**Naphish** nay'fish (נָפִישׁ *H5874,* derivation uncertain). Son of ISHMAEL and grandson of ABRAHAM (Gen. 25:15; 1 Chr. 1:31). His descendants became an Arabian tribe living in TRANSJORDAN and were among those defeated by the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the Manassites (1 Chr. 5:19; KJV, "Nephish"). Some scholars believe that the NEPHUSSIM, listed among postexilic temple servants (Ezra 2:50; Neh. 7:52; see NETHINIM), were descendants of prisoners of war from this tribe.

**Naphisi** naf'i-si. KJV Apoc. form of NEPHUSSIM (1 Esd. 5:31).

**Naphoth** nay'foth. See NAPHOTH DOR.

**Naphoth Dor** nay'foth-dor' (נָפוֹת דּוֹר *H5869* [with variant spellings], possibly "heights of Dor"). Also Naphoth-dor and Naphath-dor. A hilly region surrounding the city of DOR. The first element

occurs in the plural form *nāpôt H5868* only once (Josh. 11:2), while the singular construct *nāpat* is found twice (12:23; 1 Ki. 4:11). In addition, the word *nepet* by itself occurs once (in the pausal form *hannāpet,* Josh. 17:11); it is treated as a proper name by some versions (NIV, "Naphoth"; NRSV, "Naphath"), but as a common noun by others (KJV, "countries"; NJPS, "regions"). The name is apparently related to the noun *nôp H5679,* "loftiness, height" (only Ps. 48:2).

**Naphtali** naf'tuh-li (נַפְתָּלִי *H5889,* "[my] struggle," possibly by popular etymology the form can be understood as a gentilic, and J. Lewy in *HUCA* 18 [1943–44]: 452 suggests the meaning "hill dweller"; Νεφθαλίμ *G3750).* KJV NT Nephthalim. Sixth son of JACOB, and his second by BILHAH, handmaid of RACHEL (Gen. 29:29). Naphtali and DAN (Bilhah's older son) usually are mentioned together in OT contexts. The descendants of Naphtali became one of the Israelite tribes.

**I. The person of Naphtali.** In the contest between Rachel and LEAH for the affection of Jacob, each offered her maidservant as a CONCUBINE to Jacob. The children thus conceived were a credit and comfort to the wives of Jacob although born of their maids. The second child born to Bilhah especially pleased Rachel, and so the events of the infant's birth and the etymology of his name are described (Gen. 30:7–8). Rachel rejoiced with the outcry, "I have had a great struggle [*naptûlê) ĕlōhîm niptaltî*] with my sister, and I have won." For this reason she called the infant "My Struggle."

The life and character of Naphtali are not given in Scripture, and because of the remoteness of the tribe from the center of Israelite history after the settlement in Palestine, few legends grew up around the name. The Aramaic *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* records the two traditions that Naphtali was a fast runner and that he with four of his brothers was chosen by JOSEPH to stand before the pharaoh. A tradition preserved in the rabbinical commentaries and the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs* gives his age at death as 132 years. The person of this patriarch is shadowy and does not seem to have made much impression on either the folk etymologies or the folk lore.

In the final prophetic blessing of Jacob only one short poetic phrase is devoted to Naphtali (Gen. 49:21). He is characterized as "a doe set free that bears beautiful fawns" (or, "that utters beautiful words"). One tradition sees in the first phrase an allusion to the early ripening of the crops in the plains of GALILEE; a later tradition refers to the swiftness of Naphtali's warriors. A divergence also exists regarding the second phrase. The earlier tradition of *Pseudo-Jonathan* relates the "beautiful words" to answering DEBORAH's summons to war against SISERA (Jdg. 4:10; 5:18), while a later tradition simply describes it as a reference to Naphtali's skill in songs of victory. Although not patently expressed, these four renderings of the Genesis poem affected the later beliefs and feelings toward Naphtali.


Part of the tribal territory of Naphtali in Galilee (looking N from the Arbel cliffs toward Wadi ʿAmmud).

**II. History of the tribe.** As with the life of the patriarch, the history of the Naphtalites is less known than that of the other tribes. In the PENTATEUCH, Naphtali never is separated from the list of other patriarchs and tribes. However, in the lists of organization of the tribes, Naphtali has very few persons named. In the first census of Num. 1:43 and 2:30, the Naphtalites numbered 53,400; in the second census of Num. 26:48–50, the total was 45,400. In the order of march and encampment during the exodus, Naphtali came at the rear while it camped N of the TABERNACLE close by Dan and Asher.

In the prophetic vision of MOSES in his last exhortation before his death (Deut. 33:23), Naphtali is assigned the land around Lake KINNERETH and the territory to the S of it. In the drawing of lots for the area of the Canaanites, Naphtali drew next to last. The list of towns and cities allotted them is given in Josh. 19:32–39. In Jewish tradition the banner of Naphtali bore the inscription, "Yahweh returns to the multitude of Israel." They did not, however, drive out the Canaanites but lived among them (Jdg. 1:33). Traditionally this situation has been understood as one of the reasons why the tribe so soon apostatized to BAAL worship. When BARAK summoned the tribes to battle at the urging of the prophetess Deborah, Naphtali was the first to come to KEDESH to fight the armies of the Canaanites under Sisera. Under GIDEON they again were summoned to battle and fought against the Midianites.

In the time of the early monarchy the major campaigns were still in the S of Palestine and against the coastland PHILISTINES. In most of the statistics of the kingdom nothing out of the ordinary is stated about Naphtali. At the end of DAVID's reign a certain JERIMOTH son of Azriel ruled over the tribe (1 Chr. 27:19). In the list of the Solomonic administration Naphtali is mentioned as being ruled over by AHIMAAZ, a son-in-law of the king (1 Ki. 4:15). Little more can be added to the chronicles of the tribe.

**III. Location in Palestine.** The actual boundaries of the tribal territory of Naphtali are given in Josh. 19:32–39. The problem is that the text does not list a consecutive set of place names in any clearly defined geographic order. In this and other passages many towns are named, all of them in the area W of Lake Kinnereth, along its shore, N to KEDESH above and to the NW of Bahret el-Huleh. One of the problems is that of the location of RAMAH, whether it was S near the modern Rama at the head of the Shezor valley or farther to the N around the modern Ramie in Lebanon.

The W boundary also is difficult to discern. The tribe of ASHER was along the coast, but BETH

SHEMESH belonged to Naphtali.The N border must have varied from the time of SAUL until the divided monarchy but it certainly extended N of TYRE. The exact boundaries of SOLOMON's kingdom are still under dispute. The land of Naphtali is a series of plains to the W of Kinnereth through which flow many streams. To the N are the mountains that reach up to the E around the N shore of the lake, on the summit of which is Sefad (thought by some to be the "city on a hill [that] cannot be hidden," Matt. 5:14). To the S of the rolling hills and sloping fields lies the triangular mountain, TABOR. The openness of the valleys allowed frequent invasions from the N and E. And it was the tribe of Naphtali that was led off first into captivity (2 Ki. 15:29). See also TRIBES, LOCATION OF, V.C.

**IV. Naphtali in the NT.** Since the area of GALILEE, the home of Jesus and his apostles, lay in the ancient area of Naphtali, it is no wonder that its traditions would have been strong among the Jews of the intertestamental and NT periods who lived in the northernmost expansion of the monarchy. During the early days of Jesus' public ministry he retired to Galilee, "the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali," and there fulfilled the prophecy of Isa. 9:1 (Matt. 4:13–16). The mention that it was "along the Jordan" is important, since the OT also recognized the vulnerability and proximity of Naphtali to the Gentiles. The last NT mention is the citation of the tribe in the list of the groups of servants of God sealed with the forehead seal in Rev. 7:6. Thus the final end of God's provision of history sees the continuance of the redeemed THEOCRACY. This theme accords well with the blessing promised through the twelve tribes.

(See further M. Noth, *Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels* [1930]; C. U. Wolf, "Terminology of Israel's Tribal Organization," *JBL* 65 [1946]: 45–49; N. K. Gottwald, *The Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel, 1250–1050 B.C.E.* [1999, orig. 1979].)

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**Naphthar** naph'thahr. See NEPHTHAR.

**Naphtuhim** naf'tuh-him. See NAPHTUHITES.

**Naphtuhites** naf'tuh-hits (נַפְתֻּחִים *H5888,* derivation uncertain). A people group that descended from MIZRAIM (NRSV, "Egypt"), the son of HAM (Gen. 10:13; 1 Chr. 1:11). Their identity is unknown, but because they are listed just before the PATHRUSITES, who lived in Upper (i.e., southern) EGYPT, some scholars have proposed that the Naphtuhites were associated with Lower Egypt, in particular the NILE delta (for possible etymologies supporting this suggestion, see K. A. Kitchen in *NBD,* 803; cf. also W. Spiegel-berg in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 9 [1906]: 276–79). An alternate suggestion links the name with the Egyptian god Ptah and thus with the city of MEMPHIS in Middle Egypt (see G. Rendsburg in *JNSL* 13 [1987]: 89–96, esp. 91).

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**napkin.** This English term is used by the KJV in three passages to render *soudarion G5051* (from Latin *sudarium*), referring to a piece of cloth (Lk.

The tribal territory of Naphtali.

19:20; Jn. 11:44; 20:7; it is translated "handkerchief" in its only other NT occurrence, Acts 19:12). The term could be used specifically of a face-cloth, used for wiping perspiration. The passages in John refer to the custom of covering the face of the dead with a napkin for burial, and Jn. 20:7 makes particular note of the fact that the cloth that had covered the face of Jesus in death was found in the open tomb, lying carefully wrapped apart from the other grave clothes. It is noted that the "other disciple…saw and believed" (20:8). The simple kerchief was the clue that made John realize that this was no violent grave robbery, for otherwise the grave clothes would have been tossed in a heap or carried off with the body. The careful arrangement impressed the sensitive apostle with the marvelous truth that his Lord had risen from the dead.

P. C. JOHNSON

**Narcissus** nahr-sis'uhs (Νάρκισσος *G3727*). When writing to the church in ROME, PAUL sends greetings to "those in the household of Narcissus who are in the Lord" (Rom. 16:11). Evidently, the reference is to Christians among the slaves (or possibly freedmen) in this household. Why Narcissus himself is not greeted has been the subject of speculation. Had he died? Or did Paul know that he was absent from Rome at the time? Or perhaps Narcissus was not a believer? (For the latter view, see esp. P. Lampe in *The Romans Debate,* ed. K. P. Donfried, rev. ed. [1991], 222, who interprets in a similar way the mention of ARISTOBULUS in v. 10.)

**nard.** See SPIKENARD.

**Nasbas** nas'buhs. KJV Apoc. variant of NADAB (Tob. 11:18).

**Nash Papyrus.** Name given to an early fragment of the Hebrew OT that contains Exod. 20:2–17 (or

Deut. 5:6–21) and the Shema (Deut. 6:4–5). It is somewhat damaged and apparently comes not from a Bible scroll but rather from a collection of biblical texts for liturgical or educational purposes. The PAPYRUS was dated in the 1st or 2nd cent. A.D. by those who first examined it, but others would date it to the pre-Christian era. On the basis of paleographical indications, W. F. Albright (in *JBL* 56 [1937]: 145–76; cf. *BASOR* 115 [Oct. 1949]: 10–19) suggested the Maccabean period (165–137 B.C.). Before the discovery of the DEAD SEA SCROLLS, the Nash Papyrus was the oldest known Hebrew MS of an OT text. It was purchased from a native by W. L. Nash in 1902 and published the following year by S. A. Cook (in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 25 [1903]: 34–56). It consists of a single sheet, not from a scroll, of unknown origin. The sixth and seventh commandments appear in reverse order, and the Shema is introduced by a phrase not in the traditional MT but found in the SEPTUAGINT. (See further E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible,* 2nd ed. [2001], 118.)

L. L. WALKER

**Nasith** nay'sith. KJV Apoc. form of NEZIAH (1 Esd. 5:32).

**Nasor** nay'sor. KJV Apoc. variant of HAZOR (1 Macc. 11:27).

**Nathan** nay'thuhn (נָתָן *H5990,* "gift," or short form of a name such as אֶלְנָתָן *H535,* "God has given" [cf. ELNATHAN, JONATHAN; NATHANAEL; NETHANIAH, etc.]; Ναθάμ *G3718* [v.l. Ναθάν, as in LXX]). (1) Son of DAVID and BATHSHEBA (2 Sam. 5:14; 1 Chr. 3:5; 14:4). This Nathan was an older brother of SOLOMON, and his family is pictured as having a part in Israel's future eschatological events (Zech. 12:12; some believe that the reference here is to #2 below, Nathan the prophet). He is also included in Luke's GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Lk. 3:31; in Matt. 1:6, the genealogy is traced through Solomon).

(2) A prophet who figures in three important events in David's life. In 2 Samuel and 1 Chronicles, Nathan is introduced as a prophet in the royal court who at first encourages the king in his desire to build a TEMPLE for the Lord (2 Sam. 7:1–3; 1 Chr. 17:1–2), but then, following a message from God at night, the prophet counters with the Lord's word that David is not to build the structure. The reasons given for this denial are that God has not before required nor asked for such a sanctuary. Furthermore, the Lord, who has led David thus far and given him a kingdom, has his own plans for permanently establishing David's kingdom through his seed, which includes Solomon who will have the responsibility for building the physical temple (2 Sam. 7:4–16; 1 Chr. 17:3–16).

At a later time, Nathan confronted the king with his sins of adultery, murder, and falsehood committed against URIAH the Hittite and his wife, Bathsheba, by presenting to the king for his decision a fictional legal case involving a rich man's appropriation of a poor man's ewe lamb in order to feed a visitor (2 Sam. 12:1–4). When David announced his verdict of death for the offender, Nathan revealed that what he really meant to teach by the story was that the king himself was the guilty one in having appropriated another man's wife and life. Therefore, the Lord would bring judgment on David (vv. 5–9).

The next paragraph in the narrative (2 Sam. 12:9–12), far from implying the work of a redactor reflecting on David's later life (cf. G. B. Caird in *IB,* 2:1103), sets forth the multiple punishment that can follow a sin such as David's. The king is told that he will experience murder and adulterous action (following the example of his own acts) in his own family, undoubtedly referring to the future

acts of his sons: AMNON, who violated his half-sister (13:1 –20), and ABSALOM, who killed Amnon (13:21–29) and later committed insurrection and adultery against his father (16:20–23; 20:3). An additional punishment for David's sins was the death of the baby that was to be born as a result of his adulterous union with Bathsheba (12:10–23). When David repented of his sin, however, Nathan assured him that God had forgiven him (12:13); Ps. 51, which records David's repentance, mentions Nathan in the title.

At a later time, when David had become old and feeble, his son ADONIJAH tried to usurp the throne. In response, Nathan with Bathsheba reminded the king that he had promised the throne to Solomon and, at David's command, helped in making it public that Solomon was successor to the throne (1 Ki. 1:10–45). Nathan is mentioned also as having aided in the establishment of MUSIC in the temple worship (2 Chr. 29:25) and as having written records that recounted the acts of David (1 Chr. 29:29) and Solomon (2 Chr. 9:29).

(3) Father of IGAL, who was one of David's mighty warriors (2 Sam. 23:36); the parallel passage, apparently as a result of scribal corruption, identifies Nathan as brother of Joel (1 Chr. 11:38).

(4) The list of Solomon's "chief officials" (1 Ki. 4:2) includes the following: "Azariah son of Nathan—in charge of the district officers; Zabud son of Nathan—a priest and personal adviser to the king" (1 Ki. 4:5). It is often assumed that both Azariah and Zabud were sons of the same man. Many have thought that this Nathan should be identified with Solomon's brother (#1 above); others have proposed Nathan the prophet (#2). In addition, some have wondered if there is a connection between Nathan father of Zabud and Nathan father of Zabad (see #5 below). None of these suggestions can be confirmed.

(5) Son of ATTAI, descendant of JUDAH through JERAHMEEL, and father of Zabad (1 Chr. 2:36).

(6) One of a group of leaders sent by EZRA to IDDO to get attendants for the house of God (Ezra 8:16; 1 Esd. 8:44). He is usually thought to be the same Nathan as the descendant of Binnui who agreed to put away his foreign wife (Ezra 10:39; apparently called "Nethaniah" [KJV, "Nathanias"] in 1 Esd. 9:34).

W. H. MARE

**Nathanael** nuh-than'ay-uhl (Ναθαναήλ *G3720,* from Heb. נְתַנְאֵל *H5991,* "God has given"; cf. ELNATHAN, NETHANIAH, etc.). (1) Apoc. form of NETHANEL (1 Esd. 9:22).

(2) Son of Salamiel and ancestor of JUDITH (Jdt. 8:1).

(3) A disciple of Jesus, mentioned only in Jn. 1:45–51; 21:2. His home was in CANA of GALILEE (21:2) and he heard of Jesus from PHILIP (1:45). At first Nathanael was skeptical because he had heard only that Jesus was from NAZARETH, and he probably shared the Jewish belief of his time that the MESSIAH was to come from BETHLEHEM in Judea (1:46; cf. 7:42). But his prejudice was overcome by Jesus' statement that he already had seen Nathanael "under the fig tree" (1:48, 50). There is some dispute about the significance of this statement. It may be no more than a way of indicating Jesus' supernatural knowledge of Nathanael's character (cf. 2:25). Or Jesus may have known what Nathanael was thinking: among Jewish rabbis a fig tree was a favorite place of meditation, and possibly Nathanael was meditating on the story of JACOB (to which Jesus later alluded, v. 51).

It is difficult to do more than speculate why the incident made such an impression on Nathanael, but the intention of the author of the Gospel of John may be easier to discern. Perhaps John saw a correspondence between the call of the new Israel (i.e., Jesus' disciples) and the original call of Israel in the OT (cf. Hos. 9:10a). The purpose of JOHN THE BAPTIST's ministry was that Jesus should be "revealed to Israel" (Jn. 1:31), and when he directed his own disciples to Jesus (1:36) to become the nucleus of a new community, the outcome was that Jesus manifested his glory to the disciples (2:11). They are the "Israel" that was meant. The heart of the section that begins at Jn. 1:35 and ends at 2:11 is the call of the "true Israelite" Nathanael and his recognition of the "King of Israel" (1:47, 49). When Jesus promised him "greater things" (v. 50), he was referring to the vision of Jacob (v. 51), the first to bear the name "Israel" (Gen. 28:12). The singular "you" in Jn. 1:50 becomes a plural

in the next verse as Jesus promises to all his "true Israelites" a vision of his union with God. Appropriately, the promise begins to be fulfilled in Cana, Nathanael's home town (2:1–11).

Because Nathanael is not mentioned in the Synoptic Gospels, efforts have been made to identify him with one of the apostles listed in Matt. 10:2–4 and parallels. A widely accepted suggestion since antiquity is that Nathanael was the same as BARTHOLOMEW (see the article on the latter for the arguments). Though it is true that double names (even double Semitic names) were sometimes used, this proposal remains only a conjecture. (See further the standard commentaries on John. For the use of the Nathanael story in later Greek tradition see R. Stichel, *Nathanael under dem Feigenbaum: Die Geschichte eines biblischen Erzählstoffs in Literatur und Kunst der byzantinischen Welt* [1985].)

J. R. MICHAELS

**Nathanias** nath'uh-ni'uhs. KJV form of NETHA-NIAH (1 Esd. 9:34).

**Nathan-Melech** nay'thuhn-mee'lik (נָתָן־מֶלֶךְ *H5994,* "Melech [= king] has given," possibly in reference to Yahweh or to MOLECH). TNIV Nathan-Melek. An official or chamberlain (*sārîs H6247,* often translated EUNUCH) near whose quarters were kept "the horses that the kings of Judah had dedicated to the sun"; these horses were removed by King JOSIAH (2 Ki. 23:11).

**nations.** The Bible as salvation history declares again and again that God chose Israel "out of all the peoples on the face of the earth to be his people, his treasured possession" (Deut. 7:6). Israel was to be a holy nation set apart and consecrated as priests to all other nations (Exod. 19:5–6), who are also the object of God's redeeming purpose. Seventy ethnic groups are mentioned in the so-called Table of Nations, near the beginning of the Bible (Gen. 10; cf. 1 Chr. 1:4–23). The last book of the NT foretells that in the end time "a great multitude…from every nation, tribe, people and language" will stand before the throne of God (Rev. 7:9), purchased by the blood of the Lamb (5:9). This interest in the surrounding nations is one indication of the importance of history in the Bible as a vehicle of revelation. The prominence of its accurate historical data is unique in the world's sacred literature. I. Terminology



## I. Terminology

***A. In the OT.*** Three Hebrew words are commonly translated as "nation" or "people." The one most frequently found is *gôy H1580* (pl. *gôyim*). In the MARI documents, Akkadian *gāum* (*gāwum*) is

apparently a loanword from W Semitic, where it meant "gang" or "group" (e.g., of workmen). This basic use is seen in Joel 1:6, where the Hebrew term is used of the "nation" or swarm of locusts overrunning the land of Judah. In usage this term stresses impersonal political and social aspects rather than kinship bonds. Often parallel to "kingdom," it is the state, the institution of nationhood, the crowd, the masses of humanity. By association it came to mean specifically the GENTILES, the heathen, in contrast to Israel or Judah. When the term is applied to the Israelites after they once had become organized as a nation with laws and government at Mount SINAI, there is an implication of disobedience to God and backsliding so that they are like the idolatrous Gentiles (e.g., Deut. 32:28; Jdg. 2:20; Isa. 1:4). The SEPTUAGINT regularly translates *gôy* as *ethnos G1620,* the usual word in Greek for "nation" or "people."

The Hebrew word *ʿam H6639* is more often translated "people" than "nation." The original meaning of this term stresses close family connections, especially on the father's side. The Ugaritic cognate *ʿm* meant "clan," whereas in Hebrew the term ranges in usage from the people around an individual (Gen. 32:7; 2 Sam. 15:30; 16:18; 2 Ki. 4:41), to the people of a town (Ruth 4:9) or locality (Jer. 37:12), to a tribe (2 Sam. 19:40), to a nation (Exod. 9:15, 27), to all mankind (Gen. 11:6; Isa. 42:5). As E. A. Speiser argues, the word suggests a group of "individuals," of "persons" with common blood ties, not a regimented organization (*JBL* 79 [1960]: 157–63). The unusual expression *lō-ᶜāᶜm* (lit., "no people") in Deut. 32:21 denies to a group of men and women those moral and spiritual characteristics that justify the name of "people" (cf. "Lo-Ammi," Hos. 1:9). The singular form with the definite article (*hāᶜāᶜm*) came to be applied soon after the exodus so exclusively to Israel as the chosen people of Yahweh that *ʿām* and *gôy* became almost antithetic terms, Israelites and non-Israelites, as in rabbinical Hebrew. The LXX equivalent for the singular of *ʿām* is *laos G3295* (the pl. is rendered with either *laoi* or *ethnē*).

The biblical phrase *ʿam hāʾāreṣ,* "people of the land," in preexilic times meant the qualified male citizenry of the land or locality (Gen. 23:7–13), the ones who coronated kings (2 Ki. 11:12–20; 23:30), who were assessed to pay the tribute to Egypt (2 Ki. 23:35), and who owned slaves (Jer. 34:8–10, 19). In the postexilic period the phrase was applied by the returnees from Babylon to the existing citizens of the land of Judah (Ezra 4:4). The plural *ʿammê hāʾāreṣ* is used to indicate the heterogeneity of the paganized population with whom many of the returning Jews had intermarried (Ezra 10:2, 11; Neh. 10:30–31). In rabbinic literature this term came to mean specifically all those who failed through ignorance to observe the whole traditional law in all its details, and those whom the rabbis considered as immoral and irreligious (cf. the attitude of some PHARISEES in Jn. 7:49; see M. H. Pope in *IDB,* 1:106–7). See also AM HA-AREZ.

The third Hebrew word translated "nation" or "people" is *lĕʿōm H4211* (Gen. 25:23 et al.). This term occurs only in poetic texts, almost always in the plural (*lĕummîm*), and very frequently in parallel with *gôyim* (e.g., Ps. 44:2) or *ʿāmmîm* (e.g., Ps. 67:4). (For a discussion of these three terms and others, see *NIDOTTE,* 4:966–72.)

***B. In the NT.*** The Greek word *ethnos G1620* is translated "nation" sixty-four times and "Gentiles" ninety-three times in the KJV, and similarly in modern versions. The rendering "Gentiles" is used when the reference is interpreted to be to the non-Jewish nations (e.g., Matt. 20:19, 25; Acts 4:27; 9:15). "Nations" is employed when the reference is to all nations including the Jews (e.g., Matt. 24:9, 14; 28:19; Mk. 11:17; Rev. 7:9). The word *laos G3295* is consistently rendered "people." (See further *NIDNTT,* 2:788–805.)

**II. Biblical lists of nations.** Both the OT and NT demonstrate a remarkable interest in the various subdivisions of the human race. The OT especially offers a substantial amount of ethnographic information. In studying the different lists of peoples it must be remembered that these come from different ages and may have been compiled from existing sources. The biblical evidence can now be clarified to a great extent by comparison with the mass of information available in extrabiblical literature and archaeological discoveries.

### *A. The Table of Nations*

**1. Introduction**. The name Table of Nations often is given to Gen. 10 (and to the parallel in 1 Chr. 1:4–23 with its few minor variations), which provides an ethnic list of the descendants of NOAH by his three sons, SHEM, HAM, and JAPHETH. Apparently the record is limited to the nations of the then known world in the mid-2nd millennium B.C., peoples largely of the ANE with whom the Israelites might come in contact. Ancient Egyptian and Mesopotamian documents reveal that the details of this table would not have been beyond the knowledge of a person educated in the court of Egypt c. 1500 B.C., as MOSES was. In addition, the recurring use of the Hebrew term *tôlēdôt H9352* ("generations, history") in GENESIS suggests that the author of the book had at his disposal a series of histories of family origins, in some cases possibly written or possessed by the person or persons named in connection with the term (R. K. Harrison, *Introduction to the Old Testament* [1969], 543–51). Thus the compiler of the list may have had some material handed on to him via the patriarchs that had been written in UR or its vicinity c. 2000 B.C.

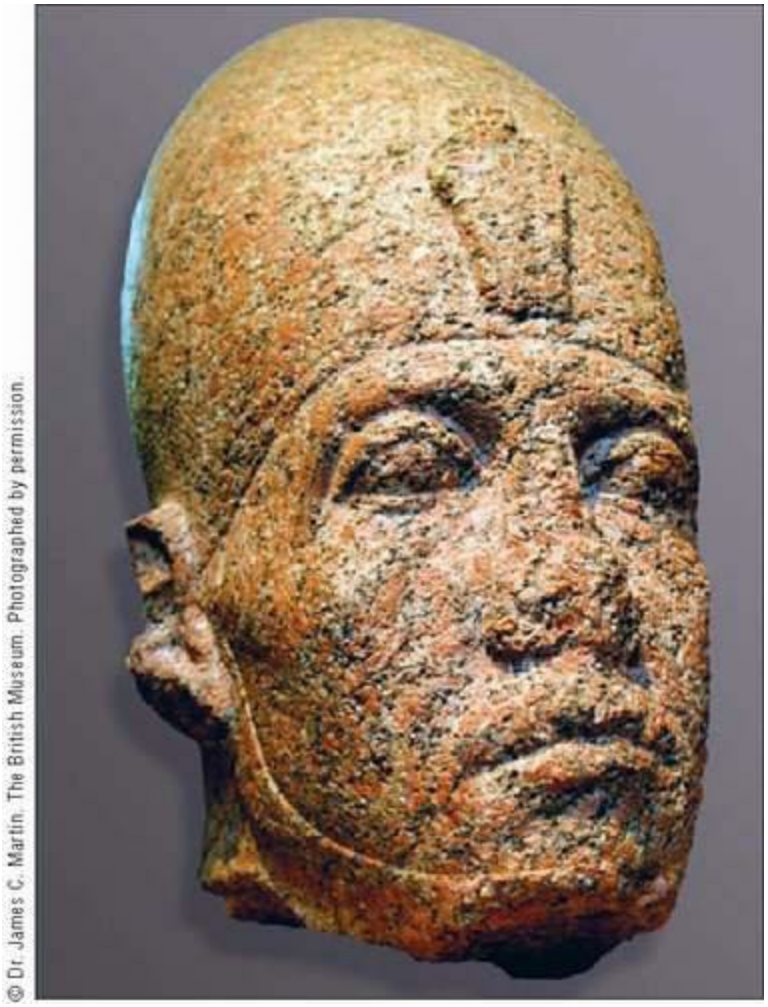
The date of the compilation of the table may be determined more precisely by the presence or absence of certain names. The absence of PERSIA would be extremely difficult to explain if the list had been compiled or edited by priests in EZRA's time during the Persian regime. The preeminence of SIDON in Canaan and the omission of TYRE (Gen. 10:15, 19) suggests a time before 1000 B.C., when HIRAM made Tyre the chief city of PHOENICIA. The absence of GEBAL (Byblos) as a descendant or city of Canaan may result from the rule of that city by HURRIANS, MITANNI, and HITTITES in the mid-2nd millennium B.C. The ARKITES, Arva-dites (see ARVAD), and ZEMARITES (10:17–18) lived in towns (Irqata, the island city of Arwada, and Ṣumur) just N of Tripoli on the coast of Lebanon, which had become prominent cities and seaports and were all seized by THUTMOSE III on his campaigns prior to 1450 B.C. (for Arvad = Ardata in Thutmose's records, see P. K. Hitti, *Lebanon in History* [1957], 79–80).

That HETH (Gen. 10:15; NIV, "Hittites") represents the more northerly population group in Canaan-Syria also points to the middle of the 2nd millennium, when the Hittites controlled much of the area from the great bend of the EUPHRATES to the Mediterranean coast. W. F. Albright (in *Old Testament Commentary,* ed. by H. C. Alleman and E. E. Flack [1948], 139) has observed that nearly all of the names of the tribal descendants of ARAM (10:23) and JOKTAN (10:26–29) are archaic, not occurring in the inscriptions of the 1st millennium B.C. from ASSYRIA and S ARABIA. Also several of the names belong to types known as personal names only in the early 2nd millennium, though they may have long continued as tribal names. On the other hand, some of the names that do not appear in written documents until the 1st millennium B.C. (e.g., GOMER = the CIMMERIANS; ASHKENAZ = the SCYTHIANS; MADAI = the Medes [see MEDIA]) may have been subjected to slight scribal revisions after the original writing of the book of Genesis (Harrison, *Introduction,* 559).

The peoples and lands of the known world are divided into three main lines: the descendants of Shem in Mesopotamia and Arabia, the descendants of Ham in Africa and within the sphere of Egyptian influence, and the descendants of Japheth in the northern and Mediterranean lands. Included in the list are some of the royal cities and important centers of the day within the FERTILE CRESCENT in Mesopotamia and Canaan. The three great ethnic areas meet in the land promised to Abraham (cf. Y. Aharoni et al., *The Carta Bible Atlas,* 4th ed. [2002], map 15).

The names in Gen. 10 are not based on any *one* of the several principal characteristics that distinguish a people. Rather, comparison of this list with the extrabiblical evidence indicates that in some cases the descendants are racial groups, in others linguistic entities, and in others geographical or political units at the time of writing. This variation is suggested by vv. 5, 20, and 31, which state that the descendants of Japheth, Ham, and Shem are listed each according to his "clan" (*mišpāḥâ H5476,* possibly a racial distinction), "language" (*lāšôn H4383,* a linguistic distinction), "land/territory" (*ʾereṣ H824,* a geographical distinction), and "nation" (*gôy H1580,* a political distinction). As T. C. Mitchell points out, "Racial features…can become so mixed or dominated through intermarriage as to be indistinguishable. Language can change completely, that of a subordinate group being replaced by that of its rulers, in many cases permanently. Geographical habitat can be completely changed by migration" (*NBD,* 805). See RACE.

**2. Problems**. A recognition of this multiple basis of distinguishing the nations enables the reader to understand why CANAAN is listed as a son of Ham and not of Shem, although the Canaanites of 2000 B.C. and onward spoke a W Semitic dialect (of which Hebrew itself is a subdivision; see LANGUAGES



King Sesostris III (c. 1850 B.C.) ruled the gentile nation of Egypt during the period of the patriarchs.

OF THE ANEII).The Hamitic tribes that conquered Palestine, perhaps at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age (c. 3100), may have succumbed to the influence of Semitic-speaking neighbors, regardless of what their original language may have been.

Another problem is the double appearance of three names in the list, namely SHEBA (Gen. 10:7, 28), HAVILAH (10:7, 29), and LUD/Ludites (10:13, 22) as descendants of both Ham and Shem. The first two were districts of Arabia. The similar name of SEBA was given perhaps to a SABEAN colony in Africa, since Seba clearly is associated with ETHIOPIA (Nubia) and EGYPT in Isa. 43:3 and 45:14. It is possible that the Sabeans were originally Hamitic in racial stock, but continual intermixture with other peoples in S Arabia finally altered their ethnic characteristics to make them predominantly Semitic. Thus the relationship indicated in both Gen. 10:7 and 10:28–29 would be correct.

Lud and the Ludites are yet to be clearly identified; they may be the Lydians of Anatolia (ASIA MINOR), in which region the Assyrians (Semites) had trading colonies c. 1900 B.C. with opportunities for intermarriage. See LYDIA (PLACE). From Lydia, Egypt (Hamites) from time to time obtained mercenary troops (Jer. 46:9; Ezek. 30:5). Alternatively, the Lydians may have migrated from N Africa at an early stage in their history, for they appear in the plain of SARDIS in W Asia Minor before the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. They spread eastward to the Halys River, where they opposed the Hittites and were subjugated. After the collapse of the Hittite empire, the Lydians regained their independence and gradually became a strong kingdom (it is mentioned frequently in later Assyrian records as *Luddu*).

The name CUSH also involves a knotty problem. The passage (Gen. 10:8–10) indicates Cush was the father or ancestor of NIMROD, who established a kingdom in the Mesopotamian region. Yet his name became associated with the area known today as the Sudan, far up the NILE River, S of Egypt. It also is known as Nubia and in English versions of the Bible as Ethiopia (Ps. 68:31; Isa. 11:11; 20:3–5; Ezek. 30:4, 9; Nah. 3:9 et al.). The Egyptians called the country kʾš (Akk. *kūšu* or *kūsu*). Genesis 10 refers to Cush as a Hamite, which of course agrees with an African location. On the other hand, the el-Amran tribe of Arabia calls the region of Zebid in the Yemen by the name Kūsh. There was also a great city in Babylonia named Kish, the seat of the first Sumerian dynasty after the flood mentioned in the Sumerian king list. Furthermore, the land of Cush (Gen. 2:13) is almost certainly the country of the Kassites (cf. the classical Greek form *Kossaios,* as E. A. Speiser has pointed out in *Genesis,* AB1 [1964], 20, 66). The Kassites, invading from the Zagros mountains, ruled Babylonia from c. 1650 toc. 1175 B.C.

Putting all these arguments together, M. F. Unger (*Archaeology and the Old Testament* [1954], 83) suggests that a very early home of the Hamitic Cushites was in the land of SHINAR, the biblical counterpart of cuneiform *ṣumer(u)* or SUMER, where Nimrod raised them to prominence. From there the Cushites may well have extended their power by merchants or armies to the Yemenite region of Arabia, and then crossed the narrow RED SEA to invade the Sudan area and impose their name on that entire district. In like manner, the influx of PHILISTINES later imprinted their name on PALESTINE.

The events of Gen. 10:8–12 must have occurred in prehistoric times. The NIV and other modern versions give the preferred translation of v. 10, namely, that from the land of Shinar "he [Nimrod] went into Assyria, where he built Nineveh." Archaeologically speaking, the only known time prior to ABRAHAM when a non-Semitic people of lower Mesopotamia pushed N to conquer the region of later Assyria and rebuild cities was in the Ubaid period (3800–3400 B.C.). The Ubaid people were one of the first to occupy S Iraq, and theirs was the one stage of prehistoric development that extended a unitary culture over the whole of Mesopotamia. They may represent the ancestors of the Sumerian

people, whose civilization came into full bloom in the next millennium.

**3. Contents.** In addition to the probable identifications suggested in the previous subsection, other interesting correspondences between the names of this chapter and the forms they assume in ancient inscriptions are discussed here.

a. *Japheth.* Most of the ethnic groups involved in Gen. 10:2–4 were of Indo-European stock. GOMER is identified with the Gimirrya or Gimirrai (Gk. *Kimmerioi*, CIMMERIANS), who at least by the 8th cent. B.C. had invaded Asia Minor via the Caucasus under pressure of the Scythians and settled in CAPPADOCIA. They attacked Urartu (see ARARAT) and also invaded Tabal during the reign of SARGON II (722–705) of Assyria. It is not certain whether MAGOG may be represented by the barbarian land of Gagaia in the far N, mentioned in TELL EL-AMARNA letter #1 (1.38), written by Amenhotep III to the Kassite king Kadashman-Enlil I.

MADAI was undoubtedly the ancestor of the Medes (see MEDIA), who inhabited the semiarid uplands E of the Zagros mountains. They were primarily nomads from S Russia, of Indo-Iranian stock, closely related to the later Persians. Specializing in cavalry and archery, the Medes became formidable enemies of the Assyrians, who made several attempts to subdue them in the 9th and 8th centuries. King Cyaxares (625–585) joined with the Chaldeans in overthrowing the Assyrian capital of NINEVEH in 612. Astyages (585–550) expanded the Median empire to its greatest size, but he was defeated by his nephew, CYRUS the Great of Persia. After that the Medes became subordinate partners with the Persians in the spreading Medo-Persian empire.

JAVAN has been equated with the Ionians, one of the tribes of the Greeks. The Peloponnesus of GREECE was the terminus of the southward movement of the Indo-European-speaking Achaean tribes known as the Mycenaeans (see ACHAIA). They began to destroy the Minoan civilization in CRETE c. 1400 B.C. Their famous expedition against TROY in NW Asia Minor c. 1200 was heralded in their national epics, Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey.* Driven out by the Dorians coming from the Balkans soon after the Trojan war, the Ionians settled the W coast of Asia Minor, the AEGEAN islands, Attica (around ATHENS), and eventually RHODES, CYPRUS, and even parts of SYRIA. A modified Ionian dialect, Attic, ultimately became the standard for classical Greek prose (see GREEK LANGUAGE). By the 6th cent. B.C. democracies had developed among the Ionian and Attic Greeks. The outstanding defeats by the Athenians of the huge invading Persian armies and navy (in 490 and 480) led to their golden age in literature, architecture, and sculpture. Her wars with Sparta, however, devastated both city-states, so that Philip of Macedon was able to subjugate all of Greece c. 350 B.C. His son ALEXANDER THE GREAT carried the Greek language and culture throughout the ANE as he forged his empire, thus preparing the way for the Jewish DIASPORA, and later the outreach of the Christian gospel.

TUBAL's descendants were the Tabali who settled in E Anatolia, and the race of MESHECH were the Mushki E of the upper EUPHRATES River. Both warred against TIGLATH-PILESER I c. 1100 B.C. These two peoples entered the ANE from the northern steppe. The Tabali fought SHALMANESER III in the 9th cent. B.C. Archaeology has confirmed that metallurgy and trade in copper and bronze vessels was one of the chief industries of these two nations (Ezek. 27:13). TIRAS has been compared with the Turasha known from the Egyptian records of RAMSES III as one of the SEA PEOPLES, undoubtedly the same as the Greek *Tyrsānoi,* or Tyrrhen-nians, a Pelasgian race who at first inhabited the AEGEAN region and who some scholars think were the ancestors of the Etruscans in Italy.

ASHKENAZ, of the line of Gomer, may be equated with the Ashkuz (CUNEIFORM *Ašguzai, Išusai*) or SCYTHIANS, who like the Gimirrai drove into the ANE by coming across the Caucasus range. The

name RIPHATH has not yet turned up in any ancient inscriptions. TOGARMAH appears in Hittite texts as Tegarama and Takaram and in Assyrian writings as Tilgarimmu, where they are mentioned as living in the N Taurus mountains. That is the homeland of the Armenians, who trace their ancestry back to Haik, the son of Torgom; thus they may be descendants of Togarmah.

Those associated with Javan include ELISHAH, known as Alashiya, the cuneiform name for the island of CYPRUS (Amarna letters #33–40); TARSHISH, probably the Greek *Tartessos* in Spain and/or Sardinia (where the name has been found on inscriptions); KITTIM, the Greek *Kition* (Jos. *Ant.* 1.6.1 §128), which is modern Larnaka on the SE coast of Cyprus; and RODANIM (MT, "Dodanim," but cf. 1 Chr. 1:7), probably referring to the people of the island of RHODES, although possibly the Dardanians from the vicinity of Troy in NW Asia Minor are in view.

b. *Ham.* The problems associated with Cush have already been discussed. The descendants of Cush listed in Gen. 10:7 are the peoples of the shores of the Red Sea and the S part of Arabia, proceeding in general from the African to the Asiatic side and then to the interior with the mention of DEDAN. SABTAH has been identified with Sabota, the chief city of the land of Hadhramaut (HAZARMAVETH, v. 26) on the S coast of Arabia. RAAMAH is perhaps mentioned by the Roman geographer Strabo (*Geogr.* 16.4.24) as the Rham-manites in SW Arabia (but see *ABD,* 5:597). An ancient S Arabian Minean inscription tells of a caravan of the city of Raʿamah near Maʿin in SW Arabia that was attacked by raiders from Sheba and Haulan. SABTECAH has not been identified. Dedan was an important tribe controlling caravan routes between S and N Arabia, centering on the oasis el-ʿUla, 50 mi. S of Teimaʾ (see TEMA) and 150 mi. N of Medina.

MIZRAIM, another Hamite listed in Gen. 10:6, is the usual Hebrew name for EGYPT (Mizraim possibly means "[two] boundaries/districts," a reference to the two former lands of the Nile valley,


This Babylonian inscription (700–500 B.C.), perhaps the oldest known example of cartography, preserves a map of

Babylon and the Euphrates River. (The circles stand for cities or countries, and the triangular outlines indicate the homes of legendary beings.)

Upper and Lower Egypt). About 3000 B.C. agriculturists of African origin living in the warring princedoms of Upper and Lower Egypt were united into a single realm by Nar-mer, the founder of the 1st dynasty. The Old Kingdom, 3rd–6th dynasties, (2700–2200), is known as the great PYRAMID age and saw the beginning of religious writings (Pyramid Texts) and wisdom literature (proverbs of Ptah-hotep).

ABRAHAM's sojourn, and likely JOSEPH's rise to power as the royal vizier (according to one interpretation of the chronological data of Exod. 12:40 and 1 Ki. 6:1), date to the Middle Kingdom, 11th–12th dynasties (c. 2050–1780). Around 1850, Senwosret III brought all of Egypt once again under central authority from the great landed local princes (W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* [1953], 196; cf. Gen. 47:18–26) and campaigned in Nubia and in Canaan as far N as SHECHEM (*ANET,* 230). During part of the second Intermediate Period (1780–1570) the HYKSOS, who were largely Canaanites with a mixture of HURRIANS, took over Lower and Middle Egypt and perhaps began the oppression of the Israelites. The "new king" of Exod. 1:8–12 may have been a Hyksos ruler because he did not recognize Joseph's fame and admitted that the Israelites were more numerous than his people. The New Kingdom, 18th–20th dynasties (1570–1090), included the time of MOSES and the writing of Genesis. It was the third great age of Egyptian civilization. Ruling from THEBES, the 18th-dynasty pharaohs conquered Palestine and Syria as far as the Euphrates. In order to build the great military bases in the Nile delta necessary to support these campaigns, they continued the enslavement of the Israelites. The early date for the exodus would have Moses lead Israel out of Egypt early in the reign of Amenhotep II, son of the mighty THUTMOSE III (1504–1450). RAMSES II (1304–1234) in the 19th dynasty restored Egyptian control of key cities in Palestine and fought the Hittites to a standstill in mid-Syria.

The Ludites (Gen. 10:13) associated with Miz-raim already have been discussed. The ANAMITES are unknown, unless W. F. Albright's suggestion (in *JPOS* 1 [1921]: 191–92) is correct that they were a people of CYRENE mentioned in a cuneiform text from the time of Sargon II as the *Anami.* The LEHABITES are equated by many with the Libyans, not elsewhere mentioned in Gen. 10 (see LIBYA). K. A. Kitchen (in *NBD,* 803) argues well that the NAPHTUHITES were people of the Nile delta or of the oases W of the Nile valley. This identification would be appropriate in conjunction with the PATHRUSITES (10:14), who were the inhabitants of Upper Egypt. The name is attested in Assyrian inscriptions as *Paturisi.* The CASLUHITES are not known outside the OT.

The PHILISTINES (KJV, "Philistim") were a race of invaders from CAPHTOR (Amos 9:7)—either CRETE or the islands of the Aegean Sea region—who are thought to have migrated to the E Mediterranean littoral late in the 2nd millennium B. C. (see SEA PEOPLES). Having occupied the S Palestinian coast, they built up five strong city-states (ASHDOD, ASHKELON, GAZA, GATH, and EKRON). Genesis 21 and 26 record contacts between Abraham and Isaac and Philistine rulers of GERAR named ABIMELECH early in the 2nd millennium. Since apparently these rulers were not warlike, they may have been associated with earlier Minoan merchants from Crete who are thought to have established trading colonies at various spots along the Mediterranean coast. At the time of the exodus the Israelites avoided the coastal route known then as the "way of the…Philistines" (Exod. 13:17 NRSV), because of Philistine settlements, probably near Gaza. They apparently were not subdued by JOSHUA's invasion (Josh. 13:2–3), and later they harassed the Israelites during the time of

the judges. Additional bands of Philistines coming by land and by sea together attempted an invasion of Egypt which Ramses III repulsed c. 1188. The reason, then, for classifying them with Mizraim may be geographic, since the Philistines had been settling along the coastal highway to Egypt.

PUT (Gen. 10:6; KJV, "Phut") is most likely the region of Cyrenaica (see CYRENE) along the Mediterranean coast of LIBYA (called *Puta* in Babylonian; see K. A. Kitchen, *NBD,* 992), where the people were light-skinned. Some scholars have suggested, however, that Put is another spelling for *Pw(n)t* of Egyptian texts, where the land referred to seems to be Somaliland in E Africa.

Certain aspects of the Canaanite history and culture have been discussed previously, but it remains to look further at the other nations listed with Canaan. HETH (Gen. 10:15) was identified above with the HITTITES of c. 1450–1200 who ruled a large part of W Asia from their capital at Boğazköy in Anatolia. It is equally possible that a much smaller, non-Indo-European people group is in mind, such as the "children of Heth" of Gen. 23:10 (KJV) residing in HEBRON, who would be much too early and too far S to be part of the Hittite kingdom. Speiser (*Genesis,* 69) connects Heth with the HURRIANS, who were a prominent part of the population of Palestine and Syria in the middle of the 2nd millennium, and he states forthrightly that the Jebusites (10:16) were the ruling Hurrian element in Jerusalem during the Amarna age (c. 1400 B.C.), and, we may add, to the time of David. See JEBUS.

The AMORITES are known to have spoken a W Semitic dialect. Their classification here as Hamites seems to be from a geographical standpoint, for their sizable kingdoms in Mesopotamia had been destroyed by Moses' time, and in the Bible they are identified as inhabitants of Canaan. The earliest known Amorites according to the Drehem texts from the Ur III period are pictured as herdsmen, engaging in an active and well-ordered livestock commerce with the Sumerians. The Sumerian term MAR. TU designated seminomads from the N Syrian steppe. The Amorites seem to have been native to the Jebel Bishri region, the mountains near Palmyra (TADMOR). There was before 2000 B.C. a continuing movement of tribesmen between this Syrian homeland and Sumer via a route along the Euphrates (G. Buccellati, *The Amorites of the Ur III Period* [1966]).

This powerful group of tribes established kingdoms early in the 2nd millennium all the way from KADESH ON THE ORONTES in Syria to the Zagros mountains E of the TIGRIS River. They were in control of the city of Mari on the Euphrates around the year 2000, and by 1800 they ruled in Babylon. They had rapidly assimilated the Akkadian culture and founded the dynasty of the famous HAMMURABI.

Apparently the Amorite influx into TRANSJORDAN and Canaan dates back to the 21st and 20th centuries B.C., contemporary with Abraham's arrival (Gen. 14:13; 15:16). They are mentioned in the Egyptian EXECRATION TEXTS and pictured in the Beni Hasan tomb paintings (c. 1900) as bearded itinerant merchant families bringing their wares on donkeys into Egypt to get food, wearing striped woven garments, and carrying musical instruments and weapons. They likely fit in with the Hyksos in the latter's control of Palestine and Egypt. The Hyksos names Hur and Jacob-hur have an Amorite ring. The Israelites under Moses demolished the Amorite kingdoms of SIHON and OG in Transjordan, and Joshua found Amorites to be still firmly entrenched in parts of Canaan. They generally preferred the hill country in Palestine.

The GIRGASHITES are not known as a people from extrabiblical sources, but the personal names *Grgš, Grgšy,* and *Grgšm* occur frequently in the unvocalized texts from Carthage and UGARIT. This fact seems to indicate that the Girgashites were related to the Phoenicians or Canaanites.

The racial background of the HIVITES is unknown, but geographically they come under the heading of Canaan. According to Jdg. 3:3 their center was in the Lebanese mountains. If "Hivite" is

an alternate spelling for "Horite" (involving the change of one Hebrew consonant in the middle of the name), then the Hivites as well as the HORITES can perhaps be identified with the Hurrians known from many ancient inscriptions. Probably migrating from the mountains of ARMENIA, the non-Semitic Hurrians became an important power in the upper Mesopotamian region by the middle of the 2nd millennium. The common people of the kingdom of MITANNI seem to have been Hurrians, though its rulers were Indo-Iranian, judging from their personal names.

The patriarchal narratives of Genesis reflect many customs and laws practiced by the Hurrians as revealed by the Nuzi tablets. This is not surprising when one realizes that the Hurrians dominated the area from Nuzi, Assyria, and Mari in the E to the ORONTES River in the W, including PADDAN ARAM, where LABAN lived and followed many of their same customs. The early intrusion of the Hurrians into Palestine and their importance there is noted in the frequent Egyptian designation (during the 18th dynasty) of Canaan as Huru. The ruler of Jerusalem in the Amarna letters has a Hurrian name, ʿAbdu-Heba (*ANET,* 487ff.), and the Jebusite ARAUNAH (2 Sam. 24:16) has a Hur-rian name or title. Because of their prominence in the ANE during the 2nd millennium, one would expect the Hurrians to be listed in some way in the Table of the Nations.

The Arkites, Arvadites, and Zemarites have been described above. The name of the SINITES survives in Nahr as-Sinn and Sinn ad-Darb along the coast of Lebanon. Tiglath-Pileser III (745 – 727) mentions this city together with other tributary Phoenician vassals. The HAMATHITES resided in the large city of HAMATH on the Orontes, the center of an Amorite kingdom in the Amarna period.

While the Sumerians are not included as a people in Gen. 10, allusion is made to their country in the term "the land of Shinar" (v. 10), as noted previously. All succeeding civilizations in Mesopotamia are based on the culture of the non-Semitic Sumerians. Coming perhaps by sea from a mountainous area to the E or N, they had settled the Tigris-Euphrates Valley from the Persian Gulf to the site of modern Baghdad centuries before 3000 B.C. Their own peculiar genius gave birth to the world's first actual civilization. They invented writing, which first appears at ERECH c. 3500–3200 in the form of cylinder seals and then pictographic tablets of stone and clay. They also developed the basic principles of personal property rights under law, the sexagesimal number system that still is used today in telling time and in the 360-degree circle, and a great literature. The history of Sumer as a nation lasted from 3000 to approximately 1900 (depending on the date when the 3rd dynasty of Ur fell before the attacking Elamites and Amorites). This may be the reason why Sumer is not listed in the Table of Nations. Nevertheless, the Sumerian language continued to be used until the 3rd cent. B.C. in religion, science, law, and business (just as Latin was in the W after fall of the Roman empire). See SUMER.

c. *Shem.* Under this heading only a few names can be identified with reasonable certainty. ELAM was the eastern neighbor and rival of Mesopotamian nations since the dawn of history. The inclusion of Elam here has been challenged on linguistic grounds, since Elamite or Susian was not a Semitic language (nor is it related to Sumerian, Hurrian, or Indo-European). The evidence of language, however, is no infallible indicator of ethnic relationship, and besides, Sargon of Agade brought in Semitic-speaking troops when he conquered Elam c. 2200 (G. L. Archer, *Survey of Old Testament Introduction,* rev. ed. [1994], 225). The grouping in Gen. 10:22

Remains of palatial buildings in Babylon from the time of Nebuchadnezzar.

under Shem is chiefly a matter of geographical and political considerations.

The name of ASSHUR lives on in the nation of the Assyrians. This hardy people of mixed Semitic and non-Semitic stock lived along the upper Tigris River. Linguistically they belonged to the eastern branch of the Semitic family of languages. They began to achieve political importance soon after 2000 B.C., and by 1900 Assyrian traders had established nine commercial colonies in Anatolia, the most important being at Kanesh. Shamshi-Adad I gradually extended his kingdom c. 1800, his two sons ruling at Mari until that city was captured by King Hammurabi of Babylon. With the rise of the Mitanni and Hurrian peoples in the Upper Euphrates region, the influence of Assyria had declined by the time of Moses. Various Assyrian rulers recovered some of the former territories from time to time, but the zenith of their power did not come until after 900 B.C. For nearly 300 years their kings were to march against Israel and Judah, acting as the unwitting agent of God's judgment against his sinning people.

One would expect that ARPHAXAD, the father of EBER (from whose name the term *Hebrew* may have come), would bear a truly Semitic name. Instead, this name continues to defy linguistic analysis (see Speiser, *Genesis,* 70). Several theories have been proposed, such as the one that would connect the name with the cuneiform *Arrapḫu,* Greek *Arrapachitis,* probably modern Kirkuk. This does not properly account for the last three consonants in Hebrew. Another solution is to see the end of the name, *-kšad,* as a corruption of *keśed, kaśdîm,* the "Chaldeans," and thus that the name refers to Babylonia (Sumer and Akkad), otherwise strangely absent from this entire list (J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* [1959], 9–10).

The city of BABYLON finds mention as early as 2300 B.C. After the fall of the Sumerian capital of Ur c. 2000, Babylon grew into a small independent kingdom under an Amorite dynasty founded by Sumu-abu. His famous successor, Hammurabi, in the 18th cent. extended his rule over all of Sumer, Assyria, and Mari, finally overcoming the Elamite kingdom of Rim-Sin at Larsa. His celebrated law code gives evidence of an advanced and well-ordered civilization. His dynasty came to an end with a Hittite raid c. 1600, which opened up the way for the Kassite mountaineers to take over the whole territory of Babylonia for the next several centuries. Again, the nonexistence of the Babylonians as a

nation at the time of Moses may account for their not being mentioned by their usual name in the Table of Nations.

ARAM was the progenitor of the Arameans, tribes who orbited around the middle Euphrates region, occupying Haran already by the time of Abraham (c. 2000). ARAMAIC, a W Semitic language, was spoken by Laban as early as the 19th cent. (Gen. 31:47). The earliest nonbiblical evidence for the Aramaic language consists of certain Aramaic words in Ugaritic texts from the 15th cent. Inscriptions from the dynasty of Sargon of Agade (Akkad) and the Ur III dynasty (c. 2400–2000) mention a settlement called *Aram(e/i)* in the E Tigris region N of Elam and ENE of Assyria. This may be considered as a proto-Aramean group, which would correspond to the listing of Aram with Elam and Asshur (Gen. 10:22; see K. A. Kitchen in *NBD,* 65). Twelve Aramean tribes related to NAHOR, Abraham's brother, are listed in Gen. 22:20–24. The last named, MAACAH, appears to be mentioned c. 1830 in the later Egyptian Execration Texts as already in N Transjordan (cf. B. Mazar in *JBL* 80 [1961]: 21–22).Thus the Arameans gradually pushed westward toward the Mediterranean.

The Arameans lacked the capacity for empire building. In the 12th and 11th centuries, Syria had a jumble of Aramean city-states, which never united for long in a larger kingdom. CARCHEM-ISH, HARAN (PLACE), Pitru (PETHOR, the home of BALAAM the prophet), ARPAD, and ALEPPO were such Aramean states in the N, while S of these were HAMATH, ZOBAH, and DAMASCUS. DAVID conquered a number of the small Aramean countries during his reign. Damascus enjoyed a brief period of importance under Aramean rulers such as BEN-HADAD and HAZAEL until it was sacked by the Assyrians in 732. The Aramaic language, however, simpler in structure and more easily written, replaced the Assyrians' cuneiform as the *lingua franca* of the ANE from the 8th cent. until the conquest of ALEXANDER THE GREAT late in the 4th cent. B.C.

Uz (cf. Job 1:1, 15–17; Lam. 4:21) was a land located somewhere in the Syrian or N Arabian desert S of Damascus and N of EDOM. HUL and GETHER are unknown. MASH also was located in the Syro-Arabian desert on the E side, according to Assyrian records (Mas)a(i), *ANET*, 283–39).

The genealogy from Shem to Abraham is given more fully in Gen. 11:10–26. For the problem of the meaning of Eber as the so-called eponymous ancestor of the Hebrews and the possible relationship between Eber and the HABIRU ('Apiru), see HEBREW PEOPLE.

The reference to the division of the earth in the days of PELEG (Gen. 10:25; cf. v. 32, which uses a different verb, *pārad H7233* niphal, "were separated") must be to the confusion of languages that occurred at the tower of BABEL described in detail in 11:1–9. The name of JOKTAN is unknown outside the Bible, as well as most of the Arabian tribes associated with his name. Hazarmaveth, Sheba, and Havilah have been discussed before (see separate articles for the remaining names).

***B. Lists of non-Israelite nations.*** There are twenty-two lists that name from two (e.g., Gen. 13:7) to ten (15:19–21) of the peoples who occupied Palestine prior to the Israelite conquest and settlement. The common enumeration (e.g., Deut. 7:1) lists seven "nations": the Amorites, Canaanites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites, Jebusites, and Girgashites—in this approximate order of prominence. The first two are fairly certain to be general terms for the well-known ethnic blocks; this may be true also of the Hittites if they had enclaves in Palestine, and of the Hivites if that name represents the Hurrians. The PERIZZITES can hardly have been a major nation, since they are not named in Gen. 10. Yet they remained a distinct tribe in the mountains of Palestine down to the time of Solomon (1 Ki. 9:20–21). They may have been of Hurrian stock, because a Hurrian messenger of the Mitannian King Tushratta bore the name of Pirizzi (Amarna letters 27 and 28).

Genesis 15:19–21 gives the largest number of peoples and tribes, limiting them geographically

between the Nile delta and the Euphrates River. It is also the first or oldest of the twenty-two lists. The KENITES were a tribe or subtribe of Canaan who seem to have intermarried with the Midianites, because the father-in-law of Moses is called a Kenite as well as a Midianite (cf. Jdg. 1:16 with Num. 10:29). Some scholars consider the Kenites to be itinerant coppersmiths because the Hebrew term (*qayin H7803*) apparently means "smith, metal worker." The Kenizzites (see KENAZ), another obscure tribe, may have been related to the Kenites. They also may have merged with the Edomites, for an Edomite chieftain was named Kenaz (Gen. 36:11, 15, 42), perhaps a name derived from his ruling over the Kenizzites. CALEB (Num. 32:12) and OTHNIEL (Josh. 15:17; Jdg. 1:13; 1 Chr. 4:13) were related in some way to this tribe.

The KADMONITES (*qadmōnî H7720,* "easterner") should probably be identified with the *bĕnê-qedem,* the "people of the east" referred to often in the OT (Gen. 29:1; Num. 23:7; Jdg. 6:3, 33; 1 Ki. 4:30; Job 1:3 et al.). This term seems to be a general designation for the nomadic tribes which frequented the regions E and NE of Palestine (Jer. 49:28; Ezek. 25:4, 10). The name Qedem is similarly used, as a loanword, in the Egyptian story of Sinuhe in the 20th cent. B.C. (*ANET,* 19–21), which shows it was a common expression in Canaan before the Israelites adopted it. See EAST, CHILDREN (PEOPLE) OF.

The REPHAITES were a formidable people, being compared in stature with the Anakites (Deut. 2:20–21; see ANAK). They seem to have made Transjordan their homeland, where they opposed KEDORLAOMER and his allies (Gen. 14:5), and where their descendants were found in Moses' day (Deut. 2:11, 20–21; 3:11 et al.); but a valley running SW from Jerusalem was apparently named after them (Josh. 15:8; see REPHAIM, VALLEY OF). Some scholars suppose that the numerous dolmens of Palestine may have been set in place by the giant-sized Rephaites. (The term *rĕpāʾîm H8327,* referring to the dead or ghosts of the dead [Job 26:5; Prov. 2:18 et al.; also in Ugaritic and Phoenician tomb inscriptions], seems to be a homonym not related to the name of this people, unless, as some commentators have suggested, the Israelites applied the term to the prehistoric race because they were people long since dead.)

Either the Canaanites (e.g., Gen. 12:6) or the Amorites (e.g., 15:16) may stand for the entire population of Palestine, since these two peoples seem to have made up the majority of the inhabitants of the land. CANAAN often is used as a land name as well as forming a gentilic, but there is no geographic term *Amor* as such in the OT. As E. A. Speiser concludes (in *IDB,* 3:237), one may posit as a general hypothesis that *Canaan* started out as a geographic name, but took on extra duty for ethnic and even linguistic (Isa. 19:18) purposes, whereas *Amorite* was never employed beyond its original ethnic use.

The geographical division of several of the important peoples of Palestine is outlined as follows: "The Amalekites live in the Negev; the Hittites, Jebusites and Amorites live in the hill country; and the Canaanites live near the sea and along the Jordan" (Num. 13:29). A very interesting reference occurs in Ezek. 16:3, where it is stated of Jerusalem, "Your ancestry and birth were in the land of the Canaanites; your father was an Amorite and your mother a Hittite"—apparently referring to the city's aboriginal pagan settlers.

OT literature abounds in descriptive and poetical references to the nations with which Israel had contact during its history (e.g., Ps. 83; Jer. 25:12–33; Ezek. 27). At no point can it be demonstrated that in the names of the peoples or of their rulers or of the events or customs associated with them is there a clear-cut historical or factual error.

***C. The Jews of the Diaspora.*** In Acts 2:7–11 is found a list of the Jewish pilgrims from the various

countries of their dispersion who had come to Jerusalem for the annual Feast of Weeks or PENTECOST (cf. the lists in Isa. 11:11; Jer. 25:22–24). They were amazed to hear the Galilean apostles praising God, not in their native Aramaic, but in the various languages spoken by those foreign Jews pilgrims. Included were countries from Persia and Mesopotamia to Asia Minor and from there to N Africa, then "visitors from Rome," ending with the inhabitants of the islands ("Cretans") and desert regions ("Arabs"). Most of the pilgrims would have spoken as a second language the common Greek dialect (the Koine) except those from the eastern lands (Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and residents of Mesopotamia), who would have been more familiar with Aramaic. See DIASPORA.

**III. Jewish Attitudes toward the nations**

***A. The Abrahamic and Mosaic covenants.*** The attitudes of the Israelites toward the heathen evolved in the course of their history around two primary facts in the affirmation of their faith. First, God chose Abraham (Isa. 51:2) and made a COVENANT with him for the benefit of the nations. Second, Israel's deity, Yahweh, is the only God. The Israelites found themselves unable to keep a balance between these two theological poles. The tension pulled them into religious nationalism and Jewish exclusivism. Yet God had said to Abraham, "all peoples on earth will be blessed through you" (Gen. 12:3). This promise, almost with the added force of a command, was repeated over and over again to the patriarchs (18:18; 22:18; 26:4; 28:14). It was the basis for the covenantal relationship established on a national scale with the redeemed Israelites as they gathered at the foot of Mount Sinai: "Now if you obey me fully and keep my covenant, then out of all nations you will be my treasured possession. Although the whole earth is mine, you will be for me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation" (Exod. 19:5–6a). The phrase "out of all nations" can be rendered "among all peoples" (cf. RSV; NJPS). By designating Israel as "a kingdom of priests" in this universal context, God consecrated the descendants of Abraham for service to bear a witness among the nations and to bring their neighbors to worship him.

Repeatedly through the prophets God reminded the nation of Israel of his purpose. But a prophet such as JONAH and the people as a whole were deaf to their covenantal responsibility (Isa. 42:19). Yet God kept on calling: "'You are my witnesses,' declares the LORD, / 'and my servant whom I have chosen'" (43:10). God announced his coming to gather all nations and tongues that they might see his glory, and that he would send his remnant to the nations that had not heard of his fame in order to declare his glory among them (66:19).

***B. The Levitical code.*** In turning their back on the nations round about, the pious Jewish people could always appeal to the law, which commanded them to be holy as Yahweh is holy and not to defile themselves with any of the unclean practices of his idolatrous neighbors (Lev. 11:43–47). So corrupt had the peoples of Canaan become by the period of Moses and Joshua that in the holy war declared on those peoples by God himself none were to be spared. Israel on her part was to make no alliance with her Canaanite neighbors because of the danger of apostasy (Exod. 34:11–16; Deut. 7:1–11).

***C. The postexilic reaction.*** Because of their disobedience to the prohibition against intermarriage with those of other nations, the Israelites returning from Babylon were severely reprimanded by EZRA and NEHEMIAH (Ezra 9–10; Neh. 13). They were to be a separate people, with no "mixed multitude" (Exod. 12:38 KJV) allowed to come into the forecourt of the temple. The development of this exclusivism is strikingly portrayed in the events of Acts 21:27—22:22, when PAUL was nearly

mobbed to death by the Jewish crowds in the temple area because they suspected he had defiled the holy grounds by bringing a Gentile to the temple.

Yet God had not abandoned his plan of universal blessing and redemption for peoples of all races. The postexilic prophets continued to proclaim his desire to make the nations his people as well: "Many nations will be joined with the LORD in that day and will become my people" (Zech. 2:11). "'My name will be great among the nations, from the rising to the setting of the sun. In every place incense and pure offerings will be brought to my name, because my name will be great among the nations,' says the LORD Almighty" (Mal. 1:11).

**IV. The Christian mission.** Isaiah had prophesied of the role of the SERVANT OF THE LORD regarding the nations when he sang: "Here is my servant, whom I uphold…/ he will bring justice to the nations…/ he will not falter or be discouraged / till he establishes justice on earth. / In his law the islands will put their hope" (Isa. 42:1–4). God announced through the prophet that he would give that individual as a covenant to the people, a light for the nations (42:6; NIV, "Gentiles"). It was too small a task merely to raise up the tribes of Jacob; he would give him as a light for the nations so that his salvation might reach "to the ends of the earth" (49:6).

During the earlier days of his public ministry, Jesus Christ ordered his apostles not to go in the way of the Gentiles but only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (Matt. 10:5–6). After the officials of the Jewish people made obvious their rejection of him as the promised MESSIAH, he began to prepare his disciples by parable, by example, and by declaration for the larger outreach foretold by Isaiah (cf. Matt. 12:17–21). In the parable of the dragnet, fish of *every* kind were gathered from the sea, a symbol of all nations (Matt. 13:47–50). He was willing to help the Canaanite or SYROPHOENICIAN woman on the basis of her persistent faith, even though he repeated his policy, "I was sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matt. 15:21–28; Mk. 7:24–30). He clearly stated in Jerusalem to the Pharisees, "I have other sheep that are not of this sheep pen. I must bring them also. They too will listen to my voice, and there shall be one flock and one shepherd" (Jn. 10:16).

In the Olivet Discourse, Christ taught his disciples that the gospel of the kingdom would be preached in the whole world for a witness to all nations before the end would come (Matt. 24:14). In his final parable the Lord Jesus depicted all the nations gathered before the Son of Man for judgment. At that time he will separate them from one another as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats (25:31–33). That the basis of judgment is individual response to his gospel as revealed in compassionate service to the unfortunate, and not ethnic relationship, is clear in what follows (vv. 34–46).

After his resurrection the risen Lord commissioned his followers to go and make disciples of *all* nations (Matt. 28:19–20), to go into all the world and preach the gospel to all creation (Mk. 16:15), to proclaim in his name repentance and forgiveness of sins to all the nations—beginning from Jerusalem (Lk. 24:47). Appearing suddenly to the frightened apostles in the upper room on the night after he arose from the dead, Jesus had announced to them, "As the Father has sent me, I am sending you" (Jn. 20:21). This was in accord with his high-priestly prayer, when he asked the Father to

Extent of the Christian Church among the nations by the close of the second century A.D. Map shows modern names and boundaries.

set apart the apostles, because as the Father had sent his Son into the world, Jesus also was sending them into the world (Jn. 17:17–18). But the Great Commission could not begin to be obeyed and executed until the disciples would be clothed with supernatural power (Lk. 24:49). Immediately before his ascension he promised once again: "But you will receive power when the Holy Spirit comes on you; and you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth" (Acts 1:8). See COMMISSION, GREAT.

The apostles and early Christians were led to follow the order of this strategic plan by circumstances and the direction of the HOLY SPIRIT, as the history of the spread of the gospel is unfolded in the book of Acts. The example of the apostle Paul is primary for the subsequent mission of the church—"first for the Jew, then for the Gentile," because he was under obligation both to Greeks and barbarians as well as to the Jews (Rom. 1:13–16; cf. 15:15–21; 16:25–26). His final words to the leaders of the Jewish community in ROME clearly declare that the salvation of God has been sent to the Gentiles, and that they will listen (Acts 28:25 –28).

In the eschatological day John sees in a vision members of every nation upon earth assembled around the throne of God in triumph and praise (Rev. 5:9; 7:9). The nations will be healed (22:2), and they will walk by the light of the glory of God and the Lamb, with the kings of the earth bringing the glory and the honor of the nations into the holy city, the new Jerusalem (21:24, 26).

(See further H. H. Rowley, *The Missionary Message of the Old Testament* [1944]; S. Amsler and S. Bickel in *A Companion to the Bible,* ed. J. J. von All-men [1958], 300–305; E. Jacob, *Theology of the Old Testament* [1958], 217–23; J. Jeremias, *Jesus' Promise to the Nations* [1958]; J. B. Payne, *The Theology of the Older Testament* [1962], 180–94, 474–78, 496–98; A. Wilson, *The Nations in Deutero-Isaiah: A Study on Composition and Structure* [1986]; D. I. Block, *The Gods of the Nations: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern National Theology,* 2nd ed. [2000].)

J. REA

**nature, natural.** There is no hypostatization or personification of nature in the Bible as is found commonly in Greek philosophy, nor anywhere the enunciation of a full-blown cosmology, for both the OT and NT speak in terms of ultimates rather than secondary causation, and view CREATION primarily as a backdrop to redemption (see COSMOGONY; WORLD). The closest one gets in Scripture to nature as a separate entity functioning on its own is in three passages: the wording "all the host of them" in reference to the totality of God's creation (Gen. 2:1 KJV; here the LXX translates Heb. *sābā) H7372* with Gk. *kosmos G3180*); PAUL's statement regarding the ungodly changing the course of "nature" (*physis G5882,* Rom. 1:26); and the apostle's appeal, "Does not the very nature of things teach you…?" (1 Cor. 11:14).

The emphasis in Scripture is on the following facts: (a) God the Father is Creator, Sustainer, and Ruler of all (Gen. 1–2; Isa. 44:24; Amos 4:13); (b) God is omnipresent in all he has created (Ps. 139:7–12); (c) Christ the Son also must be spoken of in terms of Creator, Sustainer, and Ruler (Jn. 1:3; Col. 1:16–17; Heb. 1:10–12); (d) the order and beauty of the universe reflect and proclaim the existence, wisdom, and power of God (Job 38:4–39:30; Pss. 8:1–4; 19:1–6; 104:1–32; 136:6–9; Prov. 8:22–31; Rom. 1:19–20); and (e) one may learn from God's bounty and care in nature regarding God's provision and concern for human beings (Matt. 6:25–34; Lk. 12:22–31).

Of the words often translated "nature" and "natural," *physis* denotes (a) a condition, endowment, or status inherited from one's ancestors, as in reference to those who "by nature" are Jews (Gal. 2:15), heathen (Rom. 2:27), "children of wrath" (Eph. 2:3 NRSV), or the "natural" and "wild" branches of the olive tree (Rom. 11:21, 24); (b) innate characteristics and instinctive dispositions, as of false gods (Gal. 4:8), men (Rom. 2:14; Jas. 3:7b), or even God (2 Pet. 1:4); (c) the established order within nature, as of sexual relations (Rom. 1:26b) or decorum (1 Cor. 11:14); and (d) a creature or product of nature (Jas. 3:7a). The cognate adjective *physikos G5879* is employed with reference to natural human instincts (Rom. 1:26–27), and in a deprecatory sense of only the natural instincts (2 Pet. 2:12).

The noun *genesis G1161,* denoting birth, is used by James as a locution for physical existence (Jas. 1:23; 3:6). And the adjective *psychikos G6035* (see SOUL) signifies the life of the natural world and whatever belongs to it, always to be contrasted with the supernatural world and that which may be characterized as belonging to the Spirit (1 Cor. 2:14; 15:44–46; Jas. 3:15; Jude 19). It is in this latter theological and ethical sense that the word comes to its distinctive expression in the Bible, identifying the state of man as he is "in Adam" and serving as a backdrop to God's complete redemption "in Christ." (See *DCG,* 2:233–35; *NIDNTT,* 2:656–62.)

R. N. LONGENECKER

**Naum** nay'uhm. KJV NT form of NAHUM.

**nave.** This English term is used by the NRSV and other versions to render Hebrew *hêkāl H2121* (which usually means "palace" or "temple") in passages where the word refers to the larger room (NIV, "main hall") of the TEMPLE (e.g., 1 Ki. 6:3, 5; Ezek. 41:1 –2; cf. also *habbayit haggādôl,* lit., "the big house," 2 Chr. 3:5).

**Nave (person)** nayv. KJV Apoc. form of NUN (Sir. 46:1).

**navel.** The Hebrew term *šōr H9219 is* used once in the sense "navel" (Cant. 7:2), once with reference to the navel cord (Ezek. 16:4), and once by synecdoche for the whole body (Prov. 3:8). (A

similar word, *šārîr H9235,* which occurs only in Job 40:16, is rendered "navel" by the KJV, but its meaning is "mus cle.") Another word for "navel" is *ṣabbûr H3179,* and in both of its occurrences it is constructed with ʿereṣ *H824,* yielding the metaphorical meaning of "the center of the land" (Jdg. 9:37; Ezek. 38:12). In Ezek. 16:4 the emergence of JERUSALEM into civic life is likened to the birth of a female foundling left to die in the open, had it not been rescued. It had not received the usual care given to a newborn child, including the tying of the umbilical cord. Without this precaution arterial blood would flow from the infant's arteries and escape from the raw surface of the afterbirth until the child would be drained of blood.

D. A. BLAIKLOCK

**navy.** See SHIPS.

**Nazaraeans, Gospel of the.** See NAZARENES, GOSPEL OF THE.

**Nazarene** naz'uh-reen (Ναζαρηνός *G3716* [Mk. 1:24; 10:47; 14:67; 16:6; Lk. 4:34; 24:19], Ναζωραῖος G3717 [Matt. 2:23; 26:71; Lk. 18:37; Jn. 18:5, 7; 19:19; and seven times in Acts]; in the NT both terms clearly mean "of Nazareth," although some scholars believe that the second term originally had a different meaning [cf. BDAG, 664]). In almost every occurrence, this name identifies Jesus on the basis of his long residence in NAZARETH; in one passage it serves to identify his followers (Acts 24:5).

According to Matt. 2:23, Joseph's decision to live in Nazareth was in fulfillment of what the prophets had said: "He [*i.e.,* Jesus] will be called a Nazarene." What was meant by this is far from certain, since Nazareth is not mentioned in the OT at all, and no specific prophecy seems to make this prediction. Several lines of interpretation have been followed. It has been suggested that Matthew knew a prophecy unrecorded in the OT that has been lost. Calvin said that Matthew's comment was a reference to the law of the NAZIRITES (Num. 6:1–21). Most interpreters have thought that Matthew had in mind Isa. 11:1, in which the MESSIAH is referred to as a "branch" or "shoot" (Heb. *nēṣer H5916*) out of the roots of JESSE.

Others have said that Matthew meant only that the Messiah would be a despised person (Isa. 53) and not a prominent or accepted individual. Nazarenes apparently were despised by their neighbors in the 1st cent. (Jn. 1:46). (This attitude prob. came because of the processes that mixed its population, which in turn brought about a rough


Young grape shoots coming from established root stock. The use of the descriptive term "Nazarene" in Matt. 2:23 may allude to the Hebrew word for "branch" or "shoot" (Isa. 11:1).

dialect; it seems also that its people were given to sedition and rebellion, which may further have brought them under censure.) Still others have understood the verse only as a positive statement that pointed to a negative truth, namely that the Messiah would not be called a Bethlehemite, the place of his nativity, in order to avoid hostility. He, therefore, would be called something else, in fact, a Nazarene.

This name, given to Jesus in the beginning as a simple designation of his residence, was attached to him through all his ministry, and in the end came to bear something of the reproach associated with the locality. The people referred to him as "Jesus the Nazarene" (Mk. 10:47; Lk. 24:19). The Gospels record also that the unclean spirits identified Jesus with this term (Mk. 1:24; Lk. 4:34). Even the angels announced the resurrection by using the same title (Mk. 16:6).

In the last days of Jesus' ministry the term was applied to him in scorn and derision. It became for the Jews a means of expressing their hostility toward Jesus and their increasing bitterness over him. The watchmen at the high priest's house revealed that quality of rejection (Matt. 26:71; Mk. 14:67). The hatred of Jesus' enemies caused this term to accompany him to the cross (Jn. 19:19).

The term continued beyond the days of Jesus' earthly life as a designation for his followers. An entire Christian community was called "the sect of the Nazarenes" (Acts 24:5 NRSV). Likewise the followers of Jesus continued after his ascension to refer to him as "Jesus of Nazareth" (2:22; 3:6; 10:38). (See further *TDNT,* 4:874–79; *ABD,* 4:1049–50.) See also NAZARENES, GOSPEL OF THE.

H. L. DRUMWRIGHT, JR.

**Nazarenes, Gospel of the.** A divergent, but not heretical, ARAMAIC form of the canonical Gospel of MATTHEW; although now lost, it was circulated during the 2nd cent. in SYRIA, being used by a Jewish Christian sect that was known as the Nazarenes (better, Nazar[a]eans or Nazor[a]eans). Modern scholarship does not regard this as the Hebrew or Aramaic original of Matthew, although much confusion has resulted from JEROME's claim to have translated this gospel into both Greek and Latin.

The confusion has come because Jerome could be understood to establish this document as the Aramaic original from which the Greek canonical Matthew had been translated. Also he referred to this writing as the *Gospel according to the Hebrews,* which is a misnomer because that terminology actually identified a different book (see HEBREWS, GOSPEL OF THE). Jerome seems to have learned of this document from Apollinaris, who used it in his commentaries as if it were the original form of Matthew. In fact, Jerome's many citations of the *Gospel of the Nazarenes* seem to have derived from the commentaries of Apollinaris. Scholars believe that the copy that eventually came into the possession of Jerome had been used by EUSEBIUS, who indicated in his writings that he knew of this Gospel of the Nazarenes. Jerome also mistook many citations in ORIGEN from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* as belonging to the *Gospel of the Nazarenes*.

By comparison to the canonical Gospel of Matthew, the *Stichometry* of Nicephorus (9th cent.) assigned the *Gospel of the Nazarenes* 2,200 lines, some 300 fewer than Matthew. This suggests that much of what was in Matthew was left out of the *Gospel of the Nazarenes*. Some scholars have accepted the OXYRHYNCHUS SAYINGS as extracts of this gospel. If that be true, there must also have been much material in it that was not in Matthew, for eight of the thirteen sayings are different from anything in the canonical Matthew. It does appear to have had the narrative of Christ's birth and infancy and to have been an attempt at a complete account of Jesus' ministry. Several variant readings have attracted interest (e.g., Mary suggested to her son that he go to John to be baptized; it was the lintel of the temple that fell at the time of the crucifixion rather than the veil of the temple that was

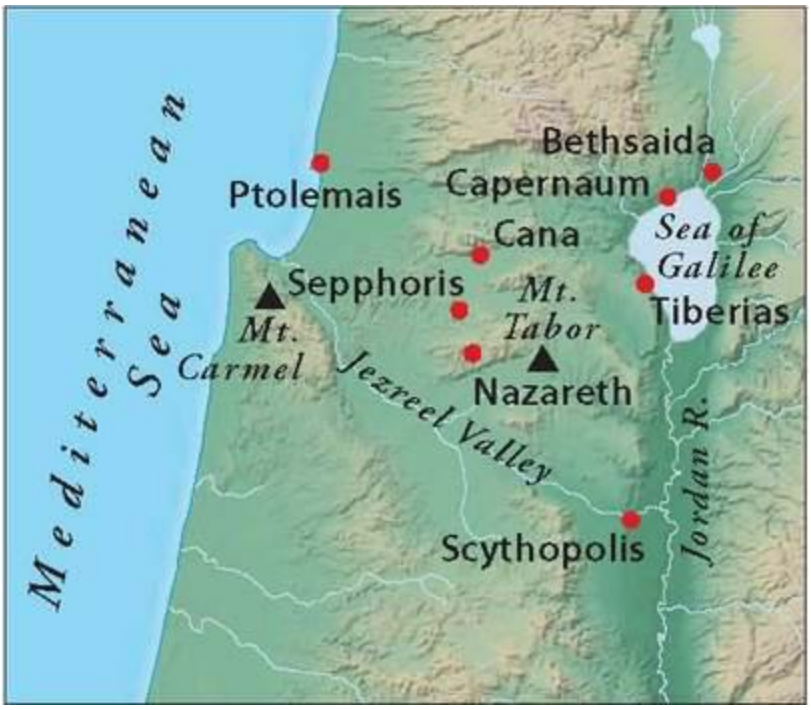
rent). Some 5th-cent. MSS from Jerusalem known as the *Zion Gospel Edition* preserve as marginal readings many variants from this gospel. (M. R. James has collected the citations of the church fathers from this document in *The Apocryphal New Testament* [1924], 3–6; for a fuller discussion, see *NTAp,* 1:154–65; *ABD,* 4:1051:52, s.v. "Nazoraeans, Gospel of").

H. L. DRUMWRIGHT, JR.

**Nazareth** naz'uh-rith (Ναζαρέθ *G3714* [Matt. 21:11; Lk. 1:26; 2:4, 39, 51; Acts 10:38], also N Ναζαρέτ [Matt. 2:23; Mk. 1:9; Jn. 1:45–46] and N Ναζαρά [Mk. 4:13; Lk. 4:16]; meaning uncertain). A city in GALILEE, the home of Joseph, Mary, and Jesus; about halfway between the S end of the Sea of Galilee and Mount Carmel. Important as it may seem to have been in the NT, the town is not mentioned in the OT, the TALMUD, or the writings of JOSEPHUS. This has even led to a theory that the town did not exist even in NT times but was imagined as the home of Jesus. There is reason to believe that Nazareth was a rather insignificant town in Jesus' day, overshadowed by the larger city to the N, SEPPHORIS. Modern Nazareth has only one spring. Situated in the hills to the N of the Plain of ESDRAELON, it thus commands a good view of the ancient battlegrounds. To the N one also can see Mount HERMON; to the W, the Mediterranean; and to the E, BASHAN.

There is considerable discussion regarding the meaning of the name and its connection with the NAZIRITES of the OT. There is an obvious similarity of the letters, but the connection between this town and that religious order defies any clear explanation. The problem grows more complicated in consideration of the name NAZARENE. Jesus is called a Nazarene (Matt. 2:23 and often), as were his disciples (Acts 24:5). It is clear that Jesus was not a Nazirite, as that order is described in Num. 6. It is interesting that to this day the word for "Christians" in both Arabic and Hebrew is a form related to "Nazarene."

There is no question that the Nazareth of the NT is the modern town of en-Naṣira. The spring



Nazareth.

that rises near the Church of St. Gabriel is channeled to the Well of Mary in an open square. Doubtlessly Mary came to this well to fetch water for the needs of her little household.

According to Lk. 1:26–27, the angel GABRIEL was sent to the Virgin Mary in Nazareth (see MARY, MOTHER OF JESUS). Despite the fact that she bore Jesus in BETHLEHEM, and later the family fled to Egypt, their home was in Nazareth. To it they returned, doubtlessly because of the terror still present in Judea during Archelaus's reign (Matt. 2:20–23). The two incidents in the boyhood of Jesus recorded by Luke clearly state that he lived with his parents in Nazareth (Lk. 2:39, 51). The location of the so-called Carpenter Shop of Joseph in the large complex of the Church of the Annunciation has little basis in fact.

Upon reaching the age of thirty and the beginning of his ministry, our Lord went from Nazareth to Judea to be baptized by John. An interesting comment on Nazareth from the mouth of NATHANAEL appears in Jn. 1:46. When PHILIP told Natha-nael he had found Jesus of Nazareth, Nathanael replied, "Nazareth! Can anything good come from there?" This question has been understood in many ways, but the most common is that Nathanael was casting an aspersion on the smallness of the town, perhaps viewing it as a rival to his own village of CANA (cf. Jn. 21:2).

The reason Matthew gave for Jesus leaving Nazareth to live in CAPERNAUM by the Sea of Galilee was to fulfill the prophecy of Isa. 9:1–2 (Matt. 4:13–16). Another good reason was the so-called first rejection of Christ in Nazareth, spelled out rather fully by Luke: "He went to Nazareth, where he had been brought up, and on the Sabbath day he went into the synagogue, as was his custom" (Lk. 4:16). He then read from Isa. 61:1–2 and told the congregation that he was the fulfillment of that prophecy. Then he proceeded to illustrate from the lives of ELIJAH and ELISHA that prophets are rejected by their own people. In their anger the citizenry led him to the brow of the hill on which the city was built, that they might throw him over. But he escaped in the crowd (Lk. 4:17–30). Two identifications have been made for this hill. There is the traditional Hill of Precipitation or Mount of the Leap (Jebel el-Qafza) to the

The Nazareth ridge as seen from the floor of the Jezreel Valley. (View to the N W.)

S and W, and a cliff closer to the town near an ancient synagogue. This latter is more likely since it is nearer the town.

Some gospel harmonizers see a second rejection of Jesus at Nazareth in the parallel accounts of Matthew and Mark as part of the second period of his Galilean ministry (Matt. 13:54–58; Mk. 6:1–6a). Again, the people were offended at him when he read in the synagogue. He retorted with the maxim: "Only in his hometown and in his own house is a prophet without honor." Then Mark adds a postscript, giving another good reason for Jesus to move his ministry away from Nazareth: "He could not do any miracles there, except lay his hands on a few sick people and heal them. And he was amazed at their lack of faith" (Mk. 6:5–6).

The only other references to Nazareth are those in which Jesus is said to be "of Nazareth" (e.g., Matt. 21:11; 26:71; Mk. 16:6; Lk. 18:37; Jn. 19:19; Acts 3:6; 4:10; 22:8 et al.). It was common practice to designate a person by his home town, particularly if he had a common name (e.g., Judas Iscariot, Saul of Tarsus).

Helena the mother of Constantine built the first shrine in Nazareth in the 4th cent. Since that original one, other religious edifices have been erected and subsequently destroyed. In the first Muslim takeover of the Middle E, Nazareth suffered much. It was rescued by the Crusaders in 1099 and later made the seat of the bishopric of Beth Shan (Scythopolis). Saladin defeated the Crusaders at the nearby Horns of Ḥaṭṭin and Nazareth changed hands again (1187). Frederick II took it in 1229 but it was lost thirty-four years later to the Mamaluke Sultan Baybars. The Turks gained control in 1517 and in 1620 the Franciscans became guardians of the holy places throughout the Holy Land. The British captured Nazareth from the Germans and the Turks in 1918. Thirty years later the Israelis took Nazareth without a fight from the Arab, Fawzi Kawukji, and to this day it is under their control. Apart from Jerusalem, Nazareth has the largest Arab and the largest Christian population in Israel with more than 60,000 inhabitants. (See further G. F. Moore in *BC,* 1:426–35; *ABD,* 4:1050–51; *NEAEHL,* 3:1103–06.) R. L. ALDEN

**Nazareth Decree.** This inscription, housed in the Cabinet de Médailles in the Louvre, and coming originally from the collection of the German antiquarian Froehner, was discovered by the historian Michel Rostovtzeff in 1930 and first published by the Abbé Cumont in 1932 (although it appears to have reached Germany, according to Froehner's catalogue, in 1878). Consisting of a score of lines of irregular Greek, it had apparently been set up at Nazareth, in all probability somewhere a little before the year A.D. 50.

The text runs: "Ordinance of Caesar. It is my pleasure that graves and tombs remain undisturbed in perpetuity for those who have made them for the cult of their ancestors, or children, or members of their house. If, however, any man lay information that another has either demolished them, or has in any way extracted the buried, or has maliciously transferred them to other places in order to wrong them, or has displaced the sealing or other stones, against such a one I order that a trial be instituted, as in respect of the gods, so in regard to the cult of mortals. For it shall be much more obligatory to honor the buried. Let it be absolutely forbidden for anyone to disturb them. In the case of contravention I desire that the offender be sentenced to capital punishment on charge of violation of sepulture."

If the date of this inscription is somewhere before the middle of the 1st cent.—and in spite of many years of active controversy, this dating appears most likely—the emperor who caused it to be set up could have been none other than CLAUDIUS (although this inference is disputed by some). Some

points of confirmation immediately appear. Claudius was an inquisitive person, a sort of Roman James I, who would have been much happier with his books than with the affairs of state. Ancient historians persisted in calling him mad, but the more Claudius's actual achievements are studied, the clearer becomes the impression that he was a man of learning and of no mean ability. He was probably a victim of some form of cerebral palsy, whose faulty coordinations conveyed an impression of subnormality, and resulted, in his early years, in ridicule and misunderstanding, which damaged his personality. It is clear that, anxious to carry on the religious reforms of AUGUSTUS, he was deeply informed about, and genuinely interested in, the religious situation in the Mediterranean world.

A long letter, for example, has survived in which Claudius seeks to regulate the vast Jewish problem of ALEXANDRIA. This letter was found among the papyri in 1920 and appears to contain the first secular reference to Christian missionaries. It was written in A.D. 41, and expressly forbids the Alexandrian Jews "to bring or invite other Jews to come by sea from Syria. If they do not abstain from this conduct," Claudius threatened, "I shall proceed against them for fomenting a malady common to the world."

Note the language. It is the style of the Nazareth inscription, and the language of a man who had studied the Jewish religious problem and had found it irritating. In addition, it is known from a Roman secular historian, SUETONIUS (*Claudius* 25.4), that there was some trouble in Rome which Claudius had to settle regarding a certain "Christ" (misspelled as *Chrestos*).

Although the text of the inscription can be interpreted in various ways, the situation may possibly be reconstructed as follows.The first Christian preaching must have begun in ROME in the forties of the 1st cent., with intense opposition from the rabbis of the Jewish community. Claudius, curious about religion, and interested in the Jewish problem, heard the case. Triumphantly the Christians spoke of the empty tomb. The rabbis countered with the story of a stolen body. Irritated by both sides, Claudius expelled all the Jews in Rome (Acts 18:2). He then perhaps made inquiries in Palestine over the origin of the cult and heard again of the empty tomb. The local governor would have asked for directions, as PLINY the Younger later did. Claudius bade him set up a decree, listing stern penalties, at Nazareth, the town named in connection with the case.

If this hypothetical reconstruction is correct, it is in the words of an emperor that the 20th cent. read the first secular comment on the Easter story, and legal testimony to its central fact. (See A. Momigli-ano, *Claudius: The Emperor and His Achievement,* new ed. [1961]; E. M. Blaiklock, *The Archaeology of the New Testament* [1970].)

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

**Nazarite** naz'uh-rit. KJV form of NAZIRITE.

**Nazirite** naz'uh-rit (נָזִיר *H5687,* "dedicated, withheld"). A member of a Hebrew religious class, specially dedicated to God. The authorization for Nazirites appears in Num. 6:1–21 and was divinely revealed, through MOSES, shortly before Israel's departure from Mount Sinai (Num. 10:11; cf. Exod. 40:17).

The Nazirite concept is that of a vow: "a special vow, a vow of separation to the LORD as a Nazirite" (Num. 6:2). If vows be classified as voluntary obligations, either of dedication or of abstinence (J. B. Payne, *Theology of the Older Testament* [1962], 430), then the Nazirites' situation falls primarily into the latter category. The original meaning of the root *nzr* (cognate to *nēder H5624,* "vow") is probably "to withdraw from common practices" (*HALOT,* 2:184). The noun *nazîr* then

designated that which is singled out, whether a person (as Joseph, "separate," hence of high rank, Gen. 49:26 and Deut. 33:16 [NIV, "prince"]; cf. *nēzer* in the sense of "diadem" as a mark of consecration, Exod. 29:6 et al.), or a thing (as a vine during the SABBATICAL YEAR, left alone to grow freely and withdrawn from the harvest, Lev. 25:5 and 11). Yet while the vows made by a Nazirite himself were those of abstinence, the vows of another person, such as a parent in committing a child to the Nazirite life, represent dedication (cf. Jdg. 13:5). The dedicated person could thus also speak of himself as "a Nazirite set apart to God" (16:17). See CONSECRATION.

The Nazirite, as envisioned in the PENTATEUCH, was one who separated himself for a limited period of time to a high-priestly sort of life: "he is consecrated [*or* holy, *qādôš H7705]* to the LORD" (Num. 6:8). This consecration involved several negative restraints. (1) Naziritism meant the avoidance of ceremonial defilement, especially from touching a dead body (vv. 6–7; cf. Lev. 21:1, for the high priest). In cases of accidental contact with the dead, provision was made for purification (Num. 6:9–12); but the person had to begin his Nazirite period over again: the former days did not count (v. 12). (2) Abstinence was specified "from wine and other fermented drink" (v. 3; cf. Lev. 10:9–10, for the high priest). This restriction was not simply because of problems of intoxication, for fresh grapes, raisins, grape juice, vinegar, and even grape seeds and skins were equally prohibited (Num. 6:3b–4). The grapes probably stood as a symbol for all the temptations of the settled life of Canaan (cf. the vow of the Recabites, Jer. 35:6–7; see RECAB; WINE). (3) Finally, the cutting of one's hair was forbidden (Num. 6:5) as a concrete symbol of unimpaired strength (cf. the untended [*nāzîr*] vines, Lev. 25:5, 11).

When the specified period was accomplished, the Nazirite would present various offerings (burnt, sin, fellowship, grain, drink) at the sanctuary (Num. 6:14–15). While the priest performed the sacrifice, the Nazirite would shave the hair of his head and "put it in the fire that is under the sacrifice of the fellowship offering" (v. 18). Upon such fulfillment he was again free (e.g., to drink wine, v. 20; cf. 1 Macc. 3:49).

Even as vows in general consisted of promises made to God, often on condition of his granting certain specified petitions, so the Nazirite vow and the service for God that it entailed seems often to have followed upon divine bestowals of particular, requested blessings (e.g., HANNAH's prayer for a male child, 1 Sam. 1:11). The subject of the vow was responsible, first, to make himself available for use by God, and then to discharge the prescribed sacrificial worship. Nazirites could be women (Num. 6:2) or even slaves, but their vows and service had then to be sanctioned by their husbands or masters (cf. 30:6–8). God's purpose in establishing the Nazirite group was to raise up within Israel a class of devoted spiritual leaders, to whom he in turn would grant special powers, filled with the HOLY SPIRIT (Lk. 1:15), and in this respect similar to the class of the PROPHETS (Amos 2:11).

In post-Mosaic times, as the Nazirite law was put into practice, there arose within it certain exceptional features: God could direct parents to dedicate a child as a Nazirite (Jdg. 13:5, 7), or they might undertake such a vow themselves (1 Sam. 1:11). The vow could then be permanent, for "all the days of his life" (1 Sam. 1:11), "a Nazirite, set apart to God from birth" (Jdg. 13:5). The only known examples of this special type of Nazirite were SAMSON, SAMUEL, and JOHN THE BAPTIST (Lk. 1:15). For each of the former, God specified that no razor should ever pass upon his head. In the case of Samson, when he was betrayed to the PHILISTINES, the loss of his hair represented a corresponding loss of his God-given power (Jdg. 16:20–21). When it regrew and Samson turned to God, he experienced a final return of his strength (vv. 22, 28–30).

Subsequent references to Nazirites are few. The prophet AMOS (c. 760 B.C.) criticized N Israel for perverting the Nazirites, whom Yahweh had raised up, with wine (Amos 2:12). Jeremiah

lamented Judah's former *nĕzîrîm* as "brighter than snow and whiter than milk" (Lam. 4:7; here the term may indicate "nobles" or "princes" [cf. NIV, NRSV], but see *IB,* 6:31).

Jesus was a NAZARENE (Matt. 2:23) but not a Nazirite, as was John the Baptist, to whom he stood in contrast (11:18–19). The apostle PAUL, on his second missionary journey, "had his hair cut off at Cenchrea because of a vow he had taken" (Acts 18:18), indicating his accomplishment of a Nazirite period. This in turn explains his eagerness to return to Palestine, where the other rites of the discharge of his vow would then be performed at the temple. Later he assumed the heavy expense of purifying four other men that had such vows on them (21:23–24). JOSEPHUS (*Ant.* 19.6.1) mentions a large number of Nazirites sponsored by HEROD Agrippa I. Later Hebrew tradition fixed the minimum period for a Nazirite at thirty days (see the MISHNAH, tractate *Nazir,* passim).

Modern critical reconstruction produces a history of Nazirites that differs markedly from the Scripture's own teaching, as outlined above. The fundamental misconception of the negative critics stems from J. Wellhausen's evolutionary reconstruction of the Pentateuch. Its theory assigns Num. 6, with its Nazirite legislation, to "P," the Priestly Code (S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament,* rev. ed. [1913], 61), and hence to the end of Israelitish history (exilic or later) instead of its beginning. The life-long Nazirites, such as Samson and Samuel, are thus held to serve as the earlier norm, while the Mosaic concepts—a limited period, multiplied sacrifice in the discharge of the vow, abstinence from wine and ritual defilement, or even the very idea of the Nazirites as subjects of a vow—are relegated to the status of later accretions.

Instead, the Nazirite is seen but as a sacred, "charismatic" warrior, appearing spontaneously, subject to ecstatic behavior, and at times indistinguishable from the primitive sort of prophet. Even the ruthless, long-haired ABSALOM can be regarded as a Nazirite (G. B. Gray in *JTS* 1 [1900]: 206). The "later" Pentateuchal laws are then said to have perverted Naziritism into a votive performance of ritualistic duties. Such, however, was a mark only of later times, when, as Josephus related, "It is usual for those who had been either afflicted with a distemper, or with other distresses, to make vows; and for thirty days before they are to offer their sacrifices, to abstain from wine, and to shave the hair of their head" (*War* 2.15.1). BERNICE, the sister-consort of Herod Agrippa II (cf. Acts 25:13), could undertake such a vow (Jos., ibid.); and it could be done merely for a bet (*m. Nazir* 5:5). (See further S. Chepey, *Nazirites in Late Second Temple Judaism: A Survey of Ancient Jewish Writings, the New Testament, Archaeological Evidence, and Other Writings from Late Antiquity* [2005].)

J. B. PAYNE

**Nazoraeans, Gospel of the.** See NAZARENES, GOSPEL OF THE.

**Neah** nee'uh (נֵעָה *H5828,* derivation unknown). A town on the N border of the tribal territory of ZEBULUN (Josh. 19:13). Neah was located between RIMMON (PLACE) and HANNATHON, but the site has not been identified.

**Neapolis** nee-ap'uh-lis (Νέα πόλις or Νεάπολις *G3735,* "new city"). A town on the northern shore of the AEGEAN SEA (to be distinguished from Neapolis, modern Naples, in Italy). Little is known concerning the founding of Neapolis, but it seems to have been a colony of Thasos and to have served as a harbor, giving the islanders access to the mainland. The best evidence places its site at the present Greek town of Kavala. PHILIPPI lay about 10 mi. inland, in a plain separated from the sea by a mountain ridge.

The city belonged first to Thrace (see THRA-CIA), then became part of both the first and second Athenian Confederacy, during which time it was commended for its loyalty. It finally fell within the Roman province of MACEDONIA. Its harbor provided refuge for the fleet of Brutus and Cassius at the time of the Battle of Philippi (42 B.C.).

A general view of modern Kavala, ancient Neapolis. (View to the W.)

Neapolis was the first point in Europe touched by PAUL and his companions when they came from TROAS (Acts 16:11). From here it was an easy journey to Philippi. It is possible that the apostle passed through the town again when he revisited Macedonia (20:1); and it is almost certain that he embarked from Neapolis on his journey back to Troas (20:6). (See Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* 16/2 [1935], 2110–12.)

R. C. STONE

**Neariah** nee'uh-r*i*'uh (נְעַרְיָה *H5859* "young man [*or* servant] of Yahweh"). (1) Son of Ishi and descendant of SIMEON during the reign of HEZEKIAH; Neariah and his brothers led five hundred Simeonites in an invasion of SEIR and wiped out the Amalekites (1 Chr. 4:42–43).

(2) Son of Shemaiah and postexilic descendant of DAVID through SOLOMON and ZERUBBABEL (1 Chr. 3:22–23). Some scholars believe he was the son of Shecaniah; see HATTUSH #1.

**Nebai** nee'b*i* (נֵבַי *H5763* [*Ketib*, נובי], possibly from נוּב *H5649,* "to increase, prosper," or gentilic form of נֹב *H5546,* i.e., "a native of Nob"). One of the leaders of the people who signed the covenant of NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:19; the LXX and some modern versions follow the *Ketib,* "Nobai").

**Nebaioth** ni-bay'yoth (נְבָיוֹת *H5568* [נְבָיֹת in Gen. 25:13]; cf. Akk. *Nabayātai*). Firstborn son of ISHMAEL and grandson of ABRAHAM and HAGAR (Gen. 25:13; 28:9; 36:3; 1 Chr. 1:29). The name is used also of his descendants (Isa. 60:7), an E Semitic tribal people of ARABIA. The tribes are mentioned in the annals of TIGLATH-PILESER III (745–727 B.C.) in the context of a campaign against the N Arabs, their allies, and the tribute lists thereafter. The Nebaiothites (Nabaiateans) are mentioned also by ASHURBANIPAL (668–633) in his annals of campaigns in Egypt, Syria, and

Palestine. Just as in Isa. 60:7, so also in these records they are mentioned in connection with KEDAR (cf. *ANET,* 298–300). Moreover, the form *nbyt* occurs in N Arabian inscriptions with reference to a tribe hostile to Teima) (TEMA; *see ABD,* 4:1053). Attempts to equate Nebaioth with the historical NABATEANS (as recently as E. C. Broome in *JSS* 18 [1973]: 1–16) have been widely rejected both on philological (*nbyt* versus *nbṭ*) and historical grounds (see I. Eph(al, *The Ancient Arabs: Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent, 9th-5th Centuries B.C.* [1982], 221–23, 237–39).

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**Neballat** ni-bal'uht (נְבַלָּט *H5579,* possibly from a root בלט, attested in Akk. *balātu,* "life"; cf. BELTESHAZZAR). A town overlooking the Plain of SHARON; along with HADID, ZEBOIM, LOD, and ONO, Neballat was settled by Benjamites after the EXILE (Neh. 11:34). It is identified with the modern Beit Nabala, c. 13 mi. ESE of JOPPA and less than 2 mi. NNE of Hadid.

**Nebat** nee'bat (נְבָט *H5565,* possibly "[God] has looked at [*i.e.,* approvingly]"). Father of JEROBOAM I, who was the first king of Israel after the division of the kingdom (1 Ki. 11:26 et al.). Because Jeroboam's mother is described as a widow, many infer that Nebat died while Jeroboam was still a child. It has also been suggested, however, that Nebat was either a clan name (perhaps to be linked to the NABATEANS, who appear much later in history) or a throne name adopted by Jeroboam in allusion to an Egyptian cult (see *ABD,* 4:1054). Both of these proposals are speculative and lack evidence.

**Nebiim** nuh-bee'im (נְבִיאִים, pl. of נָבִיא *H5566,* "prophet"). Also *Nevi)im.* A term applied to the second division of the OT Hebrew canon, and consisting of the Former Prophets (Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings) and the Latter Prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Twelve). See CANON (OT).

**Nebo (deity)** nee'boh (נְבוֹ *H5550,* from Akk. *Nabū,* prob. "one called [by god]"). Name of a Babylonian deity mentioned only in Isaiah's taunt song on the downfall of BABYLON (Isa. 46:1). Nebo or Nabu was the god of wisdom and writing, and (alongside MARDUK) the patron-god of the Babylonian rulers. His center of worship was at Borsippa, SW of Babylon. The cult continued to flourish until the end of the neo-Babylonian period (612–538 B.C.) and survived in Syria for several more centuries. In astronomy he was apparently identified with the planet Mercury, while later the Greeks regarded him as the counterpart of APOLLO. The name Nabu was commonly used as a component of personal names (NABONIDUS, NEBUCHADNEZZAR, and others; possibly also ABEDNEGO). (See *ABD,* 4:1054–56; *DDD,* 607–10, s.v. "Nabu"; *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 9 [1998], 16–29.)

**Nebo (person)** nee'boh (נְבוֹ *H5551,* "height"). Ancestor of some Israelites who agreed to put away their foreign wives (Ezra 10:43; called "Nooma" [KJV, "Ethma"; RSV, "Nebo"] in 1 Esd. 9:35). Some believe that the name refers to the town from which the family came. See NEBO (PLACE) #2.

**Nebo (place)** nee'boh (נְבוֹ *H5550,* "height"). (1) A town in MOAB near Mount Nebo (see NEBO, MOUNT), requested by the Reubenites and Gadites (Num. 32:3). It was rebuilt by the Reubenites (Num. 32:38; 33:47; cf. 1 Chr. 5:8). The town was later retaken by MESHA, king of Moab, who recorded his victory on the MOABITE STONE. Nebo is mentioned also in prophetic oracles of judgment (Isa. 15:2; Jer. 48:1, 22). Its precise location is uncertain. EUSE-BIUS placed it 8 Roman mi. S of

HESHBON. Some identify it with modern Khirbet ʿAyun Musa, 4 mi. WSW of HESHBON and just N of Mount Nebo (cf. Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], 337–39, 440); others favor Khirbet el-Mekhayyat, c. 2 mi. SE of Mount Nebo (cf. S. J. Saller and B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo (Khirbet el-Mekhayyat): With a Brief Survey of Other Ancient Christian Monuments in Transjordan* [1949]; *ABD,* 4:1056).

(2) A postexilic town in JUDAH, mentioned in a list just after BETHEL and AI (Ezra 2:29; called "the other Nebo" [prob. a scribal error] in Neh. 7:33). It is often, but tentatively, identified with Nuba, c. 7 mi. NW of HEBRON; some, however, think that this Nebo is the same as #1 above (cf. M. Cogan in *IEJ 29* [1979]: 37–39). See also NEBO (PERSON).

(3) Traditional burial place of MOSES. See NEBO, MOUNT.

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**Nebo, Mount** nee'boh (הַר נְבוֹ *H2215* and *H5549,* "high mountain"). A mountain in TRANSJORDAN from which MOSES viewed the Promised Land. Mount Nebo is mentioned only twice (Deut. 32:49; 34:1). Some rather specific indications of its location are given in each passage. The first one records God's command to Moses, "Go up into the Aba-rim Range to Mount Nebo in Moab, across from Jericho, and view Canaan, the land I am giving the Israelites as their own possession." The second states that "Moses climbed Mount Nebo from the plains of Moab to the top of Pisgah, across from Jericho." The places one can see from there are listed in this and the following verses: GILEAD as

Church on Mount Nebo.

far as Dan; the territories of Naphtali, Ephraim, and Manasseh; all Judah as far as the western sea; the NEGEV; the region from the Valley of JERICHO as far as ZOAR.

On clear days most of these locations, as well as some beyond, such as Mount HERMON, can be seen. However, the mountain range on which Hebron and Jerusalem are situated obstructs the view of the Mediterranean ("the western sea"). The easiest solution to this problem is to say that the statement is not literal. God "showed" them to Moses, but anyone else could not have seen them. Another solution is to understand that a mirage is meant. Sometimes it looks like water beyond the Palestinian watershed. Another explanation is to say the verse states only that Judah extends to the western sea—not that one can necessarily see that far. A fourth suggestion is that the Dead Sea is meant, not the

Mediterranean.

Jebel en-Neba (or Nabba) is a spur of the plain of Moab, some 6 mi. NW of MEDEBA. It is almost opposite the N end of the Dead Sea and therefore not due E of Jericho. It rises c. 4,000 ft. above the Dead Sea or c. 2,700 above sea level. (See N. Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan,* rev. ed. [1970], 176–78). PISGAH, which is associated with Nebo in Deut. 34:1, may be another name for the same peak, or Nebo may be a part of Pisgah. Since several elevations in that same vicinity afford the same view, it is not certain whether the one bearing the name *Neba* is necessarily the one Moses climbed. A saddle connects it to Ras es-Siyaghah, which was revered by early Christians and is the site preferred by many scholars (*cf. ABD,* 4:1057). Many ruins, including those of a Byzantine church, appear there. (See further *NEAEHL,* 3:1106–18.)

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**Nebo-Sarsekim** nee'boh-shar'suh-kim (נְבוֹ שַׂר־סְכִים *H5552*). One of NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S officials who participated in the siege of Jerusalem (Jer. 39:3 NIV; other versions translate differently). For discussion see SARSECHIM.

**Nebuchadnezzar, Nebuchadrezzar** neb'uh-kuhd-nez'uhr, neb'uh-kuh-drez'uhr (נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר *H5556* and נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר *H5557* [in Jeremiah and Ezekiel], with some spelling variations, from Akk. *Nabū-kudurru-uṣur,* "may [the god] Nabu protect [my] heir"; Gk. Ναβουχοδονοσορ [LXX], Ναβουχοδονόσορος [JOSEPHUS], Ναβοκοδρόσορος [Strabo, *Geogr.* 15.1.6]; the spelling with *n* instead of r is often explained as the result of dissimilation). Son of NABOPOLASSAR and King of BABYLON, 605–562 B.C. He is often referred to as Nebuchadnezzar II to distinguish him from a king of the same name who ruled at the end of the 12th cent. B.C.

**I. Sources.** In addition to the biblical material (primarily 2 Ki. 23–25; Jer. 22; 32–40; 2 Chr. 36; Dan. 1 –5), the Babylonian Chronicle (BM 21946) outlines the events of his first eleven regnal years (cf. *ANET,* 563–64). Otherwise a few brief historical inscriptions and building texts, as well as numerous contracts, are the only external contemporary sources for this reign.

**II. Family.** Nebuchadnezzar was the eldest son of Nabopolassar, founder of the so-called Chaldean or Neo-Babylonian dynasty of Babylon (see CHALDEA). He married Amytis (Amuhia), daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes, possibly as part of the ratification of a political alliance. He had at least three sons: Amēl-Marduk (EVIL-MERODACH), who immediately succeeded him; Marduk-šum-usur; and Marduk-šum-lišir. His brother was Nabu-šuma-lišir.

**III. History.** Crown prince Nebuchadnezzar personally led the Babylonian army in the place of his aging father into the northeastern mountains in 607 B.C., and again two years later, when the Babylonians revenged their defeat by the Egyptians at Kimuḫu through the capture of CARCHEMISH after bloody hand-to-hand fighting in the city in late spring of 605. He pursued the stragglers as far as HAMATH SO that "not a single man escaped to his own country." "At that time," he recorded, "he conquered the whole area of Hatti" (i.e., Syro-Palestine) and penetrated to the Egyptian border to prevent further encroachment from that source (2 Ki. 24:7; Jos. *Ant.* 10.6.1–2). At this time DANIEL and his companions were probably dispatched as hostages. The only evidence that the Babylonians entered Judah itself in this year is Dan. 1:1, which might equally be interpreted as applying to the

events of the following year.

Nebuchadnezzar established himself at RIBLAH or KADESH ON THE ORONTES, where he learned of the death of his father on the eighth of Ab (15/16 August 605). With a few close friends he rode directly across the desert in twenty-three days to take the throne of Babylon on the first day of Elul (6/7 September 605) and be recognized as king throughout the land. His position was strong enough for him to resume his campaign in Syria almost at once and to stay in the field until February of the following year. It was probably during this campaign, in which he claimed to have received tribute from "all the kings of Hatti," that JEHOIAKIM of Judah submitted to him and began a vassalage that was to last for three years (2 Ki. 24:1). ASHKELON, which refused to bow to the Babylonians, was sacked, and taken as a dire warning by Jeremiah of the effect of rebellion (Jer. 47:5–7). In the following years Nebuchadnezzar besieged an unnamed city in Syria and mastered some event at home that appears to have involved his younger brother Nabu-šuma-lišir.

In 601 B.C. the Babylonians clashed in open battle with the Egyptians under NECO II. Since Nebuchadnezzar had to spend the next year reequipping his army, it must be judged that Babylonian prestige fell sufficiently at this time for Jehoiakim to feel it safe to revolt despite the prophet's warnings (Jer. 27:4–11; 2 Ki. 23:33–35). But once again the Babylonian army was on the march in a campaign begun in December 599 to exact the annual tribute from the Syrian city-states and to raid the restless Arab tribes, who were controlled by the removal of their deities. Echoes of this expedition against Qedar (see KEDAR) and the E Jordan area are found in Jer. 48; 49:28–33.

The way was now open for direct reprisals on rebellious Judah (2 Chr. 36:6). Nebuchadnezzar chronicled that "in his seventh year, the month of Kislev, the Babylonian king mustered his troops and marched to the Hatti-land. He encamped against the city of Judah [Jerusalem] and on the second day of the month of Adar he seized the city and captured the king. He appointed there a king of his own choice, received its heavy tribute and sent it to Babylon." This text gives the exact date for this capture of Jerusalem and for the beginning of the exile as 16 March 597. The capture of JEHOIACHIN, son and successor of Jehoiakim, is confirmed by ration tablets from Babylon that name him together with the Judeans, and others from Palestine, dated in various years of this reign (596–569). The replacement of Jehoiachin by a Babylonian nominee Mat-taniah (see ZEDEKIAH) accords with the history of 2 Ki. 24:10–17 and the removal of the temple vessels (2 Chr. 36:7; Ezra 6:5). The exiles were moved off about April 597, that is, "in the spring of the year" (2 Chr. 36:10), at the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's eighth regnal year (2 Ki. 24:12). The following year the Babylonians were once more in Syro-Palestine and thereafter suppressed a revolt instigated by ELAM (Jer. 49:34).

In 589 Zedekiah rebelled, once again trusting in Egyptian promises of aid. The countryside throughout Judah was ravaged, LACHISH sacked, and TYRE besieged for what was to be thirteen years (c. 587–574; Ezek. 29:18). In 586 Jerusalem fell and the temple was demolished. Further deportees were carried off to Babylon. Nevertheless, resistance was strong enough to require further operations against the Arabs and the remnant of Judah in 582 and yet another deportation (Jer. 52:30). Historical sources are lacking for the last years of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, though one fragmentary text implies an invasion of Egypt in 568/7 (as Jer. 43:8–13; Ezek. 29:19).

Since HERODOTUS calls both Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus by the same name of Labynetus, it is not yet clear which of them acted as mediator between the Lydians and Medes at the Halys River. That it was Nebuchadnezzar himself is possible, for he had marriage ties with Astyages and as yet the Medes were not in a position to dominate the W (see MEDIA). Absence of contemporary texts means that there is no direct reference to his death in August-September of 562. This might have been preceded by lycanthropy, the madness that lasted for seven months (or "times," Dan. 4:23–33).

Nothing so far known of the retreat of Nabonidus to Teima) (see TEMA) supports the view that this episode is a confused account of events in the latter's reign.

**IV. Religion.** In his inscriptions Nebuchadnezzar invokes the major Babylonian pantheon and records his devotion to the gods MARDUK, Nabu, Shamash, Sin, Gula, and Adad among others. At the principal shrines he furnished regular offerings of meat, fish, grain, and drink. Like his predecessors, he claims to have had an image of his royal figure set up in the "plain of Dura" as a reminder of his power and responsibilities (cf. Dan. 3:1). See NEBUCHADNEZZAR, IMAGE OF.

**V. Building.** Nebuchadnezzar's boast as a city-builder and planner is not hollow (Dan. 4:30). He extended Babylon by building a new quarter and palace for his own use. Within the citadel he rebuilt the sacred Procession Way, decorated with 120 flanking lions passant leading from the ISHTAR Gate, itself adorned with enameled brickwork depicting 575 dragons and bulls, almost a mile to the temples of Esagila of Marduk and Ezida of Nabu. These lay at the foot of the ZIGGURAT or temple-tower of Babylon called Etemenanki, "the house which is the foundation of heaven and earth." The base, constructed of kiln-baked brickwork around a mud-brick core, measured c. 130 yards square, rising with seven stories topped by a small temple to an estimated height of about 300 ft.

Near the Ishtar Gate he built a temple at Ninmah (recently reconstructed). Tradition also ascribes to him the "Hanging Gardens" said to have been created on terraces overlooking the palace to remind his wife of her native Media (Jos. *Apion 1.19; Ant.* 10.11.1). The vast city was given a series of double defense walls covering 17 mi. and further safeguarded to the SW by an immense artificial lake. The city was supplied by canals bringing water from the TIGRIS, while the EUPHRATES,

Baked brick (from Sitpar, 6th cent. B.C.) used in construction during the time of Nebuchadnezzar II. It is inscribed with the king's name and titles.

which bisected it, was spanned with bridges. All these building activities, which extended to other cities to the N and S, were marked by inscribed and stamped bricks. While the survival of these buildings at least until the time of XERXES did much to insure the later fame of Nebuchadnezzar, it is

noteworthy that he himself had probably taken the throne-name from an illustrious predecessor who had successfully freed Babylonia from the domination of Assyria and Elam (c. 1124–1103 B.C.). Two later usurpers in the time of DARIUS I, Nebuchadnezzar III (Nidintu-Bel) and Nebuchadnezzar IV (Araka), ruled respectively October-December 522 and August–October 521.

(See further S. H. Langdon, *Die neubabylonis-chen Königsinschriften* [1912], 18–45; D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings (626–556 B.C.) in the British Museum* [1956], 18, 37; 64–75; A. Malamat, "A New Record of Nebuchadrezzar's Palestinian Campaigns," *IEJ* 6 [1956]: 246–56; R. H. Sack, "Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus in Folklore and History," *Mesopotamia* 17 [1982]: 67–131; D. J. Wiseman, *Nebuchadrezzar and Babylon* [1985]; id., "Babylonia 605–539 B.C.," in *CAH* 3/2, 2nd ed. [1991], 229–51; M. Henze, *The Madness of King Nebuchadnezzar: The Ancient Near Eastern Origins and Early History of Interpretation of Daniel 4* [1999]; R. H. Sack, *Images of Nebuchadnezzar: The Emergence of a Legend,* 2nd ed. [2004].)

D. J. WISEMAN

**Nebuchadnezzar, image of.** "King Nebuchadnezzar made an image of gold, whose height was sixty cubits and its breadth six cubits. He set it up on the plain of Dura, in the province of Babylon" (Dan. 3:1 RSV). The image itself was surely not solid gold but of plates or sheets overlaid with gold. There is precedent for such in religious usage of the Bible in the "golden" furniture of the TABERNACLE of Moses (Exod. 38:30; 39:3; cf. Isa. 40:19; 41:7; Jer. 10:3–4), as well as in classical writings (Herodotus, *Hist.* 1.183; Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 33.34; 34.9ff.) and the APOCRYPHA (Ep. Jer. 50; Bel 7). The gigantic dimensions (approx. 90 x 9 ft.), in proportion of 10 x 1, suggest an image set on a pedestal. As to the location of DURA, scholars note three locations of that name (= *Duru,* enclosing wall), one of which was in the environs of BABYLON.

Most likely the image had been dedicated by NEBUCHADNEZZAR to some Babylonian deity, although some think that Dan. 3:12, 14, 18 rule this out. It has been argued (e.g., KD, *Daniel,* 1884], 120) that it was a symbol of Nebuchadnezzar's empire, and the implied charge of treason for refusing to worship the image (v. 12) lends some support to this. J. A. Seiss (*Voices from Babylon* [1879], 100–104) argues strenuously that it may have been dedicated to Yahweh, the Jewish God, pointing out that Nebuchadnezzar already had acknowledged his supremacy (2:47–48). The golden calf (Exod. 32) and the "calves" of REHOBOAM at BETHEL and DAN (PLACE) (1 Ki. 12:25–33, cf. Acts 17:23) represent efforts to worship falsely the true God by means of idols (see CALF, GOLDEN). If Seiss is correct, the temptation to the three Hebrews was thereby heightened immeasurably. Here then was syncretism of biblical religion with cultivated paganism—the perennially most inviting of all temptations to abandon the faith, not by denial but by perversion.

R. D. CULVER

**Nebushasban** neb'uh-shas'ban. KJV form of NEBUSHAZBAN.

**Nebushazban** neb'uh-shaz'ban (נְבוּשַׁזְבָּן *H5558,* prob. from an unattested Akk. name, *Nabū-šezibanni,* "may [the god] Nabu deliver me"). KJV Nebushasban. An important official (see RABSA-RIS) of the Babylonian army; he was among those ordered to provide for the safety of JEREMIAH after the Babylonians took Jerusalem (Jer. 39:13; on the basis of this verse, some scholars emend v. 3 so that it too refers to NERGAL-SHAREZER as Rabmag and to Nebushazban as Rabsaris).

**Nebuzaradan** neb'uh-zuh-ray'duhn (נְבוּזַרְאֲדָן *H5555,* from Akk. *Nabū-zēr-iddin*, "[the god] Nabu has given offspring"). NEBUCHADNEZZAR's officer in charge of the destruction of JERUSALEM after its capture. He carried out the burning and destruction of the city a month after its fall (2 Ki. 25:8–9), the deportation of the Jews to Babylonia (2 Ki. 25:11; Jer. 39:9; 52:15, 30), and the sending of the leading Jewish rebels to Nebuchadnezzar at RIBLAH for execution (2 Ki. 25:18–21; Jer. 52:24–27). He acted kindly toward JEREMIAH, entrusting him, together with royal princesses and other innocent people, to GEDALIAH, the Jewish noble he appointed as governor (Jer. 39:13–14; 41:10; 43:6). Nebuzaradan is called "chief" (*rab H8042*) of the ṭ*abbāā*ḥ*iî* (pl. *of tabbāh H3184, 2* Ki. 25:8, 11, 20; Jer. 52:30), a term whose precise meaning cannot as yet be determined from the texts (cf. Gen. 37:36; Dan. 2:14). The phrase is rendered variously "commander of the imperial guard" (NIV), "captain of the bodyguard" (NRSV), "chief of the guard" (NJPS).

L. L. WALKER

**Necho, Nechoh** nee'koh. See NECO.

**neck.** There are almost twenty passages in the Bible where people, usually the children of Israel, are called "stiff-necked" (*qĕšēh ʿōrep H7997* + *H6902* or a variation thereof; e.g., Exod. 32:9; Deut. 9:6; Jer. 7:26; the LXX equivalent, *sklērotrachēlos G5019,* occurs once in the NT, Acts 7:51). In these contexts the word always is used to signify determination in an evil direction. This image is very apt, because when a person shows determination the muscles of not only the jaw but also the neck become tense. This gives a picture of someone with a head and neck set and immobile as a reflection of the mental attitude. God says to the Israelites, "For I knew how stubborn you were; / the sinews of your neck were iron, / your forehead was bronze" (Isa. 48:4). The neck (ṣ*awwāʾr H7418*) is used frequently as the part of the body bearing a yoke or burden (e.g., Gen. 27:40; Deut. 28:48; Isa. 10:27; Jer. 27:2, 8; 30:8; in the NT, *trachēlos G5549,* Acts 15:10). To fall on someone else's neck was to put one's arms about the neck or embrace (e.g., Gen. 33:4; 45:14; 46:29; Lk. 15:20; Acts 20:37).

D. A. BLAIKLOCK

**necklace.** This English term is used a few times in modern Bible versions to translate several Hebrew words (e.g., Ps. 73:6; Cant. 4:9). See discussion under CHAIN.

**Neco** nee'koh (נְכֹה *H5785* [in 2 Ki.] and נְכוֹ *H5786* [in 2 Chr. and Jer.], from Egyp. *nkʾw*). Also Necho(h). Son of Psammetichus (Psamtik) I and the second king of the 26th, or Saite, dynasty of EGYPT (ruled 610–595 B.C.).

**I. Victories in Asia.** Soon after succeeding his father, Psammetichus I, Neco began trying to control Syria-Palestine. In 609 he captured GAZA and ASHKELON (Jer. 47:1, 5; cf. Herodotus, *Hist.* 2.159; some date these captures later). He led his army, which included Greek mercenaries, northward to help the hard-pressed Assyrian king, Aššuruballit II, in opposing the Babylonians (2 Ki. 23:29; 2 Chr. 35:20). The Babylonians with the Medes already had captured the Assyrian capital, NINEVEH, in 612. Neco sent envoys to King JOSIAH assuring him that his purpose was not to fight with Judah but with Babylon (2 Chr. 35:21). Josiah, realizing that the independence of Judah was threatened, tried to stop the Egyptians at the pass of MEGIDDO, but he was defeated and mortally wounded (2 Ki. 23:29; 2 Chr. 35:22–24). Neco went on to gain control of Syria as far as the EUPHRATES.

When Neco heard that the people of Judah had crowned JEHOAHAZ, an anti-Egyptian son of Josiah, he summoned Jehoahaz to RIBLAH in Syria, deposed him, and took him as a prisoner to Egypt for the rest of his life (2 Ki. 23:30, 33–34; 2 Chr. 36:1, 3–4). In his place Neco put Jehoahaz's brother Eliakim and changed his name to JEHOIAKIM to show that he was Egypt's vassal. Neco placed Judah under heavy tribute, 100 talents (well over a metric ton) of silver and one talent (about 75 pounds) of gold (2 Ki. 23:33, 35; 2 Chr. 36:3).

**II. Defeats by the Babylonians.** In 605 NABOPOLASSAR of Babylon sent his son NEBUCHADNEZZAR against Neco's garrison at CARCHEMISH on the Euphrates in N Syria. The Babylonians defeated the Egyptians not only at Carchemish (Jer. 46:2), but also at HAMATH and drove them out of Syria. The battle of Carchemish was the occasion for Jeremiah's poetic oracle about the Egyptian defeat there (46:3–12). Jehoiakim had to transfer his vassalage and his tribute from Neco to Nebuchadnezzar (2 Ki. 24:1). An Aramaic letter,

King Josiah challenged the advancing army of Pharaoh Neco as it advanced northward near the Aruna Pass, seen here. (View to the N through the pass up Nahal Iron.)

probably from ASHKELON, appealed to Neco for help against the Babylonians, but Neco was unable to stem the Babylonian advance in Palestine.

JEREMIAH warned of judgments to come on Egypt and on Pharaoh Neco (2 Ki. 23:29; Jer. 46:2), whom he called "Much-noise-but-he-lets-the-chance-slip by" (46:17 JB). In 601 Nebuchadnezzar advanced against Egypt itself, but Neco withstood the Babylonians at Egypt's border in a bloody battle. This battle and the temporary withdrawal of the Babylonian army may have encouraged Jehoiakim to revolt against Babylonia (2 Ki. 24:1). Neco, however, did not dare to venture on any more military expeditions in Asia (24:7).

HERODOTUS records some peaceful efforts of Neco, including an incompleted canal from the NILE to the RED SEA (*Hist.* 2.158) and sending a fleet manned by Phoenicians around Africa (4.42). (See further J. Bright, "A New Letter in Aramaic, Written to Pharaoh of Egypt," *BA* 12 [1949]: 46–52; J. Yoyotte, "Nechao," *DBSup* 6 [1960], cols. 363–93; A. H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* [1961], ch. 13; *CAH,* 3/2, 2nd ed. [1991], 715–18 et passim.)

J. ALEXANDER THOMPSON

**Necodan** ni-koh'duhn. KJV Apoc. form of NEKODA (1 Esd. 5:37).

**necromancy.** The practice of conjuring the spirits of the dead to inquire about the future. See DIVINATION.

**nectar.** The sweetish liquid of plants that is used by bees in making HONEY. This English term is used by the NIV once to render the Hebrew word *ʿāsîs H6747,* "[grape] juice" (Cant. 8:2); it is also used once by the NRSV as a translation of *nōpet H5885,* "honey" (4:11).

**Nedabiah** ned'uh-b*i*'uh (נְדַבְיָה *H5608,* "Yahweh is willing [*or* shows himself generous]," or "whom Yahweh impels" [cf. BDB, 622]; see JONADAB). Son of Jeconiah (JEHOIACHIN) and descendant of DAVID (1 Chr. 3:18).

**needle.** The use of needles and the art of sewing seem to have been among the earliest human accomplishments. ADAM and EVE sewed fig leaves together to cover their nakedness (Gen. 3:7). The basic design of needles has not changed at all through the millennia. Needles made from sharp pierced bones have been found dating as far back as the 6th millennium B.C. In the days of Israel's history, needles were commonly made of BRONZE, either pierced or with a loop to form the "eye." They have been found by archaeologists in the dust of ancient cities, made from ivory, bone, bronze, and iron, from 1.5 to 5.5 inches in length. Highly skilled embroiderers produced the curtains of the TABERNACLE and beautiful garments of the high priest (Exod. 36:37; 39:29). It is interesting to note the most skilled of these artisans of the needle were men (Exod. 35:34–35). In the NT the apostle PAUL was trained as a tent-maker and worked at his trade in CORINTH, sewing the strips of material together (Acts 18:3).

The only place in the Bible a needle is actually mentioned is in Jesus' proverb that "it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God" (Gk. *rhaphis G4827* in Matt. 19:24; Mk. 10:25; *belonē G1017* [a less common, classical term] in Lk. 18:25). Some have speculated that Jesus was referring to a small gateway through which a large animal would have difficulty passing. This and other explanations, however, "only blunt the rhetorical language," robbing the saying of its shock value (D. L. Bock, *Luke,* BECNT, 2 vols. [1994–96], 2:1485).The expression is hyperbolic and refers to the impossibility of entering God's kingdom by mere human effort. While those who have great possessions or other advantages may be particularly tempted to rely on their own abilities, the implications of Jesus' statement apply to all. The disciples understood the point, for their reaction was to express doubt that *anyone* could be saved (Matt. 19:25). And Jesus responded, "With man [not just a rich man] this is impossible, but with God all things are possible" (v. 26).

P. C. JOHNSON

**needlework.** See EMBROIDERY.

**Neemias** nee'uh-mi'uhs. KJV alternate Apoc. form of NEHEMIAH (Sir. 49:13; 2 Macc. 1:18 et al.).

**neesing.** An archaic English word meaning "sneezing," used once by the KJV (Job 41:18; NIV, "snorting"). As published in 1611, and for a century and a half after that, the KJV also had "neesed"

in 2 Ki. 4:35, but this was changed to "sneezed" in 1762.

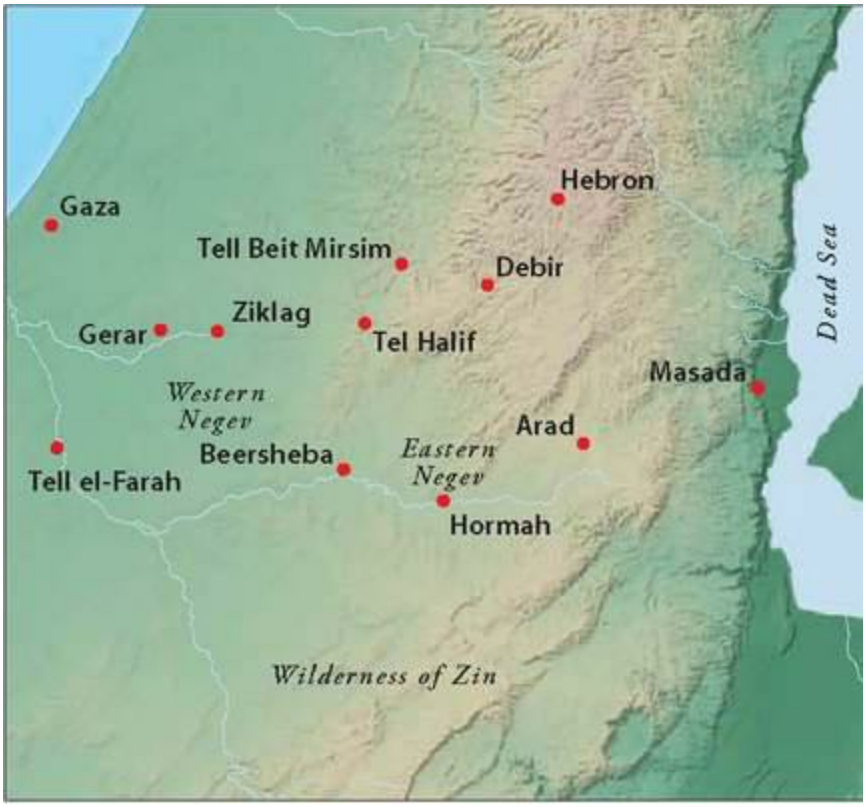
**Negeb** neg'eb. See NEGEV.

**Negev** neg'ev (נֶגֶב *H5582,* meaning apparently "dry land," and used often with reference to the "south" [e.g., Gen. 13:14]). Also Negeb. The name of the southern region of Palestine (Gen. 12:9; Num. 13:17; Deut. 1:7 et al.).

**I. Description.** The Negev is an area S of JUDAH, poor in RAIN and with few sources of underground water. Its natural boundary in the N is the plain of BEERSHEBA, but in the Bible the southern parts of the mountains of HEBRON also are included. It is bounded by the coastal dunes in the W, the ARABAH in the E, and extends toward the deserts of Paran, Zin, Shur, and the River of Egypt in the S. Most of the Negev is mountainous and is formed by ranges of hills that stretch from SE to NW. It is drained by rivers, narrow and canyon-like in their eastern parts, broad and shallow in the W. For this reason no major trade route could cross the Negev from N to S.

**II. Roads and highways.** Wars and commercial contacts between Palestine and Egypt were maintained by means of the VIA MARIS, while the peoples to the N and NE of Palestine used the KING'S HIGHWAY, which runs along the Transjordanian plateau. Only those routes coming from Hebron or S Judah lead over the high mountainous region of the Negev. It was thus isolated and formed the natural southern limits of Judah. No army, and especially no army including chariots, could reach Hebron or Jerusalem from this part. There are two important roads mentioned in the Bible: (a) one connecting KADESH BARNEA with the southern Arabah, possibly the way of the mountains of the AMORITES (Deut. 1:19); and (b) another one that descends from ARAD to the southern part of the mountains of SODOM (this is the way of EDOM, 2 Ki. 3:20). A third possible road for which we have no records may have connected GAZA, GERAR, BEERSHEBA, HORMAH, and ARAD.

**III. Economy.** In biblical times the economic importance of the Negev was limited. The breeding of sheep and goats, especially in the northern and central Negev, was one of the more important items in the economy of the region (1 Sam. 25:2; 1 Chr. 4:38–41; 2 Chr. 26:10). It seems that the raising of donkeys and camels for the use of caravans also was practiced here. Of greater importance was the opening of the trade route in the period of the kingdom to S Arabia, East Africa, and the Indian Ocean. The visit of the Queen of SHEBA (1 Ki. 10:1–13) and the subsequent dispatch of the navy of TARSHISH (10:22 NRSV) brought in silver, gold, precious stones, and aromatics. Judah maintained its rule over this route during the reign of JEHOSHAPHAT and UZZIAH (Azariah, 1 Ki. 22:29; 2 Ki. 14:22). Evidence for the actual commerce with S Arabia was unearthed in the excavations of Tell Huleifeh. COPPER was mined in the mountains NW of the Gulf of ELATH. The exploitation of the copper mines has been attributed to King SOLOMON, but it seems that it antedates his reign by about two centuries. The collecting of the Dead Sea's asphalt belongs mainly to the classical period, although there is evidence for its use in Palestine also in biblical times.



The biblical Negev.

**IV. Population.** The first settlers came to the northern and central Negev already in prehistoric times, but permanent settlement is not earlier than the Chalcolithic period. At that time settlements were built along the valley of the large wadis in the northern Negev, especially in the region of Beersheba. There are hardly any remains from the Early Bronze period, but the Middle Bronze I period witnessed a great expansion of settlements over the central mountainous part of the Negev. No settlements were discovered from the rest of the Bronze Age, but the Negev is mentioned in the list of THUT-MOSE III. (See T. L. Thompson, *The Settlement of Sinai and the Negev in the Bronze Age* [1975].)

It was in the Middle Bronze Age when ABRAHAM sat at GERAR and between KADESH and SHUR (Gen. 12:9; 13:1–3; 20:1), as did ISAAC (24:62; 26:15) and JACOB (37:1; 46:5). After the Israelite conquest, the Negev became part of Judah, first having been allotted to the Simeonites (Josh. 19:1–9; 1 Chr. 4:28–33). At the beginning of the period of the united kingdom, this region came to be known as the Negev of Judah (1 Sam. 27:10; 2 Sam. 24:7).

The archaeological evidence points to an Israelite expansion over the central Negev during the period of the early kingdom. Fortresses were constructed along the commercial routes. Remains of such a line were discovered along the road stretching from Arad and Horma to Kadesh Barnea. Near some of the forts, small settlements sprang up at about the first half of the 10th cent. B.C. To this period the expansion of the Israelite trade toward

Aerial view showing the topography of the Negev basin.

the Gulf of Elath and the fortification of a part of EZION GEBER (2 Ki. 9:26) are attributed. This port was the key point for S Arabian trade (1 Ki. 10:11, 22). In the fifth year of REHOBOAM (924 B.C.), the Egyptian King Sheshonq (SHISHAK) waged his campaign against Judah (1 Ki. 14:25–28; 2 Chr. 12:1–12). In his long list of topographical names at the temple of Amun at Karnak, eighty-five belong to the north. It seems that Sheshonq penetrated as deep as Ezion Geber. The destruction of the forts and small settlements is attributed to him.

The Negev was again in Israelite hands in the days of JEHOSHAPHAT (1 Ki. 22:49–50; 2 Chr. 20:35–37), a fact well-attested by archaeological evidence. In the northern Negev, E of Beersheba, new fortresses and settlements were built in the 9th and 8th centuries, some possibly by Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. 17:12). The administrative division of Judah, as listed in Josh. 15, is now attributed to Jehoshaphat. According to this list, the Negev district included thirty towns, but these are all N of the Beersheba-Horma-Arad line, except AROER. The Judean district of the Negev extends over an area of 576 sq. mi. and is equal in size to the six districts of Judah in its mountainous part.

This state of affairs continued also in the days of Uzziah, who conquered Edom and built the port of Elath (2 Ki. 14:22; 2 Chr. 26:2). This expansion was accompanied by the building of new forts and settlements along the important trade routes. The large fortress at Tell el-Qudeirat, identified with Kadesh Barnea, is attributed to this period. During the Assyrian campaigns in the days of AHAZ, the Negev was gradually lost. Ezion Geber was conquered by the Edomites (2 Ki. 16:6; 2 Chr. 20:17) and was never reconquered by Judah.

It seems that there was no permanent settlement during the subsequent centuries. The first traces of renewed human activity go back to the beginning of the 3rd cent. B.C. Pottery finds and coins from Nessana, Oboda, and Elusa in the central Negev are commonly attributed to the NABATEANS, a people of Arabian descent, who founded a caravan state in the subsequent century in the former land of Edom and in the Negev. In the late 1st cent. B.C. and early 1st cent. A.D. the caravan halts and some other newly settled places grew into small towns. A third phase in Nabatean settlement of the Negev belongs to the late 1st cent. A.D. To this period the beginning of Nabatean agriculture should be attributed. Early in the 2nd cent. the Nabatean towns and settlements were abandoned, being renewed by different settlers in the late Roman period.

(See further A. Negev, *Cities of the Desert* [1966]; Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A*

*Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], 26–27, 31, 41–42, et passim; M. Evenari et al., *The Negev: The Challenge of a Desert,* 2nd ed. [1982]; *ABD,* 4:1061–68; *NEAEHL,* 3:1119–45.)

A. NEGEV

**Neginah, Neginoth** neg'i-nuh, –noth (נְגִינָה *H5593,* pl. נְגִינוֹת). KJV transliteration of a Hebrew musical term referring probably to string instruments (Ps. 4 title et al.). See MUSIC, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, IV.D; PSALMS, BOOK OF, VII.A.

**Nehelamite** ni-hel'uh-mit (נְחֶלָמִי *H5713,* apparently the gentilic form of an unattested name, נְחֶלָם meaning unknown). An epithet applied to SHEM-AIAH, one of the false prophets who opposed JEREMIAH and whom he rebuked (Jer. 29:24, 31–32). The NRSV renders "of Nehelam," but no such place name is found in the OT. It could be a family name. The KJV mg. (at 29:24) has "dreamer," apparently because the consonants suggest a connection with the Hebrew verb ḥālam *H2731,* "to dream" (a view defended by L. Yaure in *JBL* 79 [1960]: 297–314, esp. 307–11), but such an etymology is generally discounted.

S. BARABAS

**Nehemiah** nee'huh-mi'uh (נְחֶמְיָה *H5718,* "Yahweh has comforted"). KJV Apoc. Neemias, Nehemias. (1) An Israelite mentioned among leading individuals who returned from Babylon with ZERUBBABEL (Ezra 2:2; Neh. 7:7; 1 Esd. 5:8 [KJV, "Nehemias"]).

(2) Son of Abzuk; he ruled part of BETH ZUR and helped repair the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. 3:16).

(3) Son of Hacaliah and rebuilder of Jerusalem (Neh. 1:1). Nehemiah was a Jewish patriot and Persian statesman raised up to save Israel from national disintegration. Nehemiah saw clearly that national collapse would jeopardize true religion. He was a CUPBEARER to the Persian king, ARTAXERXES I (464–424 B.C.), a position of great responsibility and influence; the holder ranked as a high official of the court. In this period only a man of exceptional

The Cyrus Cylinder, recording the conquest of Babylon by this Medo-Persian king in 539 B.C. Here Cyrus claims to have restored to their homes the gods and peoples of many towns. This text may provide the context for the return of the Jewish exiles to rebuild Jerusalem.

trustworthiness would have been given the post, for the father of Artaxerxes had been murdered and he himself had gained the throne by a palace revolution.

Nehemiah was a member of a prominent Jewish family; one of his brothers, HANANI, was the spokesman of an official delegation to SUSA (Neh. 1:2) and later became a governor of Jerusalem (7:2). Nehemiah was made aware of the plight of his people in the month of Kislev (Nov.-Dec.) 444 B.C. by delegates from Jerusalem to Susa, the winter residence of Persian kings. Significantly, he first asked about the people, and then about the city. Their answer left him dejected and he turned to fasting, prayer, and confession, in which he fully identified himself with his people.

It was not until the month of Nisan (March-April), some four months later, when the king insisted on knowing the cause of his dejection, that he unburdened his heart and asked for and obtained leave of absence to become governor of Jerusalem (Neh. 2:6). His resource at this juncture to impromptu prayer (2:4) shows the deep piety of the man and gives the narrative the ring of truth. The mention of the presence of the queen (2:6) lends support to the conjecture of secular historians that Artaxerxes was not immune from HAREM intrigue. (The suggestion that Nehemiah was a EUNUCH rests solely on a careless, but explicable, slip by some copyist at 1:11, where several important MSS have *eunouchos* instead of *oinochoos,* "cupbearer." See E. M. Yamauchi in *ZAW* 92 [1980]: 132–42.)

His every decision indicated wisdom and forethought, and his actions were marked by determination and indomitable courage. His request for letters of safe conduct and authority to obtain materials for the work of rebuilding (Neh. 2:7–8) was doubtless prompted by his inside knowledge of conditions in the provinces. On his arrival at Jerusalem he made sure of his facts at night by a secret survey of the conditions of the city walls. He was then in a position to disclose the purpose of his mission and to rally the people for the rebuilding of the walls. The response was tremendous: all sections of the community dedicated themselves to the work: priests and laymen, Jews from the outlying towns and districts, and even women joined in the work (3:12). The succinct account in ch. 3 of the building activity does not divulge any information about the organizational feat that must have been involved, doubtless again due to the ability of Nehemiah.

When a report of Nehemiah's purpose reached the ears of the governors of adjacent provinces, their suspicions were aroused and they embarked on a policy of opposition. The ringleader was doubtless SANBALLAT I, governor of SAMARIA (two of his successors bore the same name; see *BA* 26 [1965]: 109–10, 120). He was supported by TOBIAH, governor of AMMON (on the Tobiads, see B. Mazar in *IEJ* 7 [1957]: 137–45 and 229–38), and by GESHEM, governor of DEDAN (cf. K. A. Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament* [1966], 159–60). The course of their opposition conforms unmistakably to an all too familiar pattern of human behavior. In their first act of opposition they used the well-tried weapon of ridicule (Neh. 2:19). No technique has yet been invented to rival in effectiveness the skillful use of sneers, jeers, and gibes. A dangerous edge was given to their mockery by the insinuations that Nehemiah was planning high treason.

Nehemiah met the attack by asserting his assurance of divine help, by stating the inoffensive and constructive nature of the undertaking, and finally by reminding his opponents that they were exceeding their authority. In matters concerning Jerusalem they had no stake or claim, nor any association with it (Neh. 2:20). Nehemiah was a man impervious to blustering gibes. When the work got well under way, the opposition took on a somewhat different form. The means—mockery—was the same, only intensified, but now it was motivated by annoyance and anger (4:1–3). Nehemiah's answer was prayer and persistence in the work (4:4–6). His shrewdness is seen in his planning the completion of all the lower half of the wall first. (This would seem to be the obvious implication of 4:6–7.)

When verbal gibes and threats failed, Nehemiah's opponents planned to use force (Neh. 4:8). Again Nehemiah turned to prayer and at the same time took steps to counter the threat. His motto might well have been "Praying and Watching" (4:9). From this time forward work proceeded on a war footing.

Nehemiah's troubles did not all come from outside Jerusalem. The Jews themselves confronted him with problems requiring diplomacy or firmness. First Judah threatened defection, ostensibly because of overwork, but defeatism also played its part. A still more difficult internal crisis arose through the complaint of the people that they were being exploited by the rich (Neh. 5:1–5). Nehemiah brought the offenders to heel and insisted on immediate redress. They agreed to forego their mortgage claims. Nehemiah displays an unerring understanding of human nature by insisting that all promises must be duly and publicly confirmed by oath (5:12). No one could gainsay his own unselfish and blameless conduct.

Two more attempts were made by Sanballat and his friends to undermine the work. First they attempted to lure Nehemiah away from Jerusalem (Neh. 6:2). He refused, pleading pressure of important work. They then brought an open accusation of treason (6:6). It is said expressly that Geshem (Gashmu) shared this view. With his control of the great trade routes S, he was in a position to spread such a rumor as far as the king's palace itself. Nehemiah did not fail to see the implications of this move (6:9).

With the wall sufficiently complete for defense purposes, steps were taken to rehabilitate the Jews. The first step was to make them familiar with the spiritual basis of their nationhood, the law of Moses. Prolonged sessions for readings were arranged, and the authority of the laws for their lives was acknowledged. The temple service was restored and provision made for its continuation. Nehemiah's final task was the restoration of national purity (Neh. 13:1–27). It was a situation that demanded inflexible determination. He had a will of iron and tolerated no compromise.

For Nehemiah worldly success did not spell spiritual failure, and royal society left his appetite for divine fellowship unimpaired. The place of the fear of God in his heart was so great as to banish wholly the fear of man. In a time of apostasy, the study of the character of Nehemiah is particularly relevant. (See further J. S. Wright, *The Date of Ezra's Coming to Jerusalem* [1958]; H. H. Rowley, *The Servant of the Lord* [1965], 137ff.) See NEHEMIAH, BOOK OF.

W. J. MARTIN

**Nehemiah, Book of.** In the Hebrew Bible, the books of Ezra and Nehemiah are one. For general introductory material, See EZRA, BOOK OF.

**I. Background**. NEHEMIAH held the important position of CUPBEARER to ARTAXERXES I. It seems that an attempt to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem had come to a violent end by orders of the king (Ezra 4:21–22), and the Jews were in great distress. Nehemiah was appointed governor and built up the nation again. The new city walls made it possible to have a capital in which people would want to settle.

**II. Special problems.** The only serious problem is the presence of EZRA in the book. As the text stands, Ezra came to JERUSALEM in the seventh year of Artaxerxes I (Ezra 7:7), that is, 458 B.C., and Nehemiah in the twentieth year of the same king (Neh. 2:1), that is, 445. The two men were associated in the reading of the law and the subsequent covenant (8:1, 9; 9:6; 10:1), and in the processions at the dedication of the walls (12:31–36).

This order of events has been challenged by some scholars, and two main alternatives have been proposed for the coming of Ezra, namely, the seventh year of Artaxerxes II (398) or, by emending the text, the thirty-seventh year of Artaxerxes I (428). Several passages are cited as evidence that Ezra must have come after Nehemiah.

(1) Ezra 10:1 speaks of a great congregation in Jerusalem, whereas in Nehemiah's day the city was sparsely inhabited (Neh. 7:4). The context shows, however, that Ezra's large congregation was collected from outside the city (Ezra 10:1, 7) without mentioning many houses in Jerusalem.

(2) According to Ezra 9:9, Ezra states that God had been gracious "to give us a wall in Judea and Jerusalem" (NRSV). The NIV understands it figuratively, "a wall of protection" (cf. NJPS, "a hold"). Ezra 4:12, dated in the reign of Artaxerxes I, shows that a wall was being built before the coming of Nehemiah, although it was destroyed again (Neh. 1:3).

(3) Ezra 10:6 mentions JEHOHANAN son of ELIASHIB as a contemporary of Ezra. Eliashib was the high priest in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. 3:1). So far there is no problem. But in Neh. 12:10–11, JONATHAN (a name that some emend to Johanan) appears as the grandson of Eliashib, and the ELEPHANTINE papyri show this grandson as high priest in 408. Therefore it is argued that Ezra came to Jerusalem long after Nehemiah. See JOHANAN #8. There are, however, some unproved assumptions here. Ezra's Jehohanan is not described as high priest, nor is he necessarily to be identified with Eliashib's grandson. Jehohanan and Jonathan were common names, and Eliashib may have had a son who did not become high priest and a grandson who did, both bearing the same name, as uncle and nephew might. A positive reason against identifying Ezra's Jehohanan with the later high priest is that the latter murdered his own brother in the temple (Jos. *Ant.* 11.7.1). The incident had almost certainly occurred before 398, and if Ezra had arrived then, he would not have risked his reputation by accepting friendly hospitality from such a man.

(4) It is thought that, if Ezra had dealt with mixed marriages, Nehemiah would not have needed to deal with them again so soon afterward (Neh. 13). In fact, Ezra's reform was in 457, and Nehemiah's in 433. Considering that other abuses had crept in so soon after the making of the solemn covenant in Neh. 10, it is not surprising that mixed marriages began to come back also. Moreover, some Jews could have escaped detection in Ezra's day through being in heathen territory, as suggested by the comment that they "did not know how to speak the language of Judah" (13:23–24; if they had been in Jewish territory, the children would have been at least bilingual). Nehemiah dealt with them on one of their visits to Jerusalem.

(5) If Ezra had been commissioned to teach the law (Ezra 7:14, 25–26), he surely would not have waited for thirteen years before he read it to the people. Therefore some prefer to attach Neh. 8, with the account of Ezra's reading of the law, to the end of the present book of Ezra, as 1 Esdras does, and remove it from the period of Nehemiah. However, it is not known how long Ezra remained when he first came. He would have returned to PERSIA to make his report to the king, and his commission was to inquire and to appoint magistrates to enforce the law. After dealing with the specific abuse of mixed marriages, he may not have been able to gather the people together for joint instruction in the whole law, before having to return to Persia.

There is, therefore, no necessity to rewrite history, and there is one strong positive argument against the 398 redating of Ezra's coming. If the Chronicler wrote not later than 300, as is commonly supposed, he could not have confused the relative order of Ezra and Nehemiah, for there would have been many people living whose parents had seen Ezra and who would have told stories about him, but none whose parents had seen Nehemiah. The alternative date of 428 meets the biblical requirement of having the two men as contemporaries and removes the objections listed above.

## III. Contents and outline

A. News of disaster at Jerusalem moves Nehemiah, the king's cupbearer, to prayer (Neh. 1:1–11).

B. The king gives him permission to rebuild the city and its walls, and sends him to Jerusalem as governor (2:1–11).

C. Nehemiah examines the work and is opposed by local officials (2:12–20).

D. The list of builders and their areas of work (3:1–32).

E. Attempts by outsiders to stop the work by sarcasm and armed threats (4:1–23).

F. Trouble because the poor had mortgaged themselves and their property to the rich (5:1–9).

G. Nehemiah is accused of setting himself up as king (6:1–14).

H. The completion of the wall in fifty-two days (6:15—7:4; material would have been on the spot after the abortive attempt of Ezra 4:12).

I. Register of returned exiles, similar to that in Ezra 2. Nehemiah consults it before working out plans for the resettlement of the city (Neh. 7:5–73).

J. Ezra and the Levites read and teach the law (8:1–18).

K. A prayer of national repentance, followed by a specific covenant (9:1—10:39).

L. A register of the inhabitants of Jerusalem and neighborhood (11:1–36).

M. A list of priests and Levites from the return until the end of the Persian empire (12:1–26).

N.The ritual dedication of the wall, and arrangements for regular worship (12:27—13:3).

O. Nehemiah's further reforms after his return from a visit to Persia (13:4–31).

(Significant commentaries include L. Batten, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah,* ICC [1913]; W. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia,* HAT 1/20 [1949]; F. C. Fensham, *The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah,* NICOT [1982]; H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra-Nehemiah,* WBC 16 [1985]; J. Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah,* OTL [1988]; M. Breneman, *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther,* NAC 10 [1993]; K.-D. Schunck, *Nehemia,* BKAT 23/2 [1998–]; K. Larson and K. Dahlen, *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* [2005]. See also J. Stafford Wright, *The Date of Ezra's Coming to Jerusalem* [1947]; H. H. Rowley, "The Chronological Order of Ezra and Nehemiah," in *The Servant of the Lord,* 2nd ed. [1965], 135–68; id., "Nehemiah's Mission and its Background," in *Men of God* [1963], 211–35; T. C. Eskenazi, *In an Age of Prose: A Literary Approach to Ezra-Nehemiah* [1988]; K.-J. Min, *The Levitical Authorship of Ezra–Nehemiah* [2004]; J. L. Wright, *Rebuilding Identity: The Nehemiah-Memoir and Its Earliest Readers* [2004]; and the bibliography compiled by W. E. Mills, *Ezra-Nehemiah* [2002].)

J. S. WRIGHT

**Nehemias** nee'huh-mi'uhs. KJV alternate Apoc. form of NEHEMIAH (1 Esd. 5:8, 40).

**Nehiloth** nee'huh-loth (נְחִילוֹת *H5704,* meaning uncertain). KJV transliteration of a Hebrew musical term referring possibly to a type of flute (only in Ps. 5 title). See MUSIC, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, IV.C; PSALMS, BOOK OF, VII.A.

**Nehum** nee'huhm (נְחוּם *H5700,* "[God] comforts" or "comforter"). An Israelite mentioned among

leading individuals who returned from Babylon with ZERUBBABEL (Neh. 7:7); this name is likely a scribal error for REHUM, the form found in the parallel passages (Ezra 2:2; 1 Esd. 5:8 [KJV, "Roimus"]).

**Nehushta** ni-hoosh'tuh (נְחֻשְׁתָּא *H5735,* possibly "abundant, luxuriant" or "bronze"). Daughter of Elnathan, wife of King JEHOIAKIM, and mother of King JEHOIACHIN; she was a native of Jerusalem (2 Ki. 24:8). NEBUCHADNEZZAR deported her, Jehoiachin, and other members of the royal family and court to Babylon in 597 B.C. (2 Ki. 24:12, 15).

**Nehushtan** ni-hoosh'tuhn (נְחֻשְׁתָּן *H5736*,"bronze [statue]," apparently a play on the words נָחָשׁ *H5729,* "serpent," and נְחֹשֶׁת *H5733,* "bronze, copper"; on the *–ān* ending, cf. J. Montgomery in *JAOS* 58 [1938]: 131). Name given to the bronze snake that MOSES had made in the wilderness (2 Ki. 18:4). The origin of this statue is described in Num. 21:4–9. During Israel's last year in the wilderness, as the nation was journeying to the S of the Dead Sea around the N end of EDOM, the people in their discouragement "spoke against God and against Moses, and said, 'Why have you brought us up out of Egypt to die in the desert?'" (Num. 21:5). God, as a result, sent among them *hannĕḥāšîm haśśĕrāpîm* (from *nāhāš H5729* and *śārāp H8597*), "fiery serpents," that is, snakes with a burning venom (BDB, 977; cf. *HALOT,* s.v. I שָׂרַף, 3:1359); and these caused the death of many people (v. 6). See FIERY SERPENT; SERPENT.

Upon Israel's repentance, Moses interceded with Yahweh, who instructed him in turn to make a śā*rāp* ("fiery serpent," Num. 21:8 RSV), perhaps so called because of its flashing in the light (KD, *Pentateuch,* 3:139; see SERAPH). It was, in any event, made out of COPPER or BRONZE and elevated upon a standard; and anyone who had been bitten would live by looking at it. To its contemporaries, the bronze serpent therefore symbolized a looking to God in faith for salvation; and into the future it typified Christ's being lifted up on the cross, "that everyone who believes in him may have eternal life" (Jn. 3:15; cf. Lk. 23:42–43).

With the passage of time, however, Israel lost sight of the symbolical and typical function of the statue. By the later 8th cent. B.C., the Israelites were burning INCENSE to it, as if it were in itself a deity (2 Ki. 18:4). As a part, therefore, of HEZEKIAH's overall campaign against the HIGH PLACES and their idolatrous objects, begun in the first year of his reign (2 Chr. 29:1), the king broke the serpent into pieces (2 Ki. 18:4). It was apparently at this time that the name Nehushtan was assigned to it, probably in disparagement: it was not "the serpent," but simply "the



Ancient bronze serpents found near Mashkuta in Egypt (c. 1500 B.C.).

bronze thing." Nehushtan thus became an example of how an originally good, redemptive ritualistic object may be perverted into its opposite and become detrimental to true saving faith. (For a different perspective, see H. H. Rowley in *JBL* 58 [1939]: 132–41; K. R. Joines, *Serpent Symbolism in the Old Testament: A Linguistic, Archaeological, and Literary Study* [1974]; *DDD,* 615–16.)

J. B. PAYNE

**Neiel** n-*i*'uhl (נְעִיאֵל *H5832,* derivation unknown). A town that served to mark the SE border of the tribal territory of ASHER (Josh. 19:27). It is generally identified with modern Khirbet Ya(nin, about 8.5 mi. ESE of Acco.

**neighbor.** This English term is used to render various words: Hebrew *rēa( H8276* (also "companion, friend," Exod. 11:2 and often), šā*kēn H8907* ("fellow citizen," Exod. 3:22 et al.), and *(āmît H6660* ("comrade," only in Leviticus and in Zech. 13:7); Greek *plēsion G4446* ("one who is near," Matt. 5:43 et al.), *geitōn G1150* ("of the same land,"Lk. 14:12 et al.), and *perioikos G4341* ("living around," only Lk. 1:58).

Among the Israelites in pre-Christian times, the neighborly bond was particularly characteristic because of this people's standing with God as his COVENANT people. The covenant with ABRAHAM (Gen. 12:1–3) automatically created among his descendants moral obligations toward one another that are best summed up in the words of Lev. 19:18, "love your neighbor as yourself." In this verse, the "neighbor" is defined by the parallel expression "one of your people" (lit., "the sons of your people"). Treatment of one's neighbor was an important gauge of righteousness in Israel. Refusal to respect the rights of one's neighbors is a highlight of the moral disintegration that provokes national punishment (Isa. 3:5; Jer. 9:4–9; Mic. 7:5–6).

Though almost all the OT's emphasis is upon neighborliness among Israelites, the notion is applied also to those outside Israel, such as the Egyptians (Exod. 3:22; 11:2; Ezek. 16:26). This broadened sense did not impress the formulators of Jewish tradition, however, for when Jesus came he found the teaching of the rabbis to be much narrower than could ever have been implied in the original statement of the law. The traditional interpretation is found in Matt. 5:43: "Love your neighbor and hate your enemy." According to this false understanding, *neighbor* is limited to "fellow Israelite," and hatred of non-Israelites is the inescapable deduction from the Gentiles' being omitted in Lev. 19:18.

The Lord's correction of this erroneous understanding of *neighbor,* based upon the spirit of the law and not just the letter, is "Love your enemies" (Matt. 5:44). In other words, Christ's concept of *neighbor* embraces all. Thus the responsibility to LOVE is much more rigorous than some PHARISEES were willing to admit. This is not to say, as modern theology commonly does, that all people are spiritual brothers and sisters and that God is the Father of all. Rather, the world neighborhood concept goes no further than to dictate the obligation of universal love, because even an opponent falls into this category.

Further amplification of this broadened definition lies in the incident of the Good Samaritan (Lk. 10:29–37). The lawyer's question—"Who is my neighbor?"—receives its answer by way of illustration. From the lips of the lawyer, *neighbor* excluded all Gentiles, but Christ's corrective expanded the meaning by criticizing the wording of the question. The proper emphasis would be, "To whom am I neighbor? Whose claim on neighborly help do I recognize?" The priest and the Levite were neighbors to the victim by race, and the Samaritan was neighbor only by geography. Yet the

alien was the only one to recognize the truth that "it is not place, but love, which makes neighborhood." The lawyer asks, "Who as my neighbor has a claim upon my love?" But his question reveals his failure to grasp the spirit of the commandment to love his neighbor. It is not a question of how narrowly one can restrict his neighborhood, but rather how broadly he can enlarge his devotion to his fellowman. Undoubtedly the lawyer was dismayed at not being given an academic answer with rabbinic precision. In its place, the truth was driven home that, depending upon his own willingness to love, anyone could become his neighbor.

With this definition of *neighbor* in view, the NT quotes or alludes to Lev. 19:18 no fewer than ten times (Matt. 5:43; 19:19; 22:39; Mk. 12:31, 33; Lk. 10:27; Rom. 13:8, 9; Gal. 5:14; Jas. 2:8). Probably no other command is made a mandate for Christians more often than "love your neighbor." The words came from Jesus' lips during his ministries in Galilee, Judea, Perea, and Jerusalem. Once he spoke the words to a mixed multitude, once to a lawyer, once to a rich young ruler, and once to an antagonistic group of scribes and Pharisees. The words came also from the pen of PAUL in his best-known theological letters, Romans and Galatians. The only debt that is to exist among Christians is the one that can never be repaid fully, that of loving one's neighbor. JAMES, writing the earliest NT book, echoed once again the teaching of Christ on this vital subject. To James, Lev. 19:18 portrays the exact opposite of partiality or respect of persons.

(See further J. A. Broadus, *Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew* [1886], 121–25; A. Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke,* ICC, 5th ed. [1922], 283–89; R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, 2 vols. [1951], 1:18–19,344–45; *NIDOTTE,* 3:1144–49; 4:111–13; *NIDNTT,* 1:258–59.)

R. L. THOMAS

**Nekeb** nee'keb. See ADAMI NEKEB.

**Nekoda** ni-koh'duh (נְקוֹדָא *H5928,* "speckled"). (1) Ancestor of a family of temple servants (NETHINIM) who returned to Jerusalem after the Babylonian captivity (Ezra 2:48; Neh. 7:50; called "Noeba" in 1 Esd. 5:31).

(2) Ancestor of a family of returned exiles who were unable to prove their Israelite descent (Ezra 2:60; Neh. 7:62; 1 Esd. 5:37 [KJV, "Necodan"]).

**Nemuel** nem'y*oo*-uhl (נְמוּאֵל *H5803,* derivation uncertain; gentilic נְמוּאֵלִי *H5804,* "Nemuelite"). (1) Son of SIMEON, grandson of JACOB, and eponymous ancestor of the Nemuelite clan (Num. 26:12; 1 Chr. 4:24); called JEMUEL in the parallel passages (Gen. 46:10; Exod. 6:15).

(2) Son of Eliab and descendant of REUBEN (Num. 26:9). Nemuel's brothers, DATHAN and ABIRAM, were among the leaders who joined the Levite KORAH in his rebellion against MOSES and AARON in the wilderness and subsequently suffered judgment (Num. 16).

**Nepheg** nee'fig (נֶפֶג *H5863,* meaning uncertain). (1) Son of IZHAR and great-grandson of LEVI through KOHATH (Exod. 6:21).

(2) Son of DAVID, listed among the children born to him in JERUSALEM (2 Sam. 5:15; 1 Chr. 3:7; 14:6).

**Nephi** nef'*i*. See NEPHTHAR.

**Nephilim** nef'uh-lim (נְפִילִים *H5872,* possibly "fallen ones"). This name occurs only twice (Gen. 6:4; Num. 13:33; KJV, "giants," following the LXX, *gigantes*). It appears to be derived from the verb *nāpal H5877,* "to fall," perhaps alluding to their debasement (a fall from heaven or into sin?) or to the fact that they had ceased to exist (fallen=dead) by the time the texts were produced. These etymological explanations, however, are speculative and do not lead to satisfactory solutions.

There are indications in the OT that great physical stature is implied in the name: they are said to be "of great size" and are described as ancestors of the Anakites (Num. 13:32–33; see ANAK); elsewhere the REPHAITES are said to be "as tall as the Anakites" (Deut. 2:20–21). It may also be noted that some gigantic PHILISTINES are described as descendants of RAPHA (2 Sam. 21:16, 18 et al.). Further clues perhaps may be found in studies of the physical anthropology of Mediterranean peoples. These indications of impressive physique and prowess would be consistent with what is said of the Nephilim in Gen. 6:4, though there are obscurities in the passage.

The idea that the Nephilim sprang from cohabitation between angels and mortals (cf. Gen. 6:1–2) does not seem to fit other biblical data (angels do not have sexual functions, Lk. 20:34–35). See ANGEL; SONS OF GOD. Some would argue that this interpretation is possible only if one puts the Scripture on a level with Greek mythology, where anthropomorphic polytheism makes possible a physical union between gods and men. In any case, Gen. 6:4 is somewhat ambiguous: the Nephilim may be regarded as either contemporary with the marriages mentioned in the context or as the product of the marriages. If they are simply contemporary and have no genetic connection with the marriages of v. 4, the mention of them merely gives additional information about conditions existing when the marriages occurred.

If they are considered to be products of the marriages, the nature of the marriages is more significant. The choice is between entirely proper marriages and those to which some stigma attaches. Leroy Birney (in *ETSB* 13 [1970]: 43–52) argues that the Nephilim may be identified with "the sons of God," who "were famous mighty rulers as shown by usage," and that the sin in view was polygamy. "Verse 4 refers not to the products of the polygamous marriages but to their perpetrators" (ibid., 52). J. O. Buswell concludes that "there is nothing demonic or mythological in the entire passage. Moses is simply pointing out the fact that the mighty men of old, men of renown, were born of normal human marriage" (*A Systematic Theology of the Christian Religion,* 2nd ed. [1968], 1:364–65). In a polytheistic world where mythological unions of gods and men were narrated, it is highly significant that Moses rejected the fanciful and degrading contemporary mythological speculations. (For other views, see the articles by D. J. A. Clines, D. L. Petersen, and L. Eslinger in JSOT 13 [1979]: 33–46, 47–64, and 65–73; W. A. van Gemeren in *WTJ* 43 [1980–81]: 320–48; R. S. Hendel in *JBL* 106 [1987]: 13–26; see also *ABD,* 4:1072–73; *DDD,* 618–20.)

W. B. WALLIS

**Nephis** nef'is. KJV Apoc. form of Niphish (1 Esd. 5:21); see MAGBISH.

**Nephish** nef'ish. KJV alternate form of NAPHISH (only 1 Chr. 5:19).

**Nephishesim** ni-fish'uh-sim. See NEPHUSSIM.

**Nephisim** ni-*fi*'sim. See NEPHUSSIM.

**Nephthalim** nef'thuh-lim. KJV NT form of NAPHTALI.

**nephthar** neph'thahr. Transliteration of Greek *nephthar,* the term that NEHEMIAH and his associates used to refer to a liquid for burning sacrifices (2 Macc. 1:36; cf. v. 33). The text goes on to say that the term means "purification" and that most people used a different term, *nephthai,* that is, "naphta" (KJV, "Nephi," following the Vulg.), a Persian loanword used also in English with reference to some flammable liquids derived from petroleum.

**Nephtoah** nef-toh'uh (נֶפְתּוֹחַ *H5886,* perhaps "opening," but some vocalize נֶפְתָּח). In the descriptions of the N boundary of JUDAH and the S boundary of BENJAMIN, reference is made to "the spring of the waters of Nephtoah" (Josh. 15:9; 18:15). The place is generally identified with modern Lifta, c. 3 mi. NW of JERUSALEM. Some believe that the MT reading, *ma(yan mê neptôa*Ḫ, should be modified slightly to *ma(yan mêneptā*Ḫ or the like (cf. *HALOT,* 2:714), that is, "the spring of [Pharaoh] MERNEP-TAH," and that the place in view is the same as "the Wells of Merneptah," a site mentioned in Egyptian documents (cf. *ANET,* 258b; Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], 184).

**Nephushesim** ni-fy*oo*'shuh-sim. See NEPHUSSIM.

**Nephusim** ni-fy*oo*'sim. See NEPHUSSIM.

**Nephussim** ni-fy*oo*'sim (נְפוּסִים *H5866* [Ezra 2:50; *Ketib*, נְפִיסִים] and נְפוּשְׁסִים *H5867* [Neh. 7:52; *Ketib*, נְפִישְׁסִים], derivation uncertain). KJV, TNIV, and other versions, Nephusim. Ancestor or clan name of a family of temple servants (NETHINIM) who returned from the Babylonian exile (Ezra 2:50 [NRSV, "Nephisim"]; Neh. 7:42 [KJV, "Nephishesim"; NRSV, "Nephushesim"]; 1 Esd. 5:31 [KJV, "Naphisi"; NRSV, "Nephisim"). Some believe that the Nephussim were descendants of prisoners of war related to the Ishmaelite tribe of NAPHISH.

**Ner** nuhr (נֵר *H5945,* "light, lamp," possibly short form of נֵרִיָּהוּ *H5950,* "Yahweh is [my] light"; see NERIAH). (1) Son of JEIEL, descendant of BENJAMIN, father of KISH, and grandfather of King SAUL (1 Chr. 8:30 [NIV, following LXX], 33; 9:36, 39). Some believe that the genealogy here is not accurate and that this Ner should be identified with #2 below.

(2) Son of ABIEL, descendant of Benjamin, uncle of Saul, and father of ABNER (1 Sam. 14:50–51 NIV; the Heb. can be understood to mean that Saul's uncle was Abner rather than Ner). Elsewhere his name occurs only in the phrase "Abner son of Ner" (26:5 et al.). For a discussion of the genealogical connections, see KISH.

**Neraiah** ni-ray'yuh. RSV Apoc. form of NERIAH (Bar 1:1).

**Nereus** nee'ri-yoos (Νηρεύς *G3759,* in Gk. mythology the name of a sea-god). A Roman Christian who, along with his unnamed sister, was greeted by PAUL (Rom. 16:15). His name, common among

slaves, suggests that Nereus was a Gentile freedman. (For a discussion of the names in Rom. 16, see P. Lampe in *The Romans Debate,* ed. K. P. Donfried, rev. ed. [1991], 216–30.)

**Nergal** nuhr'gal (נֵרְגַל *H5946,* from Akk. *Nergal*). A Mesopotamian god of the underworld worshiped in CUTHAH; when some of the inhabitants of that city-state were resettled by the Assyrian empire, they brought their cult to the province of SAMARIA (2 Ki. 17:30). According to Babylonian tradition, he was the consort of Ereshkigal, queen of the underworld (see *ANET,* 103–4). Nergal was regarded also as a god of pestilence, disease, and various calamities, but he could be appeased by incantations. Sometimes he is identified with the planet Mars. Temples at various other sites (Larsa, Isin, Assur) were dedicated to him. Nergal became a theophoric element found in personal names, such as NERGAL-SHAREZER. (See *DDD,* 621–22.)

L. L. WALKER

**Nergal-Sharezer** nuhr'gal-shu-ree'zuhr (שַׂר־אֶצֶר נֵרְגַל *H5947,* from Akk. *Nergal-šar-uṣur,* "may [the god] NERGAL protect the king"). Name of a senior official (see RABMAG) with the Babylonian army at JERUSALEM in 587 B.C. (Jer. 39:3). Because the name occurs twice in this verse, some believe that the first mention refers to a different person who was ruler of SAMGAR (Sinmagir), but the Hebrew text is difficult: the NIV has "Nergal-Sharezer of Samgar, Nebo-Sarsekim," whereas the NRSV renders, "Nergal-sharezer, Samgar-nebo, Sarsechim" (for a full discussion, see W. McKane, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah,* ICC, 2 vols. [1986–96], 2:974–76, who concludes only one person is being referred to, namely, Nergal-Sharezer of Samgar/Sinmagir). In any case, when a breach was made in the city's defenses, he was among the officials who occupied the MIDDLE GATE. Later, he and other officers had JEREMIAH taken out of prison and entrusted to GEDALIAH (39:13–14). Nergal-Sharezer has often been identified with Neriglissar, a private citizen who was, according to Berossus, a son-inlaw of NEBUCHADNEZZAR; after disposing of his brother-in-law, EVIL-MERODACH, Neriglissar ruled BABYLON for a few years (560–556). Some scholars delete the second mention of Nergal-Sharezer as a textual corruption.

L. L. WALKER

**Neri** nee'r*i* (Νηρί *G3760,* from Heb. נֵר *H5945;* see NER). Son of Melki, included in Luke's GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Lk. 3:27). In this passage, Neri appears as the father of SHEALTIEL, but elsewhere Shealtiel's father is said to be Jeconiah, that is, JEHOIACHIN (1 Chr. 3:17; Matt. 1:12). Attempts to explain the discrepancy are often tied to Jer. 22:30, "Record this man as if childless, a man who will not prosper in his lifetime, for none of his offspring will prosper, none will sit on the throne of David or rule anymore in Judah." Some think, for example, that Luke omits Jeconiah as legally unfit to be part of the messianic line. (For a summary of other proposals, see *ABD,* 4:1075.)

**Neriah** ni-r*i*'uh (נֵרִיָּה *H5949* and נֵרִיָּהוּ *H5950,* "Yahweh is [my] light"). Son of Mahseiah; he was the father of BARUCH (Jer. 32:12 et al.; Bar. 1:1 [KJV, "Nerias"; RSV, "Neraiah"]) and SERAIAH (Jer. 51:59–64). Baruch was JEREMIAH's friend and scribe, while Seraiah served as staff officer for King ZEDEKIAH and on one occasion acted as messenger for Jeremiah. It is likely that Neriah himself held a significant position in society or at the court.

**Nero** nihr'oh. Nero Claudius CAESAR Drusus Germanicus was the fifth emperor of ROME (A.D. 54–

68). He was a son of the first marriage of Julia Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus; Nero's father was Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, who had been consul in the year 32. Named L. Domitius Ahenobarbus at birth in the year 37, he acquired the name Nero at the age of twelve, when he was adopted by CLAUDIUS.

In the year 49 Agrippina became, by her third marriage, the wife of her uncle, the emperor Claudius. She was thirty-four, and he fifty-nine at the time, but the difference in age was not without its influence in Agrippina's unscrupulous planning, for Claudius, in many ways an able and intelligent man, was a ready dupe for women and the ambitious freedmen with whom he surrounded himself. He was also a lifelong victim of some form of cerebral palsy, a fact that accounts for many of his strange personal characteristics listed with gusto by ancient authorities. To contemporary observers his life expectancy would not seem to be long; hence the promptitude of Agrippina's plotting.

With the aid of three men—the freedman Pallas, the philosopher SENECA (Nero's tutor), and Burrus, the powerful commander of the PRAETORIAN guard—Agrippina promoted her son Nero in the imperial household. Claudius had a son by his disgraced wife Messalina, Britannicus, four years Nero's junior, and Agrippina's first move was to establish Nero, youth though he was, as Britannicus's guardian. When Claudius died in 54, presumably poisoned, Agrippina, with the same allies, succeeded in advancing the young Nero to the succession. In his inaugural address, doubtless written by Seneca, he promised to rule with the principles of AUGUSTUS, who had covered autocracy with the cloak of republican and constitutional rule.

For the first five years of his principate, Nero was content to allow the able Seneca and Burrus to run the empire, and the *quinquennium Neronis*—Nero's Five Years—became, in the provinces, a legend for sound administration and good order. In the capital itself, and this is the major theme in TACITUS's Rome-centered and vivid story of the time, there was a devil's brew of murder and intrigue. Agrippina, thinking to function as coregent with her youthful son, was rapidly disillusioned. Marcus Salvius Otho, who would become emperor briefly in 69 ("the year of the four emperors"), encouraged Nero to break free from the imperious dominance of his mother. Agrippina retorted by bringing Britannicus forward. The unfortunate prince was promptly poisoned (A.D. 55), and Agrippina went into retirement. Poppaea, Otho's wife, with eyes on Nero, enticed Nero to have his mother murdered in the year 59, and then later she plotted the successful elimination of Octavia, Nero's wife.

At the time, there were some able men in the provinces (doubtless appointees of Seneca and Bur-rus). Galba in Spain and VESPASIAN in Syria were destined to hold the imperial position among the four emperors of A.D. 69; Vespasian would survive and found the Flavian dynasty. In Britain, Suetonius Paulinus put down Boudicca's fierce revolt, and Corbulo did sterling work on the unstable Parthian frontier, Rome's long and insoluble problem of defense.

Nero, meanwhile, was getting his footing. His domineering mother was dead. Burrus, the able prefect of the guard, died, a natural death apparently, in 62. Seneca, long appalled by the compromising role he had been called upon to play, retired when his one stable colleague was thus removed. Octavia was divorced and promptly murdered. Poppaea, married now to Nero, bore him a brief-lived daughter in 63. Nero, who fancied himself an artist, and may indeed have had some talent, gave his time to poetry, singing even on the public stage, and to sport. He sought to supersede the gladiatorial games, Rome's proletarian preoccupation, by racing and Greek athletic contests, a project in which he failed.

With those who had in some fashion restrained him already dead or deposed, the worst emerged in the young emperor. Ofonius Tigellinus, the new prefect of the praetorian guard, was an evil

influence, and Nero had his own full share of vanity, cruelty, and love of power. He thought of the principate as a tyranny. None of his predecessors, he said,

Marble bust of Emperor Nero.

had realized what they could do (Suetonius, *Nero* 37). Like Claudius, he began to surround himself with freedmen, greedy and arrogant. A serious and deliberate depreciation of the coinage followed the expensive wars in Britain and Armenia. The hated law of treason (*maiestas*), now revived, was used to decimate the ranks of the senate and aristocracy.

In July of 64, a fire broke out in a slum area near the Capena Gate and destroyed half of Rome. It proved to be a measure of Nero's growing desperation and unpopularity. He found it necessary to discover scapegoats, for a dangerous rumor was circulating that Nero himself had put his capital in flames in a spirit of wanton vandalism, and to free space for his own megalomaniac building plans. He did seize the opportunity afforded by the devastation to begin planning and building his notorious Golden House. The scapegoats, however, were the Christians, whose withdrawal from the close-knit framework of pagan society had won them the animosity of the Roman mob. It was thus that the active persecution of the Christian church began. It is not known whether the proscription of the Christians simply for bearing the name was actually written into law at this time or sometime in Nero's remaining five years, but it may certainly be said that it was in Nero's principate that the suppression of the church became state policy. It was to remain so, sporadically revived, for almost three centuries.

Rome at large read the portents aright. High and low were menaced by such a person in the imperial position, and a wide conspiracy was concocted in the year 65 by Caius Calpurnius Piso. It was an ill-ordered plot that was betrayed and suppressed. Seneca and Lucan, the poet, were among the host of high estate who died during Nero's panic-stricken measures to root out dissent and

opposition. Nero, paranoid now in his suspicions, struck out again after Poppaea's death, the result of his own fierce cruelty, in 66. In this second wave of executions, men of the caliber of Caius Petronius, Paetus Thra-sea the Stoic, and Barea Soranus, perished.

It was in the year 66 that the fearful Jewish revolt broke out (see WARS, JEWISH). Sending Mucianus to govern SYRIA, Nero detached Vespasian from that office and sent him S to suppress the great rebellion. Any prestige Nero might have won at that time from the establishment of Armenia as a buffer kingdom on the NE frontier was more than canceled by the dire threat in Palestine. Nero marked his deepening irresponsibility by leaving Rome in control of his freedman Helius, and departing in 67 for an extended tour of Greece. His buffoonery reached new heights as he competed, of course victoriously, in the Greek games. Simultaneously, Nero ordered his able eastern general Corbulo and two popular governors of Germany to commit suicide.

This folly was decisive. In the spring of 68, one of the Gallic governors, Caius Julius Vindex, rose in arms against Nero simultaneously with Servius Sul-picius Galba in Spain, and Clodius Macer in Africa. Vindex's rising was put down by Verginius Rufus, the loyal governor of Germany, but the praetorian guard in Rome declared for Galba, and on 9 June of 68 Nero committed suicide. The meaning of his last words, *Qualis artifex pereo* ("What an artist dies in me"?) has been the subject of much speculation.

There is no disputing the fact that Nero was a vicious and unbalanced man. More than forty years ago, Arthur Weigall, better known as an Egyptologist than as a classical historian, wrote a popular defense of the emperor (*Nero, Emperor of Rome* [1930]), but the consensus of expert opinion dubs him a villain. A corrupt ancestry, especially on his father's side, a bad woman in Agrippina, his mother, a repressed and perverted childhood and youth, followed by the temptations of absolute power in a context of sycophants and designing freedmen, would have tried the strength and integrity of the best and most stable characters.

Apart from viciousness, there was also a strong element of mental instability in Nero's constitution. His devotion to art was real, but accompanied, as such devotion can be, by a tendency to exhibitionism and self-glorification. A savage jealousy of all other eminence, be it of rank, or excellence in war, peace, literature, or wherever else humanity shows its worth, issued in persecution, suppression, and murder. Rome was shocked by the young emperor's undignified self-display before the Greeks. And when soldiery, nobility, proletariat, philosophers, artists, and every other element in society appeared to have united against Nero, there can be little doubt of universal detestation.

The curious myth that Nero would return, on which Weigall bases his perverse verdict of lamented popularity, was a Greek invention. The officer's verdict quoted by Tacitus (*Annals* 15.67) is final: "I began to hate you, when, after murdering mother and wife, you turned out to be a jockey, a mountebank, and an incendiary."

(In addition to Suetonius and Tacitus, an important ancient source is Dio Cassius, *Rom. Hist.* 61–63. See also B. W. Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero* [1903]; M. Grant, *Nero* [1970]; K. R. Bradley, *Suetonius' Life of Nero: An Historical Commentary* [1978]; M. T. Griffin, *Nero: The End of a Dynasty* [1984]; R. Holland, *Nero: The Man behind the Myth* [2000]; E. Champlin, *Nero* [2003]; H. Herrmann, *Nero: Eine Biographie* [2005]; A. Decaux, *La révolution de la croix: Néron et les chré-tiens* [2007].)

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

**Nerva** nuhr'vuh. Emperor of ROME, A.D. 96–98. Marcus Cocceius Nerva was born c. A.D. 35. He

became a confidant of NERO and was subsequently appointed CONSUL on two occasions: by VESPASIAN in 71 and by DOMITIAN in 90. After the assassination of Domitian, the conspirators placed Nerva on the throne. The new emperor was genuinely interested in freedom and justice, but he was unable to restore political stability, and in any case his health quickly failed. Some months before his death he adopted TRAJAN, who succeeded him as emperor in 98. (See further A. Garzetti, *Nerva* [1950]; J. D. Grainger, *Nerva and the Roman Succession Crisis of AD 96–99* [2003]; *OCD,* 1038–39.)

**nest.** There are frequent references to birds and their nests in the OT, and the Hebrew word for "nest," *qēn H7860,* can be used figuratively to refer to the home of a human being (Job 29:18; cf. verb *qānan H7873 ,"to* nest, make a nest," Jer. 22:23). The remarkable construction and inaccessibility of birds' nests were a wonder to people in ancient times as they are today. In the NT the only reference to them was made by Jesus when he compared his homelessness with the fact that foxes have holes and the birds of the air have their nests (Gk. *kataskēnōsis G2943,* Matt. 8:20; Lk. 9:58).

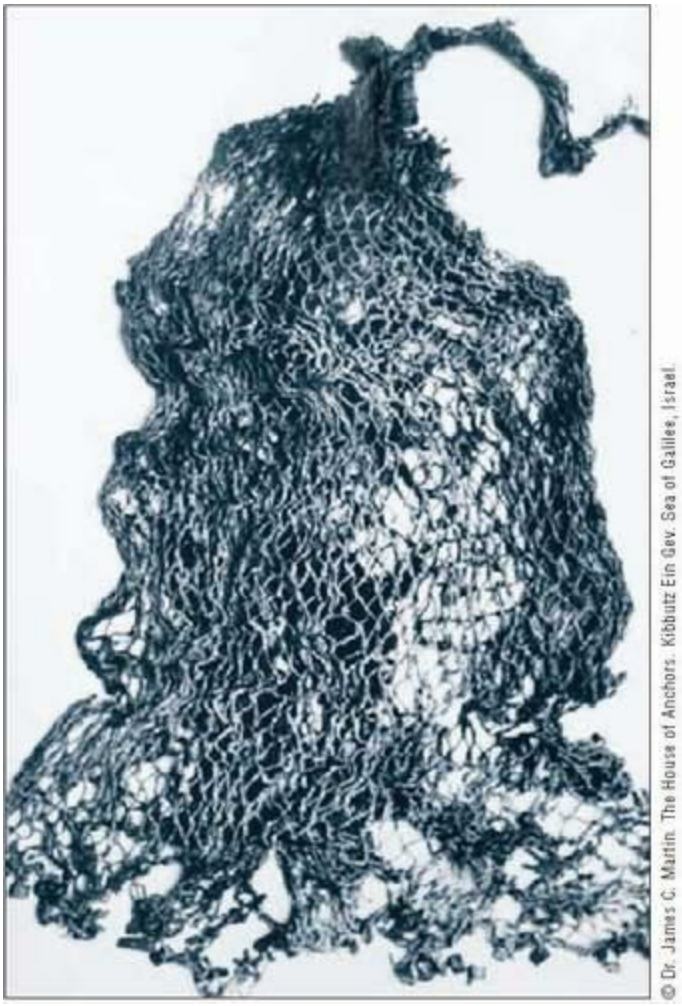
S. BARABAS

**net.** The Hebrew term *rešet H8407,* "net, network," can refer to a lattice utilized in furniture and architectural design. Around the altar of the TABERNACLE there was a grille or grating of bronze (Exod. 27:4–5; 38:4). A different term, *śĕbākâ H8422,* is used with reference to the capitals of the two bronze pillars in the Solomonic TEMPLE, which were also fashioned as nets (1 Ki. 7:17 et al.). See also NETWORK.

But it is mostly in contexts of hunting and fishing that nets are mentioned in the OT. These activities were pursued not so much for sport as for livelihood. The gazelle, hart, roebuck, and wild goat were best for food among the surface creatures, and the partridge among the birds. Nets were particularly needed in fishing, because sufficient quantities for commercial purposes could not be caught in any other way. Fishing was limited to the inland bodies of water in Bible history, since the Mediterranean did not offer convenient opportunities.

Sometimes nets were used to catch wild animals (Pss. 25:15; 35:7–8; Prov. 29:5; Isa. 51:20 [here *mikmār H4821];* Ezek. 19:8). At other times the trap was designed to catch birds (Prov. 1:17). In still other passages it is fish that were to be caught (Eccl. 9:12 [*mĕṣôdâ H5182];* Hab. 1:15–17 [*hērem H3052*]). Most of the OT references to nets are symbolic of spiritual threats. They are figurative for seduction (Eccl. 7:26 NRSV), blinding flattery (Prov. 29:5), exploitation of the righteous by the wicked (Pss. 9:15; 10:9; 35:7–8; 57:6; 140:5; 141:10; Mic. 7:2; Hab. 1:15–17) and punishment (Job 19:6; Ps. 66:11; Lam. 1:13; Ezek. 12:13; 32:3; Hos. 7:12).

The NT terminology for nets is limited to fishing and is descriptive of three types: (1) The casting net (*amphiblēstron G312,* Matt. 4:18; but the more general term *diktyon G1473* in vv. 20–21), when thrown out over the water, assumed a circular shape as it fell upon the surface of the water. Immediately the weighted perimeter would sink rapidly to the bottom, causing the net to assume a shape variously described as conical, bell-like, or pear-shaped. Thus would be trapped all the fish below the net. This method found particular usefulness in shallower water. The use of this type of net required an unusual amount of skill, and it is,



Cast net from the region around the Sea of Galilee.

therefore, particularly appropriate in conjunction with Christ's invitation to become "fishers of men" (v. 19), a task requiring spiritual skill.

(2) The dragnet (*sagēnē G4880,* "seine, sweep-net") was supported on one side at the water's surface by floats, while the other side was kept at the lake's bottom by weights. Thus was formed a vertical wall of netting between its two ends. If one end of the net were secured at the shore, a boat would carry the other in a great semicircular arc and drag along all underwater life in its path, until all was swept ashore. On the other hand, if both ends were secured to boats, the boats would be maneuvered so as to form a circular shape with the net, which would then be dragged ashore with the catch. Dragnets often were immense in size, and the term could be used figuratively of vastness and all-inclusiveness. They retrieved all types of fish, large and small, choice and worthless, living and dead. How appropriate that the Lord should choose this method to describe a gathering for judgment in the kingdom of heaven (Matt. 13:47).

(3) The general word for net, *diktyon,* is used in Lk. 5:2–6 and Jn. 21:6–11. This word, which could include either of the above nets, probably has in view the dragnet in these two passages; but in Matt. 4:20–21 and Mk. 1:18–19 casting nets are depicted by it.

R. L. THOMAS

**Netaim** ni-tay'im (נְטָעִים *H5751,* "plantings"). An otherwise unknown place, probably in the SHEPHELAH of JUDAH, where some royal potters lived (1 Chr. 4:23; KJV has "plants and hedges" for "Netaim and Gederah"). See also GEDERAH.

**Nethaneel** ni-than'ee-uhl. KJV form of NETHA-NEL.

**Nethanel** ni-than'uhl (נְתַנְאֵל *H5991,* "God has given"; cf. ELNATHAN, NETHANIAH, etc.). KJV Nethaneel. (1) Son of Zuar; he was a leader from the tribe of ISSACHAR, heading a division of 54,500 (Num. 2:5–6; 10:15). Nethanel was among those who assisted MOSES in taking a census of the Israelites (1:8) and who brought offerings to the Lord for the dedication of the TABERNACLE (7:18–23).

(2) Fourth son of JESSE and older brother of DAVID (1 Chr. 2:14).

(3) One of the priests appointed to blow the trumpet when David transferred the ARK OF THE COVENANT to Jerusalem (1 Chr. 15:24).

(4) Father of Shemaiah; the latter was a Levite and scribe in David's organization of the priestly service (1 Chr. 24:6).

(5) Third son of OBED-EDOM, included in the list of divisions of the Korahite doorkeepers in the reign of David (1 Chr. 26:4).

(6) One of five officials sent by King JEHOSHAPHAT "to teach in the towns of Judah" (2 Chr. 17:7).

(7) A leader of the Levites during the reign of King JOSIAH; along with his brothers CONANIAH and SHEMAIAH, Nethanel provided five thousand offerings (lambs) and five head of cattle for the renewed celebration of the PASSOVER (2 Chr. 35:9; 1 Esd. 1:9 [KJV, "Nathanael"]).

(8) One of the descendants of PASHHUR who agreed to put away their foreign wives (Ezra 10:22; 1 Esd. 9:22 [KJV and NRSV, "Nathanael"]). Some think he may be the same as #10 below.

(9) The head of the priestly family of JEDAIAH in the time of the high priest JOIAKIM (Neh. 12:12).

(10) A priestly musician who participated in the dedication of the rebuilt wall of Jerusalem under EZRA (Neh. 12:36; his name is one of several omitted in the LXX).

W. B. WALLIS

**Nethaniah** neth'uh-ni'uh (נְתַנְיָה *H5992* and נְתַנְיָהוּ *H5993,* "Yahweh has given"; cf. ELNATHAN, NETHANEL, etc.). (1) Son of Elishama and father of ISHMAEL; the latter murdered GEDALIAH, who had been made governor by NEBUCHADNEZZAR (2 Ki. 25:23, 25; Jer. 41:1 –2 et al.). The family was of royal blood.

(2) One of the sons of ASAPH who assisted their father in the prophetic ministry of MUSIC; he was the head of the fifth company of temple musicians appointed by lot under DAVID (1 Chr. 25:2, 12).

(3) One of five officials sent by King JEHOSHAPHAT "to teach in the towns of Judah" (2 Chr. 17:8).

(4) Son of Shelemiah and father of JEHUDI; the latter was an official under King JEHOIAKIM who was sent to BARUCH so that the latter might read the prophecies of JEREMIAH to the princes of Judah (Jer. 36:14).

(5) One of the sons of Bani who agreed to put away their foreign wives (1 Esd. 9:34 [KJV, "Nathanias"]; apparently the same as NATHAN in the parallel, Ezra 10:39).

W. B. WALLIS

**Nethinim** neth'in-im (נְתִינִים, pl. of נָתִין *H5987,* "given, donated"). The KJV uses the improper

transliteration *Nethinims* (*Nethinim* itself is a plural form) to represent a postexilic Hebrew term that modern versions render with "temple servants" (1 Chr. 9:2; Ezra 2:43 et al.; Neh. 3:26 et al.). The SEPTUAGINT usually transliterates the word (*nathinaioi*), but at 1 Chr. 9:2 it is translated *dedo-menoi* ("given ones"). First Esdras (1 Esd. 1:3 et al.) and JOSEPHUS (*Ant.* 11.5.1 §128; 11.5.2 §134) call them *hierodouloi,* "sacred servants" or "temple slaves."

Ezra 8:20 gives the most specific clue to the origin of the Nethinim. That DAVID should have given them to assist the Levites is in keeping with the general account of David's organization (1 Chr. 23–24) in preparation for the TEMPLE. Nethinim means "those who are given." Just as the Levites as a whole were "wholly given" to the Lord from among the people of Israel (Num. 8:16), so the Levites were given as "gifts" to AARON and his sons (v. 19; the term here is *nĕtunîm,* "given ones," pass. ptc. of *nātan H5989,* "to give"). David appears to have followed this pattern in assigning another group to assist the Levites. The order listed in 1 Chr. 9:2 and Neh 11:3 is, "Israel, priests, Levites, and Nethinim" (the latter passage adds, "descendants of Solomon's servants"; the singling out of such a hereditary group makes a natural parallel to the group originating with David).

Presumably the Nethinim were not Levites. G. F. Oehler (*Theology of the Old Testament* [1884], 376) supposes, following Aben Ezra, that the Gibeonites (see GIBEON) were the original Nethinim (Josh. 9:27). After the killing of the Gibeonites by SAUL (2 Sam. 21:1), additional Nethinim were given by David for special service. Perhaps they were slaves acquired in war. (The fact that the Nethinim are not mentioned in the so-called P document [see PENTATEUCH III] is weighty evidence against the theory of the origin of that document in postexilic times; cf. G. L. Archer, *A Survey of Old Testament Introduction,* rev. ed [1994], 170.)

Aside from 1 Chr. 9:2, the Nethinim are mentioned entirely in Ezra and Nehemiah. Ezra 2:43–58 lists the heads of families of the Nethinim who returned with ZERUBBABEL: they and the descendants of Solomon's servants totalled 392. The Nethinim lived in their own towns (v. 70). Under Ezra, a contingent of Nethinim returned (7:7) and were exempt from tax (v. 24). Ezra 8 gives the account of the muster in preparation for the return. Two hundred and twenty Nethinim were included (v. 20).

The Nethinim are mentioned in Nehemiah's organization for rebuilding the wall. They are said to have lived on the hill of OPHEL and to have repaired a portion of the wall (Neh. 3:26). The repair work of Malkijah reached to the house of the Nethinim (v. 31). L. Batten (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah,* ICC [1913], 87ff.) thinks that v. 31 must be earlier than the writing of Chronicles and therefore attests the existence of the Nethinim before that time. They cannot be dismissed as part of an unhistorical reconstruction of the Chronicler. The Nethinim are also included among those who entered into covenant to devote themselves to God (10:28). Finally, they are mentioned in Nehemiah's account of his attempt to populate Jerusalem with pure Jews in accordance with the list of those who returned from Babylon (11:3, 21). (See further M. Haran in *VT* 11 [1961]: 159–69; B. A. Levine in *JBL* 82 [1963]: 207–12; H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra-Nehemiah,* WBC 16 [1985], 35–36.)

W. B. WALLIS

**Netophah** ni-toh'fuh (נְטֹפָה *H5756,* from נָטַף *H5752,* "to drip, pour"; gentilic נְטוֹפָתִי *H5743,* "Netophathite"). A town of JUDAH, mentioned after BETHLEHEM in a postexilic list (Ezra 2:22); the parallel combines the inhabitants of Netophah and Bethlehem (Neh. 7:26). The people of both towns were descended from the patriarch Judah through PEREZ, HEZRON (1 Chr. 2:4–5), CALEB (v. 9; NRSV, Chelubai), HUR (vv. 19, 50), and SALMA (vv. 51, 54).

The actual town of Netophah plays no part in the biblical narrative, but individual Netophathites

are mentioned in a number of OT passages. Two were among DAVID's elite group of mighty warriors (2 Sam. 23:28–29; 1 Chr. 11:30); two others were included among his twelve monthly divisional army commanders (1 Chr. 27:13, 15); another one was an army officer named SERAIAH who supported GEDALIAH in 586 B.C. (2 Ki. 25:23; however, the parallel in Jer. 40:8, which may preserve the original reading, speaks of "the sons of Ephai the Netophathite"); finally, one was the grandfather of a leading Levite who resettled in Jerusalem (9:16). In addition, there were fifty-six people from Netophah who returned to Palestine with ZERUB-BABEL in 537 (Ezra 2:22; fifty-five according to 1 Esd. 5:18; cf. Neh. 7:26); and the Levitical singers who participated in the dedication of the walls of Jerusalem in 444 are said to have come "from the villages of the Netophathites" (Neh. 12:28).

While the precise location of Netophah remains uncertain, it was evidently close to Bethlehem (1 Chr. 2:54). Because it is listed between Bethlehem and ANATHOTH (Ezra 2:22; Neh. 7:26), some have identified Netophah with the fortress of Ramat Rahel just S of Jerusalem (cf. J. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* [1959], 339); but this community did not develop until after the time of David, and the lists in Ezra and Nehemiah do not appear to be in strict geographical order. Its more probable location is Khir-bet Bedd Faluṣ, 3 mi. SE of Bethlehem, where the biblical name is still preserved in the nearby spring, ʿAin en-Naṭuf (ibid.).

J. B. PAYNE

**nettle.** This English term (referring to any of various plants of the genus *Urtica*) is used five times in the KJV, three times to render *hārûl H3017* (Job 30:7; Prov. 24:31b; Zeph 2:9) and twice to render *qimmôś H7853* (Isa. 34:13; Hos. 9:6; the Heb. term occurs also in Prov. 24:31a, where it is translated "thorns"). Both Hebrew words refer to WEEDS, and it is difficult to determine whether a specific plant is meant.

The plant mentioned in Job 30:7 (NRSV, "under the nettles they huddle together"; NIV, "[they] huddled in the undergrowth") may be the *Acanthus syriacus*—prickly, tall-growing perennials that grow as weeds in Eastern countries. The species might have been *A. spinosus,* but it is *A. syriacus* which is commonly seen in Palestine. These plants do grow tall enough to give some protection and shade to animals. (Other suggestions include "chick pea," "wild artichoke," and "vetchling.")

In the case of "possessed by nettles" (Zeph. 2:9 NRSV), the translation could easily be just "weeds" (cf. NIV) so as to give to the text the sense of desolation. The plants called *nettles*—either the small nettle, *Urtica urens;* the great nettle, *Urica dioica;* or the Roman nettle, *Urtica piluliflera*—fit the picture in Isa. 34:13 and Hos. 9:6. Nettles are common weeds of gardens and fields; they are seen today, growing in and around ruins. (See also *FFB,* 152–53, 184–86.)

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

Thistles in a field in Israel.

**network.** This English term is used in most Bible versions primarily to render Hebrew *śĕbākâ H8422,* which serves to describe the network of bronze that hung upon the capitals of the two great bronze pillars, Jakin and Boaz, in front of the TEMPLE of SOLOMON (1 Ki. 7:17–20, 41–42; 2 Chr. 4:12–13; Jer. 52:22–23). See JAKIN (PILLAR). The same word is used for the lattice of the upper room of AHA-ZIAH through which he fell and was mortally hurt (2 Ki. 1:2). Another term, *rešet H8407,* is normally used to describe snares for birds or small animals (e.g., Pss. 25:15; 35:8; see NET). It also is used (in combination with *maʿăśeh H5126,* "work") with reference to the grating of the ALTAR of burnt offering (Exod. 27:4–5; 38:4). This is conceived by some to be a grate running through the altar, and by others a step running around the altar, faced with a grille of bronze. (The KJV use of "network" in Isa. 19:9 reflects a misunderstanding of the unusual word *ḥôrāy H2583,* which probably refers to white cloth or linen.)

P. C. JOHNSON

**new, newness.** The common OT Hebrew word for "new" is *ḥādāš H2543,* which has the sense of "recent" or "fresh"; this adjective may connote newness in both qualitative and chronological aspects. It occurs in such expressions as new king (Exod. 1:8), offering of new grain (Lev. 23:16), new house (Deut. 20:5), new wife (24:5), new ropes (Jdg. 15:13), new cart (1 Sam. 6:7), new cloak (1 Ki. 11:29–30), new song (Ps. 33:3 et al.), new name (Isa. 62:2), new heavens and new earth (65:17; 66:22; see HEAVENS, NEW), new covenant (Jer. 31:31; see COVENANT, THE NEW), and new heart/ spirit (Ezek. 18:31; 36:26). From the above list, the difficulty of making a distinction between quality and time is apparent; for often, if something is new in kind, it is also recent in appearance. It is worth noting that the references from the historical books of the OT generally emphasize the temporal significance, while those from the poetic and prophetic literature stress generally the qualitative. This word is used also a few times with no noun expressed but where the context must supply it (Lev. 26:10; Deut. 32:17; 2 Sam. 21:16 et al.). Rarely is it used in the predicate position (Job 29:20; Eccl. 1:10; Lam. 3:23). Another adjective that can be rendered "new," *tārî H3269,* occurs twice (Jdg. 15:15 [NIV, "fresh jawbone"]; Isa. 1:6 [NIV, "open sore"]. The noun *bĕrîʾâ H1375,* "something new," occurs only once (Num. 16:30). (See *NIDOTTE,* 2:30–37.)

In the NT, the Greek adjective *prosphatos G4710,* "new, recent," occurs once (Heb. 10:20), and

so does the cognate adverb *prosphatōs G4711,* "recently" (Acts 18:2). Another adjective, *agnaphos G47* (lit., "uncarded"), is applied to new cloth, that is, not yet shrunk (Matt. 9:16; Mk. 2:21).

The two common Greek words, however, are *kainos G2785* and *neos G3742.* It has often been thought that the first of these is used regularly to emphasize qualitative newness, and that the latter indicates chronological newness in the sense of modernity or youthfulness. *Kainos* is used in the NT for those entities connected with the KINGDOM OF GOD and the coming age that will be radically different from what characterizes this present age. *Neos* is used frequently in the PASTORAL EPISTLES to refer to the young members of his congregations, both male and female (1 Tim. 5:1, 2, 11, 14; Tit. 2:4, 6; cf. 1 Pet. 5:5).

The above distinction between *kainos* and *neos* was argued especially by R. C. Trench (*Synonyms of the New Testament,* 9th ed. [1880], 219–25) but is not acknowledged by all. Those who deny it base their argument primarily upon the seemingly interchangeable use of the two words in the NT. Matthew speaks of new wine with *neos* (Matt. 9:17), while in a different context he refers to new wine as *kainos* (Matt. 26:29). Paul in Eph. 4:24 commands the Christian to put on the *kainos* man, while in Col. 3:10 he speaks of the *neos* man. The writer to the Hebrews refers to "the new covenant" but uses both *kainos* and *neos* (Heb. 9:15; 12:24). Furthermore, the papyri seem to use the two words practically synonymously. It is possible, however, that *kainos* is a more literary term and that, perhaps for that reason, this adjective is preferred in theological contexts. (See R. A. Harrisville, *The Concept of Newness in the New Testament* [1960]; *NIDNTT,* 2:669–78; *ABD,* 4:1086–88.) See also NEW COMMANDMENT; REGENERATION.

W. GERIG

**new birth.** See REGENERATION.

**new commandment.** This phrase (Gk. *entolē kainē*) first appears in words attributed to Jesus in the upper room discourse reported by the fourth evangelist (Jn. 13:34). In an apparent reference to the Decalogue (see TEN COMMANDMENTS) Jesus said, "A new command I give you: Love one another." He then added, "By this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you love one another" (v. 35). The commandment to LOVE God and one's neighbor was not new, for it is emphasized in the Pentateuch and the Prophets (esp. Hosea), and restated by Jesus as a summation of the TORAH (Deut. 6:5; Hos. 11:4; Matt. 22:37; cf. Rom. 13:9; Gal. 5:14; Jas. 2:8).

While Jesus did not originate the concept of the divine-human relationship as one of love, he did give it new emphasis and brought it into sharper perspective. The characteristic OT emphasis is upon obedience, that of the NT upon love, yet it remains a commandment, an obligation. It is the *ḥesed H2876* or covenant-love of the OT (see LOVINGKINDNESS; MERCY), wedded to the Greek term *agapē G27,* which emerges as the important word in the Christian ethos. It denotes a discriminating love resulting from choice. The newness consists in the source and nature of this love; it is the supreme criterion of one's relationship to God (1 Jn. 5:3; cf. Lk. 10:27). (See further V. P. Furnish, *The Love Command in the New Testament* [1972]; R. F. Collins, *Christian Morality: Biblical Foundations* [1986], 101–36; R. B. Hays, *The Moral Vision of the New Testament: Community, Cross, New Creation: A Contemporary Introduction to New Testament Ethics* [1996], ch. 6.)

G. A. TURNER

**new earth.** See ESCHATOLOGY; HEAVENS, NEW.

**New Gate.** The book of JEREMIAH speaks twice of "the New Gate of [the house of] Yahweh" (*ša(ar bêt-yhwh heḥādāš,* Jer. 36:10; in 26:10, simply *ša(ar-yhwh heḥādāš*). The entrance of this gate was the setting for a royal inquiry into the preaching of Jeremiah (26:7–16). Here also was the room belonging to the secretary GEMARIAH son of Shaphan, from which "Baruch read to all the people at the LORD's temple the words of Jeremiah from the scroll" (36:10). This verse also indicates that the gate was in the upper (inner) courtyard of the temple (see TEMPLE, JERUSALEM IV.B.7), leading some to infer that "New Gate" was the name given to the UPPER GATE after it was rebuilt by King JOTHAM (2 Ki. 15:35; 2 Chr. 27:3; cf. *ABD,* 4:1095). It may have been S of the inner court, but its precise location is unknown (it is not to be confused with the New Gate built in modern times on the NW wall of Jerusalem).

**new heavens.** See ESCHATOLOGY; HEAVENS, NEW.

**new Jerusalem.** The ultimate center, where the glorified redeemed of all ages dwell eternally with God and his holy angels in perfect bliss, after all aspects of resurrection and judgment and the creation of a new heaven and earth.

It is called "the new Jerusalem" (Rev. 3:12; 21:2), "Holy City" (21:2), "great" (21:10), "heavenly" (Heb. 12:22), "above" (Gal. 4:26), and the "wife of the Lamb" (Rev. 21:9). It is the city ABRAHAM sought (Heb. 11:10) and believers today anticipate (13:14). "Heavenly" emphasizes its heavenly origin and quality in contrast to earthly. "New" contrasts it with "old" JERUSALEM, since it is the glorious goal of which that city is a type. "Holy" is its character as over against the often unholy Jerusalem and the unholy BABYLON (Rev. 17–18; see HOLINESS). It is the "bride" in that redeemed inhabitants comprise it corporately as a city. It is "mother" of believers in that they live by its life from above, are ruled by its standards, and have their citizenship in heaven (Phil. 3:20). Similarly, Jerusalem or Judah was "mother" of Israelites, since their lives and interests were oriented there (Isa. 50:1; Ezek. 19:2; Hos. 2:2; 4:5).

The city should not be understood as only symbolic of the redeemed; it is distinguished from them (Rev. 21:24–27; 22:2–5). Also, if the King (Christ) and redeemed have literal substance in glorified bodies, the city most likely is literal. Further, the new heaven and earth are evidently as literal as the old, and this would naturally be true also of the new Jerusalem (see HEAVENS, NEW). Descriptions of size and other matters also suggest this.

The size of the city as given in Rev. 21 totals about 1,400 mi. in length, breadth, and height. Scholars debate whether its shape is that of a cube or a pyramid. Only the redeemed, all of whom are over-comers by faith (1 Jn. 5:4, 5; Rev. 21:7), are there. It is made of precious stones. The streets are gold, and since God makes all things new (21:5), it is irrelevant to object that gold is a poor paving substance. Names of the twelve tribes on the gates and twelve apostles on the foundations represent both Israel and the church as present. Kings bring glory and honor into the city (21:24), evidently in the sense that they render the glory they had to Christ or else they share in his glory and reflect it in their individuality and to their capacity. All conditions there are ultimate.

The OT anticipates "new heavens and a new earth" (Isa. 65:17; 66:22) but nowhere uses the specific phrase "new Jerusalem." It speaks, however, of a glorious Jerusalem (Isa. 52:1; 54:11–12; 62:5, 7). Amillennialists equate the latter with Rev. 21–22. Premillennialists usually see a glorified millennial Jerusalem between the second advent and ultimate state (they also point to other passages, such as Jer. 31:40; 33:16; Mic. 4:1–4; Zech. 14).

Where does the new Jerusalem fit timewise? Some place it immediately after Christ's return,

viewing the thousand years (Rev. 20) as symbolic of the present age (amillennialists). Others see this age progressing into a golden era before Christ comes (postmillennialists). Most premillennialists see the sequence as: SECOND COMING, thousand-year rule of Christ on earth (see MILLENNIUM), judgment on SATAN, great white throne judgment, new heaven and earth with new Jerusalem. In this latter group, some believe that the new Jerusalem described in 21:9—22:5 is the millennial city on earth. Others have it suspended in close proximity to earthly Jerusalem during the millennium as the habitation for resurrected saints who already have entered into their eternal state, but have access to earth to rule with Christ. Still others say that the new Jerusalem conceived of here is just as it is in 21:1–8, *after* the creation of the new heaven and earth. Conditions described have the ultimate, eternal bliss in view. (See G. N. H. Peters, *The Theocratic Kingdom,* [1952], 3:32ff.; J. D. Pentecost, *Things to Come* [1958]; A.J. McClain, *The Greatness of the Kingdom* [1968], 442–515.) See also ESCHATOLOGY III.J.

J. E. ROSSCUP

**new man, new self.** See MAN, NEW.

**new moon.** This expression today often refers to that phase of the MOON when its dark side is toward the earth. The Hebrew term *ḥōdeš H2544* (from *ḥādāš H2543,* "new") refers to the day on the evening of which the crescent MOON first appears, and specifically to the monthly festival celebrated on that day (Num. 10:10 et al.). By extension, it can be used as a synonym for *yeraḥ H3732,* "month" (that is, the period between new moons), particularly with month names (e.g., 1 Ki. 6:1; see MONTH). A day within a month is identified with the use of *hōdeš* (not *yeraḥ*), usually with the preposition *l* indicating reference (Gen. 7:11 et al.; sometimes with *b,* as in Num. 10:11; sometimes both, as in Lev. 16:29). Lapse of time would naturally be reckoned in new moons just as years were counted by new year days. The moon's synodic period (from conjunction to conjunction with the sun) is not an exact number of days, and the angle of its path to the horizon changes with the seasons; so its reappearance could not be predicted with complete certainty. This may explain the two-day feast of 1 Sam. 20:5. The TALMUD has rules to cover observation of the crescent, since the precise dates of festivals depend on it.

The New Moon festival is linked with the SABBATH in several passages (2 Ki. 4:23; Isa. 66:23; Ezek. 46:1–6 [of temple worship]; Amos 8:5 [of life in community]). The logical sequence of Sabbaths, New Moons, and FEASTS (assemblies) is used frequently to sum up religious observances (1 Chr. 23:31; 2 Chr. 2:4; 8:13; 31:3; Neh. 10:33; Isa. 1:13–14; Ezek. 45:17; Hos. 2:11). The observance of the New Moon festival, however, originates in a basic rhythm of agricultural life, independently of the Sabbath, with which it was incommensurable for calendric purposes; and of other festivals, which were defined by days of the month but related to the seasonal (i.e., solar) rhythm. See CALENDAR.

The importance of the new moon lies in the fact that it is usually easily observable (the night of full moon is not so readily determined), and partly in a sense of relief at its appearance, quickened by superstition and mythology (cf. P. Nilsson, *Primitive Time Reckoning* [1920], 151ff.; G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palastina* [1927], 1:10ff.). Thus the new moon was traditionally marked by feasting in the local community, accompanied by religious ceremonies. When DAVID did not appear at SAUL's table for such an occasion, the king assumed that ritual impurity was the reason (1 Sam. 20:5, 26).

In a more sophisticated society, such holidays can be irksome; Amos satirized the preoccupation

of money-grabbing merchants fretting against the interruption of their activities—a preoccupation that knew no scruple as to how profit was made (Amos 8:4–6). Isaiah shows another side of the picture: upper classes delighting in frequent religious ceremonies to gratify their self-esteem (Isa. 1:13–14). J. Morgenstern (in *HUCA* 3 [1926]: 86–87) characterizes the new moon as a "convenience rather than a formal system of division," surely a false antithesis, as is his definition of "month" as measuring time, and "season" as fixing a date (in *HUCA* 1 [1924]: 18).

J. LILLEY

**New Quarter.** See SECOND DISTRICT, SECOND QUARTER.

**New Testament.** The collection of books that constitute the Christian canon. See CANON (NT). It consists of twenty-seven books, including the four Gospels, the book of Acts, twenty-one letters, and the book of Revelation. It is the purpose of this article to give a brief summary of the historical situation out of which this collection of books came into being, a survey of its contents, and a discussion of its authority.

1. Historical background
2. Contents
    1. Gospels
    2. The Acts of the Apostles
    3. The epistles of Paul
    4. Other NT epistles
    5. The book of Revelation
3. The authority of the NT

**I. Historical background.** Foremost in any study of the history of the NT is a consideration of its relationship to the OT. There are two aspects to this consideration: (1) the estimate of the OT found in the NT, and (2) the essential historical and theological link between them. There can be no doubt that the high esteem which the Lord had for the OT was the same among the Jews at that time, involving an acceptance of its full INSPIRATION and AUTHORITY. This must also have been assumed by the earliest Christian church at Jerusalem, where the members had been drawn from a Jewish milieu. This high regard for the OT exercised a profound influence on the growth of the NT, particularly because the OT immediately assumed importance as the sole Scriptures of the early church. This is substantiated by the frequency with which various writers of the NT cite the testimony of the OT, often with formulae of citation that reveal the highest regard for the authority of the OT. Such formulae as "Scripture says," or "This has come to pass in order that that which has been spoken might be fulfilled," show the integral relationship between the OT Scriptures and the Christian message. It is against this background that the growth of the NT collection must be traced.

It is a fair assumption that in early Christian WORSHIP the reading of the OT occupied a position of prime importance, as it had done in JUDAISM. It is further safe to say that comments on the OT text giving a Christian interpretation would at once be added, special attention being paid to passages that showed a direct fulfillment in the life of Jesus. Parallel to this development was a deep interest in the teaching of Jesus, which for the Christians possessed authority similar to the pronouncements of the OT. The teachings of Jesus possessed the same authority as Jesus himself. It was these teachings that the disciples were exhorted to teach to others (Matt. 28:20). They could not have done this unless the

teachings of Jesus were well stored in their minds.

Parallel to this development was the practice of reading in Christian assemblies letters from apostolic sources. That this practice was common is evident from PAUL's references to his own epistles being read to different communities (cf. Col. 4:16; 1 Thess. 5:27). How soon there was a general interchange, and consequent public reading, of Paul's letters is not known, but a collection may well have been made within the period soon after his death (cf. 2 Pet. 3:15–16). Evidence for the early use of these epistles is based mainly on the few extant early subapostolic writings that appear to echo them. While not all the epistles of Paul are cited in these writings, there is sufficient evidence to suggest the existence of an authoritative collection well before the beginning of the 2nd cent.

With the passing of eyewitnesses, and especially when the apostolic witnesses were no longer available to act as authenticators of doctrine, a pressing need would be felt for the authoritative record, not only of the teaching of Jesus, but also of his deeds. This was probably an important factor in the production of written gospels. The writing of such books may have been an independent phenomenon to meet various special needs of the communities. It is certain that, as the church spread, the need for authoritative literature, particularly about the life and teachings of Jesus, would become more acute. They would be valuable for evangelistic purposes in areas where no eyewitnesses of the events of the life of Jesus existed (cf. Jn. 20:31). The very designation GOSPEL designates the purpose of these books as the impartation of good news.

It is easy to see that an authoritative character would soon be attached to them. Although it was not until the 2nd cent. that definite evidence of their authoritative and exclusive use in the orthodox Christian church is forthcoming, the usage is unchallenged in the period from IRENAEUS onwards, and so strongly suggested by earlier evidence, that it is certain that the attitude of the churches had much earlier become firmly established. These four Gospels stood out from all others as authentic records of the life and teaching of Jesus. It appears from all the extant evidence that as early as the authoritative reception of the Gospels, the book of Acts was also received. In the early tradition this book was so closely linked with the Gospel of Luke, of which it appears to be a continuation, that both works were no doubt received on the same basis (cf. the testimony of the MURATORIAN CANON in the late 2nd cent.).

In addition to the epistles of Paul, which at least by the mid-2nd cent., and in all probability much earlier, had been collected into the group of thirteen epistles as in the NT, the other NT letters were gradually included. There is strong early evidence for 1 Peter and 1 John, but it is not known for certain when the other smaller epistles were added to the collection. Some of these are not so readily quotable as the longer epistles, and it is not therefore surprising that definite citations among the early writers are sparse, if present at all. Certainly by the mid-3rd cent. in many parts of the E, these minor letters were all included in the NT, but in other parts there was some hesitation over their canonical status. The book of Revelation was in a similar position, being received as authoritative at an early date in some areas, but being regarded with some hesitancy in others.

When eventually church councils (at Laodicea and Carthage) confirmed the limits of the NT, those limits had long been defined by usage among the great majority of orthodox churches. When the lists approved by these two councils are compared, the only difference was the exclusion of Revelation from the first and its inclusion in the second.

As a collection of Christian books, the NT possesses in itself considerable historical significance. The Gospels are practically the only source of information about the historical Jesus. Various schools of NT criticism have suggested doubts concerning the extent to which the Gospels preserve genuine information about the historical Jesus (see BIBLICAL CRITICISM; JESUS CHRIST). Since

much of the speculation is not based on historical evidence, the Gospels still may be regarded as furnishing a considerable amount of information about the historical Jesus, even though it is impossible to reconstruct from them a biography in the modern sense.

Another problem that has been raised over the use of the Gospels as historical evidence is the estimate of the historicity of the fourth gospel. This issue cannot be discussed here, but it is certain that more historical veracity may be attributed to this gospel than many of its critics will allow. In recent years there has been generally a greater readiness to treat its statements as historical.

The book of Acts and the Pauline epistles are the main sources of historical information for the history of the earliest Christian churches, supplemented by the minor epistles. Although there is much more that one would like to know about the methods of procedure within the primitive Christian communities, the NT books contain sufficient data to enable a picture to be drawn that is adequate for the enunciation of principles. Two books, 1 Peter and Revelation, are particularly valuable as evidence of the way in which the early church faced persecution. The epistle to the Hebrews shows the interplay of Hebrew and Hellenistic ideas, but furnishes little in the way of historical information.

**II. Contents.** The main concern of this article is to give a general survey of the contents of the NT with the special purpose of showing its essential unity. In spite of the value of the analytical approach, much would be lost if the NT ceased to be regarded as a whole. It is a collection of books of various types, but each part contributes to the unity of the whole.

***A. Gospels.*** The first three of these are known as Synoptic Gospels because they share a common outline in their main features and because in several respects they are different from John. The four books are not biographies of Jesus, although there is some biographical material in them. They are essentially *Gospels,* announcing good news. Their form is unique among the literature of the contemporary world, because they have a unique purpose and announce a unique person. Within their common aim, each has its own point of view, which will be brought out when they are considered individually. See further GOSPELS and separate articles for each of these books.

**1. Matthew**. Of all the Gospels this is the most Jewish, as is seen immediately from the opening chapters recording the Lord's birth. The GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST is traced from ABRAHAM and is arranged in three groups of fourteen names in typically Jewish fashion. Matthew clearly intended to set forth Christ as a true son of Abraham. There are other features that support this view. In the SERMON ON THE MOUNT, Jesus declares that nothing of the law will pass away (Matt. 5:18–19), a statement that would strongly appeal to Jewish people with their great veneration of the books of the law. Moreover, Jesus did not dispense with the seat of MOSES (Matt. 23:2–3), but urged his followers to observe the Mosaic injunctions as expounded by the SCRIBES and PHARISEES, a surprising recommendation in view of the Lord's condemnation of their hypocrisy.

Matthew aims to make clear that Jesus did not conflict with the religious leaders of his day on the score of any different estimates of the law (cf. Matt. 19:17–18; 23:23 for exhortations to fulfill the commandments). Matthew also includes references to Jewish affairs, such as the temple tax (17:24–25), fasting and Sabbath keeping (5:23–24; 6:16–18; 24:20), the tradition of the elders (15:2), phylacteries (23:5), the whitening of sepulchres (23:27). By this means he shows that Jesus moved in a typically Jewish milieu. One saying of Jesus that throws special light upon this approach is the statement that he has come only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel (15:24). It is against this specifically Jewish background that Matthew presents Jesus, and the general content of this gospel

must be judged accordingly.

Jewish man (with kippa, prayer shawl, and phylactery) bowing down before a Torah ark.

It is not unimportant to observe that the work is arranged on a pattern of alternating sections of narrative and discourse. This shows something of the intended message of the book. It records a Christ who both acts and speaks. Whereas there is some support for the view that Jesus is portrayed in the dress of a Jewish rabbi, there are some important differences. The rabbis taught traditional material related to and based upon the ancient law, but Jesus brought his own authoritative exposition of the truth. While not denying what Moses had said, he provided his own independent interpretation (cf. the statement, "But I tell you"), which is especially seen in the Sermon on the Mount to which Matthew gives such prominence. There is no question that of the Synoptic Gospels, Matthew presents the clearest picture of Christ as teacher, but this by no means exhausts Matthew's portrait of him.

Another important feature of his treatment is the emphasis found on the theme of the kingdom. Most of the parables are specifically described as parables of the kingdom. Jesus undoubtedly thinks of himself in the role of king. This is in keeping with Matthew's infancy narrative, in which the child Jesus receives homage from the MAGI, and with the account of the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem in a regal manner. The more important aspect of this kingly approach is the incipient messianism of this gospel. The many occasions when OT passages are claimed to support the actions of Jesus call attention to the strong emphasis on fulfillment and to the close connection between past predictions and present events. In some cases Matthew treats as messianic certain passages that were not so treated by the Jews. In Matthew's presentation Jesus is not an isolated phenomenon, but the MESSIAH who would fulfill all the hopes of the past.

In spite of these strong Jewish flavorings, Matthew's gospel is by no means exclusively Jewish. The note on which it ends could not be more universalistic. The risen Christ is described not only as commissioning his disciples to go and teach all nations, but also commanding them to teach whatever he has commanded. Although given in a Jewish setting, the teaching of Jesus had a universalistic application.

One feature of Matthew's work that is shared by the other Gospels is the large proportion of the

book that is devoted to the PASSION narrative. The record of activity and teaching that precedes these narratives is essential, but the real center of interest is the passion of Jesus, for this was the purpose for which he had come. See also MATTHEW, GOSPEL OF.

**2. Mark.** In its general presentation of the main events, Mark's gospel is similar to that of Matthew. Both begin with the Galilean ministry and trace the events through to the confession of PETER at CAESAREA PHIUPPI.From this point both describe the Lord's steadfastness in setting his face toward Jerusalem, but Mark has his own characteristic features. He is concerned to show Jesus as a man of action. His account contains many vivid instances (e.g. Mk. 2:4; 4:37, 38; 6:39; 7:33; 8:23; 14:54). He uses such connecting words as "immediately" to convey the impression of swiftness of action. He omits much of the teaching of Jesus, and includes only one instance of an extended discourse (Mk. 13). He differs from Matthew in focusing attention more on acts than on words.

Mark often records instances of Jesus' description of himself as SON OF MAN, which fits well into the general picture of Jesus as perfectly human. Much debate has surrounded the meaning of this title, and it is not easy to decide what it meant to the people of Jesus' own day. Yet, there can be little doubt that for the Lord it had messianic connotations. He preferred the title because the term Messiah had become confused on account of the many wrong conceptions of his contemporaries concerning it. Jesus did not come to lead the nation in a political coup. He had come, in Mark's presentation of him, to seek and to save the lost by laying down his life in an act of deliverance (Mk. 10:45).

Another equally important facet of the presentation of Jesus is the use of the title SON OF GOD, which Mark uses at the beginning of his book (Mk. 1:1). Although some MSS do not include the title here, the best attested text supports the view that Mark intended writing a gospel about Jesus, the Son of God. This aspect of the Lord's claims is most evident in the powerful acts of Jesus. These are incredible as the acts of a mere man. They require a concept of Jesus that is consonant with supernatural power. Mark's account, in short, leaves the reader with the impression of a unique person who is at once thoroughly human and yet is possessed of divine powers. See also MARK, GOSPEL OF.

**3. Luke**. If Matthew's gospel was designed for Jews, Luke's portrait of Jesus would appeal to GENTILES. Unlike the other synoptists, Luke addresses his book to an individual, THEOPHILUS, who appears to have been a Gentile of considerable standing. Although the dedication is so specific, there can be no doubt that Luke intended his gospel for a wide audience. Theophilus was more than a man to whom the gospel was dedicated. He probably stood as representative of all those who were desirous of knowing more fully about the events of the life of Jesus. Luke, moreover, makes his purpose clear in the prologue, where he states that he intends to compile a narrative of the things that have been accomplished among them (Lk. 1:1–4). Since he also claims to have gone to much trouble to find his data from eyewitnesses and ministers of the Word, it may fairly be deduced that he intended to write HISTORY. It was to be history with a theological purpose, in order that Theophilus and others might know the certainty of the things in which they already had been instructed. This clearly defined purpose must be the guiding principle in assessing the specific contribution that Luke's gospel makes to the total knowledge of the life and work of Jesus.

Luke's story is fuller than the other synoptics. His birth narratives are more extensive and his conclusion refers to the ASCENSION OF CHRIST, which the other two omit. Many incidents concerning Jesus and a considerable amount of his teaching are preserved only in this gospel. The universal aspect of the work of Jesus is emphasized more. Hints of this broadening outlook are given in the

birth narratives. The angelic announcement (Lk. 2:10) was for all people, not simply for the Jewish nation. In SIMEON's song (2:32), Jesus is said to be a light for revelation to the Gentiles as well as the glory of Israel. In the citation from Isaiah applied to JOHN THE BAPTIST, Luke carries the quotation further than the other synoptics, concluding with the statement that all flesh would see God's salvation (3:6). In the concluding commission of the risen Christ, Luke, like Matthew, makes clear that Jesus intended his gospel to be preached among all nations (24:47), and the continuation in the book of Acts shows the beginning of the fulfillment of this command. Moreover, in the gospel itself Luke shows Jesus' concern for SAMARITANS as much as for Jews, which illustrates one aspect of his universal approach.

In addition, Luke shows the Lord's special interest in people. In the parables of Jesus that are recorded only by Luke, most find their center of interest in people rather than things. Luke has particular concern to record Jesus' compassion for social outcasts. The characteristic story of ZACCHAEUS entertaining Jesus after restitution of goods to those he had wronged illustrates this aspect. The parable of the publican and the Pharisee praying shows vividly where the Lord's sympathies lay. There is more about his interest in the social position of women in this gospel than in the others, a fact that may be illustrated not only in the number of instances in which women are mentioned in the narratives, but also in the characters appearing in the parables. The same may be said of his concern for children, which is clearly brought out in this gospel. It is, moreover, significant that in the MAGNIFICAT, Mary points out that it is the hungry who are filled, and the rich who are sent away empty (Lk. 1:53); and Luke records several instances that show the Lord's interest in the underdog.

In the light of these facts, it might be supposed that Luke's main purpose was to portray Jesus as a humanitarian figure who had come to inspire a similar humanitarian approach in people. But this would be a one-sided picture, for Luke, like the other synoptists, has devoted considerable attention to the passion stories, and his purpose appears to be to show that the Christ who was crucified was the Christ of infinite compassion and human tenderness. Luke does not obscure the fact that Jesus resolutely set his face toward Jerusalem (Lk. 9:51). Although some of the Lord's most gracious acts and words are recorded by Luke after this statement of his set purpose, that purpose was kept in mind throughout. When Jesus hung upon the cross, he uttered a deeply moving cry of dereliction, but Luke does not record this detail. His account of the passion may in some respects be described as less tragic than that of the other Gospels, but this does not mean that he had any less estimate of its redemptive significance, which is clearly brought out in Luke's continuation volume, the book of Acts. The gospel presents what may be called the most human and sensitive account of the doings, teachings, and passion of Jesus. In spite of the fact that there is much parallel material between the three synoptics, Luke's picture of Jesus complements their portraits and vindicates the conviction of the Christian church that all three Gospels are essential for a full portrayal of the Lord. See also LUKE, GOSPEL OF.

**4. John.** The marked difference between this gospel and the other three has raised problems concerning its contribution to one's knowledge of Jesus. For a long time during the history of criticism the historicity of John has been disputed. The problem cannot be discussed here, but it should be noted that there is an increasing preparedness to ascribe some elements of historicity to this book. An ancient statement by CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA focuses on the problem, for he considered that the synoptics present the corporeal facts, while John presents a spiritual gospel. There is no need to suppose that he thought of John as any less factual, but rather that he understood John's aim to bring out the spiritual significance of the facts.

Several considerations support this conclusion. When John records MIRACLES, he calls them SIGNS, which reveals his understanding of their purpose to testify to Jesus. Most of the miracles are used as occasions for the recording of discourses based upon them. Thus, the feeding of the five thousand leads into the Bread from heaven discourse (Jn. 6), the healing of the blind man into a discussion on the veracity of Jesus' claims (ch. 9), the raising of LAZARUS into statements about resurrection (ch. 11). The first part of the book has been called, with some aptness, the book of signs. The discourses in this portion are of a different kind from those of the synoptics. Here one sees Jesus in frequent dialogue with Jews, sometimes hostile, at other times seriously inquiring, as in the case of NICODEMUS. The incident with the Samaritan woman shows the breadth of Jesus' spiritual appeal.

In this gospel the message of Jesus is presented in more abstract forms than in the synoptics, and there is an absence of PARABLES, although there is some parabolic type of material. The teaching is full of metaphorical allusions that show a close relationship to the parabolic form, and there are two allegories—the Good Shepherd and the Vine. Generally, however, the Johannine teaching material is presented from a different point of view. The great "I am" statements of Jesus bring this into focus. These were self-revelations of the part that he had come to fulfill. The Bread from heaven, the Light of the world, the Way, the Truth, and the Life illustrate his personal assertions.

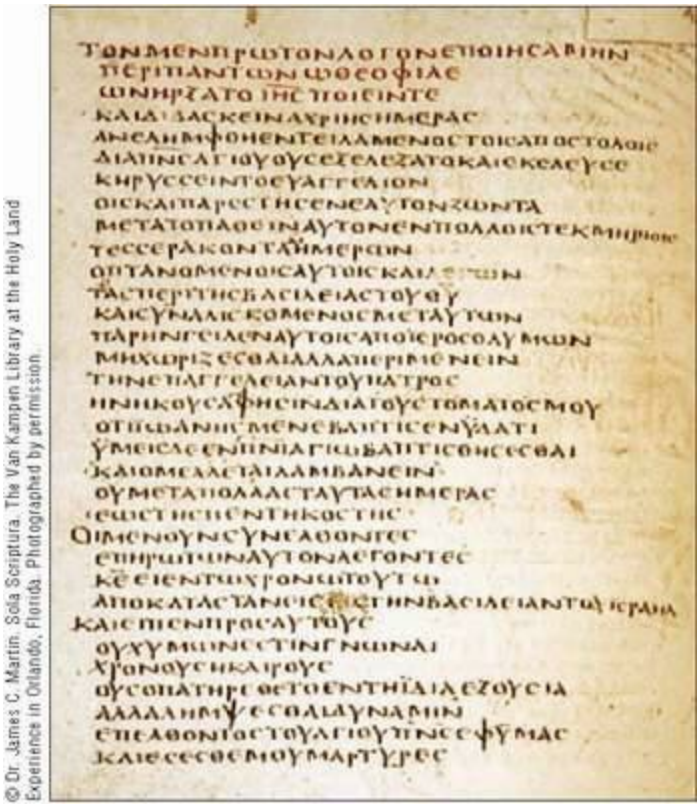
John provides knowledge of the Judean ministry of Jesus, which is lacking in the Synoptic Gospels. Most of the action in his gospel is centered on Jerusalem, which also supplements what is only indirectly hinted at in the synoptics. The portrait of Jesus is therefore seen in a different light. He is introduced as the eternal LOGOS or Word, without reference to the historical events of his birth. John is content with the bare statement that "the Word became flesh" (Jn. 1:14). As the story moves on, increasing attention is given to the fact that the "hour" approaches, and this hour is the hour of the CRUCIFIXION, which is at the same time the hour of glorification (see EXALTATION OF CHRIST). The INCARNATION was the prelude for the fulfilling of a set purpose.

It is in the discourses of Jn. 14–17 that the most characteristic portion of John's gospel is found. Special attention is given to the work of the HOLY SPIRIT (cf. 14:16–17, 26; 15:26; 16:7; 16:13–14). In all but the last of these occurrences he is called the PARACLETE, or Counselor, who gives assistance, guidance, teaching, and reproof. As Jesus faces the imminency of the cross, his final teaching to the disciples is marked by a note of serene joy because he knows that what happens to him will be for the benefit of his followers. His departure will, in fact, mark the occasion of the coming of the Spirit, who will glorify him.

Jesus' teaching about his own death is more specific in this gospel than in any other. The statement of John the Baptist that Jesus was the Lamb of God (Jn. 1:29), the saying about the good shepherd's laying down his life for the sheep (10:14–16), and the comparison of Jesus' death to a kernel of wheat that must die to produce fruit (12:24) are the clearest indications that the meaning of the cross was not left to conjecture. The cry from the cross, "It is finished" (19:30), shows the completion of a task that had been foreshadowed in the past and perfectly worked out in Jesus' life and death. It cannot be too greatly stressed that John's gospel brings out meanings that are no more than implicit in the Synoptic Gospels. See also JOHN, GOSPEL OF.

***B. The Acts of the Apostles.*** There is an obvious link between the Gospels and the Acts, not only because Acts is a continuation of Luke, but also because all four Gospels presuppose some such continuance. Moreover, one of the most striking features about the early chapters of Acts is the evident belief that Jesus is still active among his people. The healing work of Peter and John (Acts 3) is performed in the name of Jesus, and there are other instances of an appeal to his name. Another

even more striking feature is the dominance of the work of the Holy Spirit. The book has not inappropriately been called the Acts of the Holy Spirit. The beginning of the evangelistic work of the church is marked by the descent of the Spirit on the day of





Facsimile of Codex Bezae (Acts 1:1–8).

PENTECOST. Luke is careful to show the indispensable part played by the Spirit in all the developing phases of the CHURCH. Not only is this true of the Jewish mission but also of the Gentile mission. It was by the Spirit that BARNABAS and PAUL were separated for such work, and by the Spirit that the apostle to the Gentiles was constantly being led, as on the occasion of the second missionary journey when the Spirit forbade Paul's entry into BITHYNIA.

The plan of Acts corresponds roughly to the statement in Acts 1:8, where the risen Lord commands his disciples to witness in Jerusalem, Judea, Samaria, and in the uttermost parts of the earth. The first section of the book shows the development of the church in the three areas named, and the second half shows further development as far as the center of the Roman empire. The history is necessarily selective, but it was undoubtedly part of the aim of the book to describe how Paul's missionary witness culminated in Rome. In this connection it should be noted that Luke is careful to absolve the various Roman officials, to whom he refers, from the guilt of hostility to the church and to Paul. He finds the hostility to be due to Jewish schemes and intrigues.

In this book are preserved several sermons or statements of the Christian message that are invaluable for showing the methods and the content of early preaching. There is no developed theological system. The main burden is testimony to the meaning and achievement of the death and resurrection of Jesus. This emphasis in the primitive preaching helps to explain the predominant proportion of space given in all the Gospels to the passion and resurrection narratives. The Christ of the Gospels is now seen as the center of the Christian proclamation. Acts lends no support to any view of Christianity that does not place the cross at the core of its message. The primitive church was not built on a new code of ethics, not even on the ethical teaching of Jesus. It was essentially a

redeemed community, as the book of Acts makes clear.

At the same time, the book furnishes some useful information about the life of the primitive communities, although what insights are given need to be supplemented by the epistles of Paul. One of the major contributions the book makes is the account of the gathering of the apostles, elders, and members of the church at Jerusalem to discuss the question of CIRCUMCISION in relation to Paul's work (see COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM). This provides a glimpse of early Christian procedure. It also forms a close point of contact with the epistles of Paul, since he was deeply involved in this important issue.

Acts is therefore the link between the Gospels and the Pauline letters. While much can be deduced about the apostle from his self-revelation in his epistles, it is this book that provides the background against which his writings must be studied. See also ACTS, BOOK OF.

***C. The epistles of Paul.*** For the purpose of drawing out the major emphases in each epistle it is necessary to explain which epistles are being included. All thirteen letters that claim to be written by Paul (Romans to Philemon) will be considered in this context. The present writer does not consider that there are adequate grounds for disputing the true Pauline character of any of these. The epistle to the Hebrews will be considered separately. Although some changes of emphasis may be traced within the collection of Paul's letters, yet there is found a remarkable unity of theological outlook.

**1. Romans.** This is the most theological of all Paul's epistles. The predominant theme is righteousness and the method of attaining it. The apostle shows that all people, whether Gentile or Jew, have the same basic need for JUSTIFICATION, and no one is exempt from that need. Justification can be secured only through FAITH in Christ, for God has provided him as a PROPITIATION for our sins (Rom. 3:26). God's provision is a direct linkup with the death of Christ as recorded in the Gospels. This epistle proceeds to show that ABRAHAM illustrates the faith principle, and since Abraham preceded the law, justification could not depend upon allegiance to the law. Various principles of the life of faith are then enunciated, such as the following: GRACE does not mean that SIN can abound; in the inner struggle it is Christ alone who can give the victory; and in the Christian life there is an imperative need for the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. The first eight chapters of the letter are a closely reasoned entity.

This is followed by a discussion of the problem of Israel and its relation to the Gentiles within the context of the Christian church. The connection with the foregoing part of the epistle is not at once apparent, yet the Jewish-Gentile issue essentially concerned the problem of RIGHTEOUSNESS. The real question was: How could a God who had rejected Israel be righteous? Paul maintains that Israel will be restored to its rightful place, but on different grounds from the popular expectation. It could take place only according to the mercy and inscrutable wisdom of God (Rom. 11:33–36). The epistle concludes with practical exhortations that show the outworking of righteousness in the believer. This is typical of the way in which Paul links doctrine with practice. See also ROMANS, EPISTLE TO THE.

**2. The Corinthian epistles.** Paul had somewhat checkered relationships with the Christians in CORINTH, and his two epistles to them reflect a number of practical difficulties that had arisen. These letters provide a valuable insight into Paul's methods of dealing with such problems and supply a pattern that has proved indispensable in the subsequent history of the church. Probably the church at Corinth was not typical in Paul's own time, but his enunciation of principles has proved to be timeless.

In the first epistle Paul deals with a variety of issues. He devotes most space to the factions which had arisen and which he deplores. He next proceeds to condemn the condoning of a case of incest and Christians' appealing to heathen law courts to settle disputes. Following this he discusses marriage relationships, meat offered to idols, the behavior of women during Christian worship, spiritual gifts, and the resurrection from the dead. No one thread runs through this letter. What binds it into a unity is the urgency of the need to understand the Christian principles that must determine the approach to a variety of practical issues, many of which arose from the pagan background of the church members. The letter contains little theology, but the ethical principles are fully consonant with the theology expressed in such an epistle as Romans. The exquisite hymn of LOVE in 1 Cor. 13 is based on a higher than human love—the love of God, which figures prominently in the Roman epistle. See also CORINTHIANS, FIRST EPISTLE TO THE.

The second letter presents many problems to the exegete. It is the most difficult of all Paul's epistles. Its occasion is connected with his personal relationship with the Corinthians. Matters had come to a head, and a group had arisen within the church that was violently opposed to Paul. The epistle was written in response to a report from TITUS, who was able to assure the apostle that the condition of the church was not as serious as it had previously been. The apostle still found it necessary to take to task a portion of the church in the closing chapters (2 Cor. 10–13), in which he strongly defends his own position, but the rest of the epistle breathes the spirit of relief. Paul has much to say about the nature of the ministry in a discussion that has become basic for the Christian church as a whole. Moreover, he includes a discussion on the Corinthians' obligation to contribute to the collection scheme for the poverty-stricken believers in Judea (see CONTRIBUTION), which illustrates the intensely practical and social concern of the great apostle. See also CORINTHIANS, SECOND EPISTLE TO THE.

**3. Galatians.** This epistle has special historical importance because of the light it throws on the problem of CIRCUMCISION in the primitive church. Jewish Christians tended to regard this rite as an essential part of salvation, and since that was so, it was necessary for Gentiles also to be circumcised. Some ardent advocates of this point of view had attempted to persuade the Gentiles to follow their line, and Paul's letter is designed to combat this approach, which he does along two lines. He first establishes the validity of his apostleship, since the members of the Jewish party were denying that he was a genuine apostle. The more important part of the rebuttal is the doctrinal section, in which he emphatically denies that works of the law have anything to do with justification, which is entirely a matter of faith. The argument is similar to that in the Roman epistle. In both, Paul appeals to the position of Abraham, which weighed heavily with him. One interesting feature in Galatians is the apparent use of ALLEGORY (Gal. 4:21–31), which he does not use much elsewhere. As in Romans, so here the epistle closes with practical exhortations, the highlights of which are the appeal to the readers to show forth the fruit of the Spirit (5:22), and his own determination to boast only in the cross (6:14). See also GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.

**4. Ephesians.** Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, and Philemon are known as the Prison Epistles, for in all of them Paul indicates that he is a prisoner. In the first part of Ephesians, Paul dwells on the MYSTERY of God's dealings with people and introduces a high view of Christ. He stresses that Christianity is a matter of faith and not works. He sees the Jewish-Gentile problem resolved in the death of Christ. The latter part of the epistle is devoted to Christian behavior, and once again the close relation between doctrine and practice is noticeably maintained. See also EPHESIANS, EPISTLE

TO THE.

**5. Philippians.** The major note in this epistle is Christian joy. The most notable portion is the Christological passage (Phil. 2:5–11), where Paul speaks of the condescension of Christ. Theology is used as a basis for an exhortation to the Christians to have the same mind as Christ. The letter reveals much of Paul's affection for the readers and of theirs for him. See also PHILIPPIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.

**6. Colossians.** There is much similarity between Colossians and Ephesians, but the former is tied to a specific situation, for Paul deals with a heresy. In answer to it he stresses the positive preeminence of Christ. He maintains that Christ's RECONCILIATION extends to the material creation, which shows Paul's view of the world as essentially Christocentric. The ethical section runs closely parallel to Ephesians. See also COLOSSIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.

**7. The Thessalonian epistles.** These were almost certainly the earliest of Paul's letters. In both he is mainly concerned with ESCHATOLOGY. There were problems concerning believers who had already died; the Christians wondered what their part would be at the SECOND COMING of Christ. There were others who thought the coming of the Lord to be so imminent that they ceased to work. The first epistle deals specifically with the former problem, and the second introduces strong caution about the latter. Both epistles are notable for their practical teaching. See also THESSALONIANS, FIRST EPISTLE TO THE; THESSALONIANS, SECOND EPISTLE TO THE.

**8. The Pastorals.** This group comprises 1 and 2 Timothy and Titus. These epistles show Paul's concern for orderly arrangement within the church. He mentions the qualifications necessary for office bearers and gives advice about the treatment of false teachers who were active in the churches of EPHESUS and CRETE. Second Timothy is of special interest as Paul's last epistle. See also PASTORAL EPISTLES.

**9. Philemon.** Although brief, this letter is an exquisite example of Christian tact, as Paul is seen pleading for the restoration of the runaway slave ONESIMUS. While the apostle does not explicitly condemn SLAVERY, his approach was destined ultimately to overthrow it. See also PHILEMON, EPISTLE TO.

***D. Other NT epistles.*** The rest of the NT letters consist of Hebrews and the CATHOLIC EPISTLES.

**1. Hebrews.** The background of this epistle is the priestly system of the OT, and Christ is portrayed against this background. AARON's order had failed because both priests and offerings were imperfect. Since Christ, both in his person and his offering, was perfect, the old order has ceased to have relevance. Such an exposition would have special interest for Jews, but was also valuable in enabling the Gentiles to understand the Christian approach to the OT. This epistle provides valuable instruction of the lines along which a Christian interpretation of the OT should proceed. The readers appear to have been on the point of apostatizing, and so the writer presents something of the glory of the Christian position. See also HEBREWS, EPISTLE TO THE.

**2. James.** This letter deals almost wholly with practical issues, such as temptation, prayer, control of the tongue, and wealth. It is remarkable for the lack of doctrinal content, which seems to be assumed.

The best-known passage is the section on faith and works (Jas. 2:14–26), which often has erroneously been supposed to conflict with Paul. But James is concerned that faith should work, and Paul that faith should not depend on works of the law (i.e., a legal system). See also JAMES, EPISTLE OF.

**3. The Petrine epistles.** The first of these was written against a background of persecution and its purpose is to encourage the readers. The basis of encouragement is the example of Christ, especially his sufferings. There is a combination of the theological and practical significance of the cross. There is also a strong influence of the OT, particularly in allusions to the exodus. The epistle is of special value for suffering Christian communities in any age. See also PETER, FIRST EPISTLE OF.

In the second letter the main burden is the activity of certain false teachers whose policies lead to moral deterioration. Peter gives an outline of the nature of the false teaching, and then stresses the Holy Spirit's part in the production of true prophecy (2 Pet. 1:20–21). At the close of the epistle attention is given to the problem of the delay of the second coming of Christ, at which some were scoffing. There are solemn words about the coming day of the Lord. See also PETER, SECOND EPISTLE OF.

**4. The Johannine epistles.** All three of these epistles dwell on the theme of TRUTH, which reflects a background of controversy and error. From 1 and 2 John it seems certain that the error was DOCETISM, which distinguished between the heavenly Christ and the human Jesus. John's answer is twofold—a right relationship with God in Christ and a life dominated by love. There are many antitheses. Light is contrasted with darkness, truth with error, the life of faith with the world. Sin comes into sharp focus and the efficacy of Christ's offering in dealing with it. The second letter cautions against the entertainment of false teachers, and 3 John criticizes a church for refusing to entertain the messengers of God. See also JOHN, EPISTLES OF.

**5. Jude.** This brief letter, warning against false teachers of a similar type as those referred to in 2 Peter, is significant for its ending, which exalts the love and keeping power of God. See JUDE, EPISTLE OF.

***E. The book of Revelation.*** This book has given rise to numerous interpretations, over which there has been much dispute. All would acknowledge, however, that the overall theme is Christ's ultimate victory over the powers of evil. Whether its symbolism is to be interpreted historically or prophetically, the message of encouragement to hard-pressed believers remains unaffected. It is a vision

Reconstruction of a lead bulla (with the seal impression of a menorah) used to secure a scroll that had valuable contents.

directed to seven churches of ASIA, but it has an abiding message in focusing attention on the victorious consummation of the Christian era. The slain Lamb has become the enthroned Lamb. Without this book the NT would have been incomplete. See also REVELATION, BOOK OF.

This survey of the separate books has shown a wide variety of facets, but they form a unity. There is one Christian message, although it comes through many channels.

**III. The authority of the NT.** It is impossible here to discuss the nature of religious AUTHORITY. All that will be attempted is to give some reasons why the NT has come to be authoritative in the life and ministry of the church. First, it must be recognized that the NT is the only authoritative source that can demonstrate the historical basis of Christianity. Differing opinions exist among different schools of criticism as to the authority of the books for this purpose. Where the authenticity of any of the books is challenged, its value as a historical source immediately becomes suspect. But orthodox Christianity has never doubted that the NT provides a reliable guide to the historical development of the Christian church.

It is, however, preeminently in the field of doctrine and conduct that its authority lies. The apostle Paul writes in such a way as to command his readers, and the authority of his approach has been recognized within the Christian church. His doctrine accordingly has been invested with authority. It is because the apostle knows himself to be led of the Spirit of God that he can write so authoritatively. The tone of the epistles of the other NT writers is equally commanding. It is in the Gospels, however, that this note of authority is less conspicuous in the writers, because of the different character of these documents. Whereas in the apostolic letters men speak authoritatively under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, in the Gospels the authority rests directly on the authority of Jesus himself. What he says and does carries with it its own authority, which is nothing short of the authority of God himself. He speaks and acts in harmony with the will of the Father.

The question arises why the NT books alone of all the literature in the early church came to be regarded as authoritative. The answer is linked with the study of canonicity, which is discussed in the article on CANON (NT). Yet, some comment must be made here on the manner in which authority came to be attributed to the twenty-seven books comprising the NT. As mentioned in the opening section of this article, both the Lord and the apostles accepted the authority of the OT. Where the testimony of the OT supported a statement or illustrated an event, it added a dimension that could not be ignored. It was the firm conviction of Christ and the apostles that the OT Scriptures could not be broken. It was the Word of God, and therefore the voice of God. Men had been borne along by the Holy Spirit to write it. Its commands were accepted without question as the commands of God. But did the same apply to the NT?

It may be assumed that the authority which belonged to the OT would become transferred to the NT, as soon as the teaching of Jesus and his apostles was recognized as a logical sequence to the teaching of the OT. It is this conviction of the essential continuity between the old order and the new that paved the way for an extension of authority to those books which bore witness to that continuity. With this in mind, it is not difficult to see how the accounts of the ministry and teaching of Jesus would at once have become authoritative. Why, then, were four such accounts chosen?

It is essential to note that none of the Gospels had an authority imposed upon it from without. Each possessed an inherent authority that was recognized by the earliest recipients. Further, it was recognized that the apostles had not only been appointed by the Lord, but also had been promised by him the special guidance of the Holy Spirit (Jn. 14:26), and their words therefore became invested with special authority. The apostle Paul repeatedly claimed to be on an equal footing with the Jerusalem apostles by his claim to the apostolic office, and it must be supposed that the Christian churches as a whole came to recognize that authority. His epistles were clearly so regarded when 2 Pet. 3:15–16 was written.

The main problem rests with the remaining books. With the exception of 1 Peter and 1 John there was some delay in their universal acceptance. During the earliest period there is little evidence of the attitude toward the other minor epistles. They are not the kind of letters that would be much quoted, and since all the earliest evidence consists of patristic quotations, it is difficult to know what these authors thought of the books they did not quote. In some cases there is evidence that doubts existed, but there is no knowledge of the basis of these doubts. The book of Revelation was more highly esteemed in the E than in the W, but the hesitation over its acceptance may have been due to difficulties of interpretation. When eventually all the books were equally acknowledged, it was not through any ecclesiastical pronouncement, but through the long usage and esteem of the Christian church as a whole. The books were acknowledged as an authoritative unity.

(Among a large number of influential introductory works to the NT as a whole, the following may be noted as representing a variety of viewpoints: F. F. Bruce, *Are the New Testament Documents Reliable?* [1943; later editions entitled *The New Testament Documents: Are They Reliable?*]; F. V. Filson, *The New Testament against its Environment* [1950]; R. M. Grant, *A Historical Introduction to the New Testament* [1963]; E. F. Harrison, *New Testament Introduction* [1964]; W. G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament,* rev. ed. [1975]; D. Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction,* 4th ed. [1990]; R. E. Brown, An *Introduction to the New Testament* [1997]; H. Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament,* 2nd ed. [1995–2000]; R. H. Gundry, *A Survey of the New Testament,* 4th ed. [2003]; D. A. Carson and D. J. Moo, *An Introduction to the New Testament,* 2nd ed. [2005].)

D. GUTHRIE

**New Testament canon.** See CANON (NT).

**New Testament language.** See GREEK LANGUAGE.

**New Testament text.** See TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (NT).

**New Testament theology.** The exposition of the circumstances and convictions of Jesus, the apostles, and the early church during the apostolic days, as set forth in the canonical writings of the NT and as elucidated by means of related bodies of literature and contemporary data. See also BIBLICAL THEOLOGY; JOHANNINE THEOLOGY; PAULINE THEOLOGY; TEACHINGS OF JESUS.

1. The nature of NT theology
2. The hermeneutics of NT theology
    1. Progressive revelation
    2. Historical revelation
    3. Organic continuity
    4. Providential development
    5. Circumstantial expression
    6. Descriptive and normative
3. The content of NT theology
    1. Functional and ontological Christology
    2. The resurrection perspective
    3. Human nature, sin, and the law
    4. God and his redemptive program
    5. The church and its mission

**I. The nature of NT theology.** As a discipline, NT theology is one segment of the larger enterprise called BIBLICAL THEOLOGY, which seeks to trace the origins and growth of biblical teaching and to set forth the various types of doctrine apparent in the different writers. NT theology and biblical theology, accordingly, could be classed among such disciplines as systematic theology and historical theology. At the same time they belong essentially to the department of exegetical theology, for their primary task is to furnish a correct grammatico-historical explanation of the teaching of each biblical writer and to clarify as far as possible the genesis and development of each distinct concept in the canonical Scriptures.

The expression "biblical theology" has been variously employed and is somewhat liable to misconstruction. It was used first to designate *a product:* theological reflection that is in continuity with the presuppositions of the Bible and supported by specific texts. In this sense, Lutheran pietists of the 17th cent. appropriated the term for their more biblical system of doctrine in distinction to the scholastic treatments of dogma widespread in their day; and it is in this sense that more conservative theologians today often use it.

In the 19th cent., however, the expression came to be applied to *a method* of theological inquiry: the explication of the message of the Bible according to a historical principle of treatment, with full recognition of its various stages of development. In this sense, biblical theology seeks to discover how the original author and the original readers were influenced by their historical situation, how the

message of God was peculiarly suited to that historical setting, and what the divine message meant to them—regardless of how it has been or may be applied in succeeding periods of history, our own included. Unfortunately, both the impulse toward such a historical methodology and the manner of its application were originally influenced by the rationalism and skepticism of the day, so that biblical theology as a method often was set in opposition to biblical theology as a product. But this was not always the case, as the commentaries and historical works of the Cambridge triumvirate of J. B. Lightfoot, B. F. Westcott, and F. J. A. Hort, or the theological writings of such "Old Princeton" stalwarts as B. B. Warfield, Geerhardus Vos, and J. Gresham Machen, to name only a few, indicate.

While many of its advocates today would like to claim the science of biblical theology as an ally in their crusade against all creedal formulations and/or all forms of orthodoxy, such conclusions are more the result of philosophic skepticism and emotional antagonism than inherent to the method itself. The historical method should not be "killed by association" nor scorned because of misuse. One may prefer to speak simply of OT theology and of NT theology, ignoring the cognomen *biblical theology,* either because of its employment in certain schools of thought, or because of what may appear to be its presumption in preempting for itself the adjective *biblical.* But whatever it is called, the study of the canonical writings according to the historical principle is both legitimate and necessary. In spite of its ambiguity and possible inappropriateness, the use of the name *biblical theology* to denote this approach has become so fixed in the nomenclature of theological scholarship that it is difficult either to displace it or to speak meaningfully in our day without using it.

NT theology, then, belongs to the department of exegetical theology. While it employs the skills and results of the individual disciplines of exegesis, history, and criticism, all of which are vital components in the field of exegetical theology, it is not to be equated with any one of these per se, for it endeavors to go beyond these to explicate the origins and development of distinct concepts within the NT in historical terms. On the other hand, it differs from systematic theology not in being more biblical in product, or adhering more closely to the truths of Scripture, but in its principle of organizing the material with which it works in historical rather than logical fashion.

Systematic theology takes the Bible as a completed whole, and endeavors to exhibit its total teaching in an orderly and systematic manner, seeking particularly to relate its message to issues of the present day; NT theology deals with the material from the historical standpoint and with a special concern for origins and development, seeking to cross cultural barriers and to discover what the message meant to the original speakers and their respective audiences. It stands, therefore, as a bridge between the disciplines of exegetical and systematic theology, facilitating fruitful discussion between these two areas of study. In being related as it is to each of these areas, however, it also serves as something of a challenge to each, testing, deepening, and modifying where necessary—and is in turn, in like manner, itself challenged by each.

**II. The hermeneutics of NT theology.** Inherent to its nature as a discipline descriptive of God's REVELATION in history and as a science incorporating the skills of exegesis, history, and criticism are certain hermeneutical factors that constantly must be kept in mind. While it is impossible to speak at length in this regard here, certain major interpretive principles need be noted. See also INTERPRETATION.

***A. Progressive revelation.*** It is possible, of course, to think of revelation in rather abstract and static fashion as a deposit of truth that was given at a particular point in time and that in its earliest form was fully complete. Many religions speak of their sacred writings in this manner, whether given by

means of a supposed miracle or expressed by one of the world's sages. But this is not the case with biblical revelation, for the revelation of the Bible has been given progressively. Progressive revelation is a necessary category of thought in the hermeneutics of NT theology since "special revelation" (as distinguished from "general revelation") is intimately and inextricably related to God's redemptive activity, and redemption is historically successive in that it addresses itself to the generations of mankind in their respective cultures and differing situations during the course of history. Revelation includes both the redemptive acts of God during the course of history and their respective interpretations; it must, therefore, unfold itself in installments as does redemption.

What this means in practice is that the interpreter must keep in balance two seemingly disparate truths: (1) all of the Bible is given by divine INSPIRATION, yet (2) all of the Bible is not equally explicit of the divine will or equally pertinent for Christian faith today. There is greater explication and a fuller sense in the OT prophets than in the Mosaic law, in the later prophets than in the earlier prophets, in the Gospels than in the prophets, and in the apostolic letters than in the Gospels. It is incumbent upon the interpreter to recognize these facts and to treat the material under consideration accordingly, neither attempting to read a later revelational fullness back into earlier stages of redemption (thereby overflowing the confines of meaning in particular historical settings—except where obviously prophetic of the future in nature), nor restricting later stages too severely by the categories of the former.

***B. Historical revelation.*** The process of revelation is not only concomitant with history, but divine revelation has become incarnate in history. In a day when the religious significance of history is disparaged, it is necessary to assert anew that the religion of the Bible not only speaks of God acting in history but also views the facts of history themselves as possessing revelational significance because of God's redemptive activity. This is particularly true of the INCARNATION, CRUCIFIXION, and RESURRECTION of Christ, but it applies as well to every aspect of historical REDEMPTION. NOW if God has chosen to reveal himself and his will by means of historical acts, and their interpretation by means of selected individuals in history, then details regarding history, culture, and language must be given careful consideration in the understanding of that revelation. Interpretation of the Bible, therefore, is only truly explication of the meaning of a text, and not an arbitrary violation of the text, when it seeks to understand what the words meant to the original author and his addressees in terms of the historical situation, their circumstances and outlook, the literary genre employed, and the light thrown on the words by historical linguistics. Only then can the actual meaning of the text, in its historical context, be brought to new life for the present situation of the interpreter and those to whom he ministers.

***C. Organic continuity.*** Every increase is progressive, but not every progressive increase bears an organic character. The progressive nature of biblical religion, however, while always incarnate in history, often multiform in expression and at times speaking with limited application, evidences an essential organic continuity. At its heart, divine revelation is an organic progression from seed-form to the attainment of full growth. Nowhere is this truth more strongly emphasized than in Paul's letter to the Galatians. In Gal. 3:19–25, while pointing out the limited purpose and duration of the Mosaic law (note such temporal expressions as "added," "until," "no longer"), the apostle lays great stress on the continuity of the Christian FAITH (3:23, 25) with the promise of God to ABRAHAM and his response of faith (3:1–18, 26–29).

In the following chapter, Paul speaks of God's redemptive purpose throughout the course of

history as being that of bringing people of faith out of their childhood minority to a status of children in their full majority (Gal. 4:1–7), insisting all the while that the experience of full sonship which the gospel of Christ effects is in direct continuity with the promise of freedom given to Abraham (4:21–31). Amidst all the multiform characteristics and the sometimes limited application of specific concepts in the Bible, therefore, there is an underlying organic continuity in God's progressive revelation which cannot be ignored without serious distortion of the evidence. The NT theologian needs to highlight this feature in his study and exposition, even while properly exhibiting the specific variations.

***D. Providential development.*** It should also be recognized that theological conviction in the apostolic period (as, indeed, in every epoch of redemptive history and revelational advance) was the product not only of immediate revelation but also of providential development under the guidance of the Holy Spirit; that is, that in the formulation of NT doctrine both an initial consciousness and a process of gestation were involved. This is not to deny the "given-ness" of the faith of the early church, or to minimize the uniqueness of Christian theology. Nor is it to suggest that an evolutionary scheme in some manner explains Christian thought. Rather, it is simply to point out what the NT itself frequently evidences: that in bringing about the fullness of doctrine contained therein, the Spirit employed circumstances as well as direct revelation. Jesus had promised, "I have much more to say to you, more than you can now bear. But when he, the Spirit of truth, comes, he will guide you into all truth" (Jn. 16:12–13; see also 14:26; 15:26; 16:14).

This is exactly what the apostles and earliest Christians believed they were experiencing in the interaction of their basic convictions and their varied circumstances. As in times past, God was working concursively with them in the expression of his will by a process of providential development of thought as well as by immediacy of redemptive activity and revelation. The NT theologian, therefore, must be prepared to recognize the place of circumstances in the formulation of doctrine and to trace this development, without somewhat woodenly insisting that unity of doctrine must mean uniformity, or that continuity excludes a fuller understanding explicated by the Spirit through circumstances.

***E. Circumstantial expression.*** Just as circumstances were used by the Spirit in the formulation of NT doctrine, they also played a part in its expression. The NT, therefore, must be understood in terms of both "hard core" KERYGMA and varying circumstances affecting the life of the church at given periods and in particular situations. Without denying theological development and diversity, it is at bottom true that the NT, to quote C. F. D. Moule, "debates from a single platform, but from different corners of it" (*The Birth of the New Testament,* 2nd ed. [1966], 167). Some of the variety of expression within the NT is explainable by reference to the fact that various expositions of the gospel and various defenses of the faith run along rather particular lines, according to the various situations. This means that in dealing with phrases and terms employed in the NT, attention must be paid to such factors as (1) the demands of worship; (2) the requirements of preaching, teaching, and polemic; (3) concerns having to do with locality and specific situations encountered; and (4) circumstances arising out of a distinctive ideological milieu. These, of course, are matters inherent in any real-life situation. And they must be taken into account at every point by the NT theologian if he is to be saved from treating the evidence in a sterile or wooden fashion.

***F. Descriptive and normative.*** A further principle in the hermeneutics of NT theology, and one that

applies widely to a host of subjects, is that care must be taken to distinguish between the descriptive and the normative in the biblical records. To many, of course, this is no great issue, for what is described is never necessarily normative. To the evangelical, however, once having ascertained the message and original intent of the author in the historical context within which he wrote, the principles of that message become binding for Christian faith and practice today. But more than this needs to be said if one is to be spared repeating only the obvious and to get on with the task of NT interpretation on a sound historical basis.

The fact that God has acted concursively in history, employing both people and events in his joint programs of redemption and revelation, means that divine revelation, in fact, partakes of both the situational and the eternal—of both the cultural and the transcultural. The NT, therefore, reflects at each point an intertwining between the historical situation in which and to which God has spoken and the eternal message delivered by means of events and words. It is this intertwining of the situational and the eternal that requires unraveling by the NT scholar, both to elucidate more clearly the cultural so as to understand better the transcultural and to set forth the principles of the transcultural with greater clarity so as to apply better the eternal message to our present situation and continuing need.

The task seems fairly clear, though sadly there is no simple or clearly marked road to follow in its accomplishment. Almost everyone will agree that certain features described in the NT apply more to the cultural than to the eternal, though the basic principles exhibited in the message to that cultural situation are to be expressed today. The early church, for example, cast lots at times to determine the will of God (Acts 1:26); but few church boards and fewer ministers would feel it right to decide regarding issues facing the church today in such a manner, though they earnestly desire to be led by the same Spirit. The early church also had the practice of greeting one another with a kiss (e.g., Rom. 16:16; 1 Cor. 16:20; 2 Cor. 13:12; 1 Thess. 5:26; 1 Pet. 5:14); but, evidently, when kissing got in the way of greeting, believers found it advisable to alter the form in order to preserve the substance.

The line between the descriptive and the normative may seem fairly obvious in such examples as those cited. It is not at all that easy regarding many other matters of the NT, as witness the continuing debates on such items as the succession of the apostolic office, the proper pattern of ecclesiastical organization, or the continuance of the charismatic gifts. While there is no simple formula that will guarantee at all times a proper identification of the normative features of the NT presentation, four guidelines may be of help: (1) didactic passages where a theme is developed at some length should be allowed to interpret incidental allusions, historical incidents, and symbolic representations of pertinence to the theme in question; (2) universal principles reiterated in various writings should be allowed to interpret particular expressions of those principles, which may be conditioned by circumstances; (3) attention should be paid to historical and cultural studies of the area and the period in question so that the interpreter might become sensitized to particular cultural forms; and (4) the discernment of the Spirit should be earnestly sought, for interpretation of Holy Writ is not only a science but a spiritual art.

**III. The content of NT theology.** The earliest Christian theology was almost exclusively CHRISTOLOGY. Belief in a theistic God, the One true God who is both creator and redeemer, was axiomatic for the earliest Jewish believers. What concerned them, and that which they centered their attention upon, was the redemptive activity of God in the person and work of Jesus of Nazareth. No other consideration loomed so large in their thinking. And all others—whether advances in their apprehension of God, a deepening of their understanding of themselves and their place in God's redemptive program, developments in ecclesiology, or expectations regarding the future—were

intimately related to and sprang from their convictions regarding Jesus the Christ. It is necessary, therefore, to begin where they began and to sketch out in brief compass something of the basic content of NT thought.

***A. Functional and ontological Christology.*** It is traditional in systematic theology to consider Christian teaching in roughly the following order: prolegomena, theism, revelation and authority, God and creation, anthropology, Christology, soteriology, ecclesiology, and eschatology—and in Christology, to treat the doctrine of Christ's person prior to a consideration of his work. Logically, this is the true order. It is because of the existence and the nature of God that all else follows. It is because he was who he was that Jesus did what he did. But for the writers of the NT, and for the early church generally, it was essentially the other way around. Their knowledge of what may be called Christian doctrine began at the point of God's resurrection of Jesus from the dead, moved on to a reconsideration of Jesus' earthly ministry and work, gained perspective from a reevaluation of the OT, and culminated in a proper understanding of who Jesus was and is.

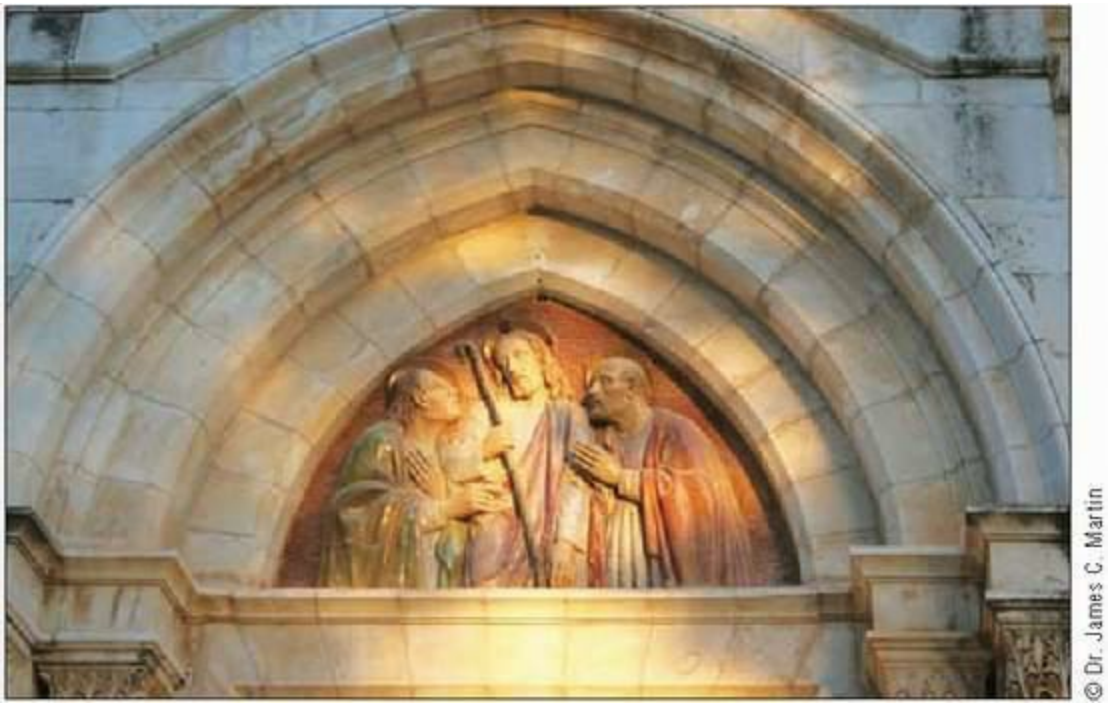
There is in the NT a diverse (or, perhaps, converse) epistemic relationship. For Jesus, as the evidence strongly suggests, awareness of his own character preceded and gave direction to the nature of his mission. He knew himself to be God's beloved Son (e.g., Lk. 2:49; Mk. 1:11), enjoying a unique filial relation to the Father (e.g., Mk. 12:6; Jn. 5:17–26; 6:40; 8:35–36; 9:35–37; 10:36; 14:13; 17:1); and from this basic datum he undertook the tasks assigned to the MESSIAH in terms of the Danielic SON OF MAN and the Isaiahic suffering Servant (see SERVANT OF THE LORD). For Jesus, therefore, an ontological understanding of his person preceded and incorporated within it an understanding of his work, the nature of which seems to have been progressively unfolded in such incidents as his baptism, temptation, transfiguration, and Gethsemane agony. He worked in his earthly ministry from ontology to function. For the apostles and earliest believers in Jesus, however, understanding regarding his mission preceded and gave guidance into the nature of his person. They worked from a functional to an ontological Christology. And their understanding of his mission, and thereby also of his person, was only finally established and firmly rooted by the fact that God raised him from the dead.

***B. The resurrection perspective.*** It has become fashionable of late to account for the origin of NT Christology and the various stages of its development by the theory of an original futuristic orientation and a series of gradual adjustments necessitated by the delay of the PAROUSIA. On this thesis, Christological thought, it is asserted, began some time after the resurrection, but neither because of it nor in continuity with the self-awareness of Jesus. Evangelicals, on the other hand, desiring to express the aspect of continuity that exists between the self-consciousness of Jesus and the theology of the early church, often have grounded Christology entirely in Jesus' own understanding of himself—insisting that if he thought in ontological fashion of himself the disciples must also have done so from the first.

Without denying Jesus' self-understanding as portrayed in the Gospels, and while acknowledging that our Lord made a decided personal impact upon his followers during his earthly ministry, it nevertheless remains true to the NT to assert that it was his resurrection from the dead (as first demonstrated by Jesus himself and thereafter witnessed to by the Spirit) which was the historical point of departure in early Christian thought. The two on the road to EMMAUS, for instance, had their conceptions about Jesus radically altered by his appearance to them (Lk. 24:13–35), as did also the ten disciples gathered in a closed room for fear of Jewish repression (Lk. 24:36 –48; Jn. 20:19 –23).

THOMAS, having seen the resurrected Christ, was compelled to confess him as Lord and God (Jn. 20:24–29); PETER proclaimed at PENTECOST that as a result of the resurrection, "God has made [*epoiēsen*] this Jesus, whom you crucified, both Lord and Christ" (Acts 2:36). Paul, possibly quoting early catechetical formulae, records that Jesus "through the Spirit of holiness was appointed the Son of God in power by his resurrection from the dead" (Rom. 1:4 TNIV) and that he is to be confessed as Lord as a result of his sacrificial work and God's exaltation of him (Phil. 2:9–11).

From the perspective of his resurrection, the earliest followers of Jesus were able not only to surmount the scandal of the cross but also to




This artistic relief above the church lintel at Emmaus depicts Jesus meeting two men on the road to Emmaus after his resurrection.

appreciate the cross as the climax of a ministry that was the fulfillment and apex of redemptive history. Now that God had so wondrously vindicated Jesus by raising him from the dead, and now that he had ministered to them for forty days and was continuing that ministry in his exalted presence through the Spirit, they were able to view Christ's earthly ministry and death in the context of the divine redemptive program and to interpret the OT Scriptures in a distinctly Christocentric manner—as the fulfillment theme in Matthew's gospel, for example, so amply illustrates.

The Christology of the NT, therefore, (1) found its initial point of departure in the resurrection and exaltation of Jesus; (2) gained support from the remembrance of Jesus' own consciousness and ministry, though neither was properly understood until after his resurrection; (3) derived substantiation from the OT Scriptures, as those biblical portions that were employed were Christologically understood; and (4) received development through the guidance of the Holy Spirit, who used circumstances to deepen reflection. On the basis of these factors, the early Christians came to understand the true character of their Master: Israel's promised Messiah and their Redeemer and Lord.

***C. Human nature, sin, and the law.*** Not only was the resurrection of Christ the point of departure in NT Christology, but by reference to Christ from this resurrection perspective, and as guided by the Spirit, the early believers were able to recognize more fully the true human condition before God and

to appreciate the divine purpose in giving the Mosaic law. The OT, of course, clearly teaches the facts of human dependence upon the creator and the human state of sinful rebellion (e.g., Gen. 1–3), and there are instances recorded in the OT of an individual's realization of the awful moral gulf which separates a person from God (e.g., Ps. 51; Isa. 6:1–5). But it is in the NT that this consciousness of human depravity and inability apart from God comes to its profoundest expression (e.g., Rom. 5:12–21; 7:7–25), for it is in the NT that people see themselves in relation to God's perfect revelation in the person of Jesus Christ.

This truth explains, to some extent, why JUDAISM was able to develop a doctrine of innate human goodness, while Christianity emphasized original SIN: while both created goodness and original depravity are spoken of in the OT (the document upon which both Judaism and Christianity build), Judaism, in refusing God's Messiah, became optimistic regarding inherent HUMAN NATURE, whereas Christians became sobered regarding the essential human state in comparing themselves to God's revelation in Christ. The NT, therefore, contrary to rabbinic Judaism (though in continuity with the OT), proclaims men and women to be sinners in need of divine salvation not just because they practice sin but because of what they are by inheritance "in Adam."

The NT, again in distinction to the dominant emphasis in Judaism (though in continuity with OT prophetism), recognizes that because of human depravity and inability, the Mosaic LAW could never effect righteousness with God or bestow eternal life (Rom. 8:3). Nor was it meant by God for these purposes. Rather, God gave it (1) to point out human sinfulness (Rom. 3:19–20; Gal. 3:19–22), that being brought low by the law, we might then look up by faith to God, who justifies the ungodly by grace; (2) to stir up sin (Rom. 5:20), that sin might be seen in its true character as repugnant to a holy God and utterly devastating to us; and (3) to superintend the expression of faith at a time prior to the fullness of God's redemptive program in the person and work of Jesus Christ (Gal. 3:23–25; 4:1–7).

***D. God and his redemptive program.*** Stemming from early Christian convictions about the resurrection of Jesus were also a number of affirmations regarding God and the divine program of redemption. Having become convinced of the DEITY OF CHRIST, yet knowing that he spoke of and to God the Father as a person distinguishable from himself, and of the Holy Spirit as another like himself, Jewish Christians could no longer think of God in terms of strict numerical MONOTHEISM. Their Lord had referred to the Godhead in terms of both monotheism and plurality; his teaching regarding himself concerned both an equality with and a subordination to the Father, and his ministry among them expressed the fact of deity directly at work, yet also dependence upon the Father. And the Father had attested to the truthfulness of such a relationship at Jesus' baptism (Mk. 1:11), at his transfiguration (Mk. 9:7; cf. 2 Pet. 1:17), and, preeminently, in raising him from the dead (Rom. 1:4). Christians were compelled, therefore, to speak of their Lord in terms of both equality of person with and subordination of function to God the Father, and of the Holy Spirit in similar fashion in his relationship to the Father and the Son—thereby laying the basis for the later formalization of the doctrine of the TRINITY.

Likewise, having been confronted by the resurrected Christ and baptized on the day of Pentecost by the Spirit, Christians were confident that God had ushered in the long-awaited messianic age. These are, Peter proclaimed, "the last days"—the days in which God is inaugurating the final epoch of his redemptive program (Acts 2:15–21). Or, as Paul wrote, "the fullness of time" has come in God's sending his Son (Gal. 4:4 NRSV). The focus of attention has shifted in the NT from a future activity of God for his people, as in Judaism, to Christ's work of salvation and his exalted presence. God has, of course, still a future in store for his people and his creation, but that future is inextricably

rooted in and stems from the completed redemptive work of Christ. Therefore, to know God's salvation in the present and to share in the final consummation of his redemption in the future is to receive Christ Jesus by faith now as Savior and as Lord: "Salvation is found in no one else, for there is no other name under heaven given to men by which we must be saved" (Acts 4:12; cf. Rom. 10:9–10; Jn. 1:12; Heb. 2:9–10).

***E. The church and its mission.*** Believing in Christ and being "in Christ" means that Christians have become a part of the BODY OF CHRIST, the CHURCH, of which Christ himself is the head (Eph. 1:22–23; Col. 1:18). As members of that one body, all believers, whatever their racial characteristics or ethnic backgrounds, are united as equals in grace before God (Eph. 2:13–19; 3:6), and all are given gifts by the Spirit that they might function profitably in God's redemptive program and that they might support one another in common cause (1 Cor. 12:12–27).

The Christian, therefore, is exhorted "to lead a life worthy of the calling to which you have been called, with all lowliness and meekness, with patience, forbearing one another in love, eager to maintain the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace" (Eph. 4:1–3 RSV). As members of Christ's body, each believer is to be subject to his Lord, the head of the body. Believers, therefore, are not left to themselves to work out their own goals, or to ponder the nature of their primary purpose in life, but are under orders from their head and have been given direction for their lives by the commission of their Lord: "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" (Matt. 28:19–20a; cf. Acts 1:8). And as they go, they are assured by their Lord of his power (Matt. 28:18) and his presence (28:20b).

(See further G. B. Stevens, *The Theology of the New Testament* [1901]; M. S. Terry, *Biblical Dogmatics* [1907]; R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament, 2* vols. [1951]; A. Richardson, *An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament* [1958]; G. Vos, *Biblical Theology: Old and New Testaments* [1959]; K. Stendahl in *IDB,* 1:418–32; O. Betz in *IDB,* 1:432–37; L. Goppelt, *Theology of the New Testament, 2* vols. [1981]; H. Räisänen, *Beyond New Testament Theology: A Story and a Programme* [1990]; G. E. Ladd, *A Theology of the New Testament,* rev. ed. D. A. Hagner [1993]; G. B. Caird, *New Testament Theology,* ed. L. D. Hurst [1994]; P. Balla, *Challenges to New Testament Theology: An Attempt to Justify the Enterprise* [1998]; G. Strecker, *Theology of the New Testament,* ed. F. W. Horn [2000]; I. H. Marshall, *New Testament Theology: Many Witnesses, One Gospel* [2004]; F. J. Matera, *New Testament Theology: Exploring Diversity and Unity* [2007].)

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**new year**. See FEASTS.

**Neziah** ni-zi'uh (נְצִיחַ *H5909,* possibly "faithful" or "famous"). Ancestor of a family of temple servants (NETHINIM) who returned from the EXILE in Babylon (Ezra 2:54; Neh. 7:56; 1 Esd. 5:32 [KJV, "Nasith"]).

**Nezib** nee'zib (נְצִיב *H5908,* "pillar[s]" or "garrison"). A town in the SHEPHELAH allotted to the tribe of JUDAH (Josh. 15:43). It is identified with modern Khirbet Beit Neṣib esh-Sharqiyeh, some 7 mi. NW of HEBRON and 9 mi. ENE of LACHISH.

**Nibhaz** nib'haz (נִבְחַז *H5563,* derivation uncertain). An idol of the Avvites (see IVVAH); Nibhaz, along with TARTAK, was introduced by them into SAMARIA when they were relocated there by SARGON after 722 B.C. (2 Ki. 17:31). The names Nibhaz and Tartak are not attested elsewhere, and various explanations have been proposed. Some rabbis apparently derived *nibḥaz* from *nābaḥ H5560,* "to bark," and regarded the idol as a dog (Tartak was regarded as a donkey; see *b. Sanh.* 63b). Early in the 20th cent., F. Hommel suggested identifying these idols with Ibnahaza and Dirtak, gods worshiped in ELAM (cf. M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings,* AB 11 [1988], 212). J. A. Montgomery (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Kings,* ICC [1951], 474) explained the word *nibḥaz* as an intentional corruption *of mizbēaḥ H4640, "altar,"* referring to a deified altar. (J. Gray notes a parallel with the deification of the house of God attested in the Aramaic papyri from ELEPHANTINE; see *IDB,* 3:546.) These and other suggestions (cf. *ABD,* 4:1104) cannot be verified. (See further *DDD,* 623.)

W. B. WALLIS

**Nibshan** nib'shan (נִבְשָׁן *H5581,* derivation uncertain). A city in the wilderness of JUDAH listed between SECACAH and the City of Salt (Josh. 15:62; see SALT, CITY OF). It is tentatively identified with Khirbet el-Maqari (in the Buqei(ah Valley), some 10 mi. SE of JERUSALEM and 5.5 mi. SW of Khirbet QUMRAN (the possible location of the City of Salt; see Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], 356).

**Nicanor** ni-kay'nuhr (Νικάνωρ *G3770,* "conqueror"). (1) Son of Patroclus (2 Macc. 8:9); he was a general of the SELEUCID army who warred against Judas MACCABEE (1 Macc. 3:38–39 et al.). Aside from a passing reference in Polybius (*Hist.* 31.14.4), all that is known about this Nicanor is found in 1–2 Maccabees and JOSEPHUS (*e.g., Ant.* 12.5.5). He is described as an able man "among the Friends" of ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes (1 Macc. 3:38) and as one of the "honored princes" of DEMETRIUS I (7:26; some scholars, however, suggest that there were two different men by the name of Nicanor, one of whom served under Antiochus, and the other under Demetrius). In 166–165 B.C. Nicanor, along with two other generals, was assigned by Antiochus's regent, LYSIAS, to destroy Judah and Jerusalem (1 Macc. 3:38–42). They took up their positions at EMMAUS, just a few miles from Jerusalem, but were badly routed by Judas and his forces (4:3–14), forcing the Syrian generals and their army to flee into PHILISTINE towns nearby (4:15).

After an interval—during which Antiochus Epiphanes died, young Antiochus V and Lysias, his tutor, were assassinated, and Demetrius I became king—Nicanor's name appears again (1 Macc. 7:26), and it is probable that the same individual is meant. In this passage he is characterized as someone "who hated and detested Israel." This time he was sent on a similar mission by Demetrius to destroy Judas and his forces (162–161; in 2 Macc. 14:12 we read that he had been made governor over Judea before he left). His first attempt to overcome Judas was to lure him into a conference, intending to seize him by violence; however, the plot failed when Judas discovered it in time to escape (1 Macc. 7:27–30).

Two battles ensued, the first at CAPHAR-SALAMA, where Judas won a decisive victory, and the second in the neighborhood of ADASA and BETH HORON, where Nicanor was among the first slain. After mutilating his body, the Jews displayed it in Jerusalem (1 Macc. 7:47; 2 Macc. 15:33), and set aside the thirteenth of ADAR as "Nicanor's Day" in honor of their great victory over him on that day

Aerial view looking E toward the Beth Horon ridge. Nicanor, the Seleucid general, died in battle near this area.

(1 Macc. 7:48–49; 2 Macc. 15:36). (Several details of 2 Maccabees, which is considered less reliable, differ radically from 1 Maccabees. For example, Judas's conference with Nicanor is described in 14:22 as peaceable, and Nicanor is said to have enjoyed a close friendship with Judas for a time, 14:24.)

(2) Governor of CYPRUS during the time of Antiochus Epiphanes; he is listed among several rulers who "would not let [the Jews] live quietly and in peace" (2 Macc. 12:2).

(3) One of the seven men appointed by the early church to serve tables and thereby relieve the apostles for other duties (Acts 6:5). See also DEACON III; STEPHEN.

W. GERIG

**Nicanor Gate.** See BEAUTIFUL GATE.

**Nicene Creed.** See CREED.

**Nicodemus** nik'uh-dee'muhs (Νικόδημος *G3773,* "conqueror over the people"). A PHARISEE and Jewish ruler who came to talk to Jesus at night, defended him on one occasion, and helped bury his body (Jn. 3:1–10; 7:50; 19:38–42). Although the name was used by the Jews of the 1st cent., this is the only man in the NT to bear it. (The TALMUD makes a number of references to a Nakdimon ben Gurion [Gorion], describing him as a man of great wealth who lived in Jerusalem when VESPASIAN besieged the city [*b. Giṭṭin* 56a]. Some have attempted to identify him with the biblical Nicodemus, but this suggestion is unlikely.)

The description of Nicodemus as "a ruler of the Jews" (*archōn tōn Ioudaiōn,* Jn. 3:1) probably indicates that he was a member of the court of seventy elders, known as the SANHEDRIN, which was the highest religious body among the Jews (cf. NIV, "a member of the Jewish ruling council"; he may also have been a wealthy man, as is perhaps reflected by the large amount of spices he brought to the burial, 19:39). Jesus refers to him as "the [Gk. *ho*] teacher of Israel" (3:9), suggesting that Nicodemus was a well-known and acknowledged leader. It could be expected of such a man that he knew the OT well indeed. As a teacher "of Israel" it was pointed out that he had a special responsibility for the

religious instruction of the people of God.

The fact that Nicodemus was a Pharisee was related directly to the conversation Jesus had with him, for such a conversation would have been impossible with a SADDUCEE or a HERODIAN. Nicodemus was of interest to the author of the fourth gospel because he afforded an opportunity to set out Jesus' teaching. Only the first part of the conversation between Jesus and Nicodemus is set in dialogue (Jn. 3:2–10). What else may have been said by Nicodemus was set aside by John because the subject introduced through him upon which Jesus commented was the all-important consideration.

As a Pharisee, Nicodemus's religious hope rested upon his lineage, a physical descent from ABRAHAM. It was this heir of Jewish teaching—with its emphasis on the need to be Abraham's seed—who was introduced to Jesus' teaching concerning the necessity of a new birth (see REGENERATION). Nicodemus is represented as having misunderstood Jesus' comment about the need to be born again. The Greek word for "again" (*anōthen G540)* can also mean "from above," therefore "from God" (cf. Jn. 3:31). The lesson taught through the encounter with Nicodemus was the necessity of spiritual generation as against a teaching that emphasized natural generation through Abraham.

Many have observed a progression in Nicodemus's relationship to Jesus. He began with Jesus "at night," which has suggested to most of the interpreters that he was hesitant and afraid to be seen with Jesus, coming as he did in secrecy out of regard for his reputation and to protect himself (though some have argued that this was not an act of secrecy and that his decision to visit Jesus displayed courage). At a later time Nicodemus defended, even if hesitantly, Jesus before the Sanhedrin: "Does our law condemn anyone without first hearing him to find out what he is doing?" (Jn. 7:51). This comment brought the taunting reply, "Are you from Galilee too? Look into it, and you will find that a prophet does not come out of Galilee" (7:52). After Jesus' death, Nicodemus came out into the open by bringing spices with which to anoint the body and assisting JOSEPH of Arimathea in the burial (19:38–42; but see D. D. Sylva in *NTS* 34 [1988]: 148–51).

Some scholars, however, believe that the Gospel of John presents a negative portrait of Nicodemus. There appears to be a close literary connection between Jn. 3:1–2 and the preceding narrative, which focuses on people who were interested in signs and could not be trusted (2:23–25; cf. M. de Jonge in *BJRL* 53 [1970–71]: 337–59). Moreover, the reference to Nicodemus's visit "at night" may be an allusion to spiritual darkness (cf. 13:30). These scholars suggest that Nicodemus seems to be, at best, a "crypto-Christian" (cf. the chart in R. E. Brown, *The Community of the Beloved Disciple* [1979], 168–69).

H. L. DRUMWRIGHT, JR.

**Nicodemus, Gospel of**. A passion gospel consisting of two parts: the *Acts of Pilate,* and the *Descent of Christ to the Lower World.* The name *Gospel of Nicodemus* was given to it no earlier than the 13th cent. For discussion, see PILATE, ACTS OF.

**Nicolaitan** nik'uh-lay'uh-tuhn (Νικολαίτης *G3774).* Name given to a heretical group in the early church, mentioned only twice in the book of Revelation. In the letter to the church in EPHESUS, the Lord says: "But you have this in your favor: You hate the practices of the Nicolaitans, which I also hate" (Rev. 2:6). To the church in PERGAMUM, however, he utters this warning: "Likewise you also have those who hold to the teaching of the Nicolaitans. Repent therefore! Otherwise, I will soon come to you and will fight against them with the sword of my mouth" (vv. 15–16).

IRENAEUS (*Against Heresies* 1.26.3) said that they were followers of NICOLAS of Antioch, a proselyte who was among the seven men chosen to serve the Jerusalem congregation (Acts 6:5) and

who allegedly had forsaken true Christian doctrine; Irenaeus added that the Nicolaitans lived in unrestrained indulgence. Hippolytus (*Refutation of All Heresies* 7.24) confirmed this identification by noting that Nicolas left correct doctrine and had the habit of indifference as to what a man ate and as to how he lived. The APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS (6.8) described them as "shameless in uncleanness." Although CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA defended Nicolas by insisting that his followers had misunderstood him, he observed that the Nicolaitans abandoned themselves to pleasures like goats in a life of shameless self-indulgence (*Miscellanies* 2.20.118).

In the letter to the church at Pergamum the Nicolaitans were associated closely with certain people who held the teaching of BALAAM (Rev. 2:14), and many scholars have suspected that there is a play on words here. The name Nicolas (*Niko-laos G3775*) derives from two Greek words: *nikaō G3771,* "to conquer," and *laos G3295,* "people." Likewise Balaam could, by popular etymology, be analyzed as consisting of the Hebrew words *bāla⁽ H1180,* "swallow up, destroy" (piel stem) and *⁽am H6639,* "people" (cf. *b. Sanh.* 105a; alternatively, *ba⁽al H1251,* "lord," and *⁽am).* Nicolas and Balaam would then be regarded as Greek-Hebrew equivalents, alluding in each instance to an evil teacher who had influence over the people and brought them into bondage to heresy.

A story is recorded of the seduction of the Israelites into immoral and idolatrous unions wth the women of MOAB (Num. 25:1–5). Had this situation not been checked, Israel would have been destroyed as a nation. The success of this seduction of God's people is attributed to Balaam's evil influence (Num. 31:16). Balaam thus became in Hebrew history a symbol of an evil man who led God's people into immorality and sin.

The letter to the church at Pergamum specifically charged a group in that Christian community with holding "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. v. 20). Now the decree of the COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM had laid down specific conditions upon which Gentiles were to be admitted into Christian fellowship, including these two requirements: to abstain from things offered to idols and from sexual immorality (Acts 15:28–29). These were the very regulations that the followers of Balaam's teaching in Pergamum, and probably the Nicolaitans as well, violated (some scholars, however, view "sexual immorality" in Rev. 2 as a figurative reference to idolatry).

These people apparently used Christian liberty as an occasion for the flesh (cf. Paul's warning in Gal. 5:13). The enticement to such a course of action was the pagan society in which Christians lived, where eating meat offered to idols was common (see IDOLATRY III). Sex relations outside marriage were generally acceptable in such a society. The Nicolaitans attempted to establish a compromise with the Greco-Roman world that surrounded them. The people most susceptible to such teaching were, no doubt, the upper classes who stood to lose the most by a separation from the culture to which they had belonged before conversion.

It maybe that the doctrine of the Nicolaitans was dualistic (see DUALISM). They probably reasoned that the human BODY was evil anyway and only the SPIRIT was good. A Christian, therefore, could do whatever he desired with his body because it had no importance. The spirit, on the other hand, was the recipient of grace, which meant that grace and forgiveness were his no matter what he did. Thus the Nicolaitans were judged by the author of Revelation to be most dangerous, because the result of their teaching would have conformed Christianity to the world rather than have Christianity change the world. EUSEBIUS (*Eccl. Hist.* 3.29) indicated that this sect did not last very long, and in all probability the only knowledge of their teaching that is pos sible will be found in the slight references to them in Revelation. (See further W. M. Mackay in *EvQ* 45 [1973]: 111–15; C. J. Hemer, *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia in Their Local Setting* [1986], 87–94; *ABD,* 4:1106–07.) See

also REVELATION, BOOK OF THE, VI.

H. L. DRUMWRIGHT, JR.

**Nicolas** nik'uh-luhs (Νικόλαος *G3775,* "conqueror of the people"). Also Nicolaus. A PROSELYTE from ANTIOCH OF SYRIA chosen as one of the seven men to serve the church in Jerusalem (Acts 6:5; see DEACON III). Evidently he was a GENTILE who had become a convert to JUDAISM and subsequently to Christianity. Because the names of all seven men are Greek, some have supposed that the others were proselytes also. But the designation is applied only to Nicolas, and so it seems more likely that the rest were Hellenistic Jews who used Greek names (see HELLENISM).

Nicolas was thought by the church fathers to have been the founder of the heretical sect known as the NICOLAITANS (Rev. 2:6, 15). CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (*Miscellanies* 2.20.118) excused him from responsibility for this by indicating that it was a perversion of his teaching that had produced the Nicolaitans. Nicolas, according to Clement, had taught that "the flesh must be abused." By this he had meant that the body must be checked and kept under control. The Nicolaitans, however, interpreted the saying to mean that the flesh could be treated in any fashion: "But they, abandoning themselves to pleasure like goats, as if insulting the body, lead a life of self-indulgence…following as they do the teaching of pleasure itself, not of the apostolic man."

H. L. DRUMWRIGHT, JR.

**Nicolaus** nik'uh-lay'uhs. See NICOLAS.

**Nicopolis** ni-kop'uh-lis (Νικόπολις *G3776,* "city of victory"). A city selected by AUGUSTUS and built as the capital of Epirus, an area in NW GREECE. He had camped there prior to the battle of Actium in 31 B.C. He built the city on a promontory of the Ambracian Gulf to celebrate his decisive victory over Mark Antony. It was situated on the W coast of Greece in the Gulf of Arta. As a Roman colony, the town had some reputation for the Actian games, also established there by Augustus.

It is likely that this Nicopolis was the rendezvous that the apostle PAUL planned to use as a base from which to evangelize in Epirus (Tit. 3:12). Although there are other towns that bear the same name (cf. *ABD,* 4:1108), none of them would have warranted Paul's intention to spend a whole winter in it. Nicopolis had significant commerce and fisheries. It was later destroyed by the Goths, and though rebuilt by Justinian, it was subsequently supplanted by Pre-veza, on a site further S. Nicopolis has extensive ruins, including the remains of two theaters.

J. M. HOUSTON

**Niger** n*i*'guhr (Νίγερ from Lat. *niger,* "black"). The surname of Simeon, one of the five "prophets and teachers" listed as ministering in the church at ANTIOCH OF SYRIA (Acts 13:1). Because the name may suggest that he was African in origin (though this inference is hardly necessary), some have speculated that he was the same as SIMON of CYRENE (Lk. 23:26 and parallels), but the latter need not have been dark-skinned, and in any case this identification is unlikely, since Luke himself says nothing about it.

**night.** In the beginning, by the creative word of God, light was divided from darkness, and the succession of day and night began (Gen. 1:3–5; Heb. ʿ*ereb H6847,* "evening"). This temporal meaning of the word *night* is the most common throughout the Bible. In the OT the night was divided

into three "watches" for the night guard of soldiers and shepherds. The first watch (cf. Lam. 2:19) was from sunset to about 10 P.M.; the second or "middle" watch (Jdg. 7:19) covered the next four hours; and the third or "morning" watch (Exod. 14:24; 1 Sam. 11:11 [NIV, "last watch of the night"]) from about 2 A.M. until sunrise. In the NT the division is into four watches according to the Roman custom (Matt. 14:25; Mk. 6:48; 13:35; Lk. 12:38).

In addition to this natural use, the term *night* is used widely in Scripture for that which is spiritually dark and contrary to the light of God's love and righteousness. (1) It is used as a symbol of the darkness of the human mind, the ignorance and confusion of the heart when God is shut out (Mic. 3:6; Jn. 11:10). JUDAS ISCARIOT, turning from Jesus' love to betray him, went out "and it was night" (Jn. 13:30; Gk. *nyx G3816*). (2) Christians are reminded that they have come out of this darkness and are now sons of the light and the day and no longer belong to the night (1 Thess. 5:4–8). (3) The present evil age in which sin and Satan reign is the nighttime of the world, and it will be shattered by the return of Christ (1 Thess. 5:2; 2 Pet. 3:10). This is the Christian's hope and comfort (Rom. 13:12), and the most eloquent description of the glorious age to come is that "there will be no night there" (Rev. 21:25; 22:5). (4) The visitation of God's judgment also is described as night, when the light of his presence is turned from the earth and the wrath of God is turned upon sin (Isa. 15:1; 21:11–12). (5) Night is moreover the time of pain and sorrow and suffering for the individual (Job 7:4), but "rejoicing comes in the morning" (Ps. 30:5). Even in such times we are not hidden from God's care (139:11–12), and in his grace he gives "songs in the night" (Job 35:10; Ps. 42:8).

P. C. JOHNSON

**night creatures, night hag.** See LILITH.

**nighthawk.** This term, referring to a type of nightjar (*Caprimulgus europaeus,* a migratory, nocturnal bird of medium size and small bill and legs), is used by the NRSV and other versions to render Hebrew *taḥmās H9379,* which occurs only twice in a list of unclean birds (Lev. 11:16; Deut. 14:15). Many authorities regard this as an OWL, such as the short-eared owl (NEB) and the screech owl (NIV). (See *FFB*, 59–60.)

**Nile** n*i*l. The Nile River is one of the great rivers of the world, covering some 4,160 mi. from its sources in equatorial Africa to its delta on the Mediterranean Sea. Rising in a region of mountains, lakes, and seasonal rains, it traverses marshy and tropical areas and eventually threads its way through rocky desert wastes, where its waters have afforded the sole basis for the existence of living things. It is in the latter reaches that the Nile fostered in EGYPT one of the oldest and most long-lived civilizations of which the Western culture is in direct line of descent.

**I. Name.** To the ancient Egyptians the Nile was *Hapi,* which was also the name of the river-god. It was also simply *itrw,* "river," from which the Hebrews apparently derived the term *yĕʾōr H3284,* "river," the name for the Nile in the Hebrew Bible. The ultimate origin and meaning of the name *Nile* (from Gk. *Neilos;* Lat. *Nilus*) are unknown.

**II. Sources, course, and tributaries.** Though the sources of the river can be traced farther S, it may be said that the White Nile stream begins at Lake Victoria, whose only outlet is the Victoria Nile, which exits on the NE, over Ripon Falls. The river passes through shallow Lake Kioga, plunges down Murchison Falls, and enters Lake Albert, from which it emerges shortly as the Bahr el-Jebel,

"the river of the mountain." South of Lake No are large swamps where floating masses of vegetation called *sudd* used to block the stream upon occasion and were the often fatal deterrent of early explorers of the river.

The Bahr el-Jebel is joined at Lake No by the Bahr el-Ghazal, "the river of the gazelles"; after this junction the river is called the White Nile. At Khartoum the White Nile is united with the Blue Nile, which provides the greater part of the annual flow of the united river and during flood season has twice the volume of the White Nile. The Blue Nile also carried much of the alluvium responsible for the creation and renewal of the soil of ancient Egypt. A short distance N of Khartoum is the sixth cataract, the first of those natural barriers which were numbered from N to S in the order of their discovery. Below the sixth cataract are the ruins of Meroē, the capital of the Meroitic Empire, c. 300 B.C. to A.D. 350. From here to Aswan (see SYENE) lies Nubia (see ETHIOPIA), where salvage archaeology attracted worldwide cooperation at the time of the building of the High Dam.

The last tributary of the Nile, the Atbara, enters from the E; thereafter the Nile continues some 1,500 mi. to the Mediterranean without receiving the waters of any other stream. Between

The Nile River.

the fourth and third cataracts are the remains of Napata, the center of the so-called Ethiopian (25th) dynasty of Egypt. From the third cataract N the Egyptians in ancient times maintained a number of fortresses and settlements. Just above Aswan is the famous Aswan Dam and a few miles to the S is the Sadd el-Aali, "the High Dam." Between Aswan and the Mediterranean the water is controlled by a series of barrages. In antiquity there were seven estuaries of the Nile in the delta, but today there are only two, the Rosetta in the W and the Damietta in the E.

**III. The Nile and ancient Egypt.** In antiquity Hecataeus, echoed by HERODOTUS, declared that Egypt was the gift of the Nile. The river carved the valley and laid down the alluvium, which gave Egypt its ancient name, *Kemyt,* "black land," as contrasted with the redness of the desert. It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the river for Egypt. The Nile touched nearly every facet of Egyptian life and gave to Egyptian culture many of its characteristic features. In ancient times the recognition of dependence on the river led to the deification of the stream under the figure of the god Hapi, represented as a well-fed man with pendulous breasts, bearing offerings of the products of the river. In addition to providing many of the necessities and some of the pleasures of life, the Nile by its regular annual inundation was the basis of the practical agricultural calendar. The coincidence of the heliacal rising of the Dog Star, Sirius (Sothis), and the beginning of the inundation gave rise to the chronological unit of 1,460 years, called the Sothic cycle.

**IV. Nile and the Bible.** Many of the biblical references to the Nile are found in the PENTATEUCH, particularly in the JOSEPH narrative and the account of the exodus (see EXODUS, THE), but there are also a number of references in the prophetic writings.

The first mention of the river is in PHARAOH's dream (Gen. 41:1–4, 17–21); the king stood on the bank of the Nile and saw fat cattle come out of the river, followed by lean cows that devoured the first cattle. When the Egyptians later feared the resident Israelites, it was commanded that every Israelite male child that was born should be thrown into the river (Exod. 1:22). JOCHEBED, the mother of MOSES, saved her son by placing him in a waterproofed basket of bulrushes and concealing him in the reeds along the water's edge (2:3), where the king's daughter discovered the child when she came to the river to bathe (v. 5).

When the Lord commissioned MOSES, one of the signs he gave to confirm his appointment was the turning of Nile water into blood (Exod. 4:9).

A view of the Nile River. (Near the Valley of the Kings, looking W.)

It was at the river that Moses confronted the king with ultimatums relating to the exodus (7:15; 8:20).

The first of the plagues (turning water to blood) was directed against the river and the river-god Hapi (cf. Exod. 7:17–24; 17:5; Ps. 78:44). The following plague (frogs) also was associated with the river (Exod. 8:3, 5, 9, 11).

In the prophecy of Amos there are references to the Nile and its rising and falling (Amos 8:8; 9:5). Isaiah mentions the Nile quite frequently. There is the comment that the "flies from the distant streams of Egypt" would trouble Israel (Isa. 7:18). Isaiah's burden of Egypt (ch. 19) declares that the rivers of Egypt will stink and be dried up (v. 6); the vegetation along the river will be destroyed (vv. 6–7) and the fishermen will lament (v. 8). The burden of TYRE (ch. 23) mentions that the Phoenician traders received revenue of "the harvest of the Nile" (v. 3), and Tyre is told: "Till your land as along the Nile" (v. 10; so NIV, following 1QIs[a] and LXX).

In a prophecy concerning Egypt, Jeremiah referred to the rising of the Nile (Jer. 46:7–8). Ezekiel gives predictions against the king of Egypt and describes him in imagery taken from the Nile. He is called "the great dragon sprawling in the midst of its channels," who claims, "My Nile is my own; I made it for myself" (Ezek. 29:3 NRSV; cf. v. 9). The fish of the streams are mentioned as destruction is prophesied (vv. 4–5). At that time the Lord also declared that he was against Pharaoh and the streams of Egypt and that he would make the entire land a desolate waste (v. 10). Zechariah, in speaking of the return of Israel to Palestine from Egypt and Assyria, remarked that "all the depths of the Nile will dry up" (Zech. 10:11). The biblical writers were well aware of the importance of the Nile to Egypt and they practically identified the country with its river.

(See further H. E. Hurst and P. Phillips, *The Nile Basin,* 5 vols. [1931–38]; E. Ludwig, *The Nile* [1936]; H. E. Hurst, *The Nile: A General Account of the River and the Utilization of Its Waters,* 2nd ed. [1952]; A. Moorehead, *The White Nile* [1960]; A. Moorehead, *The Blue Nile* [1962]; B. Brander, *The Nile* [1966]; M. A. J. Williams and H. Faure, eds., *The Sahara and the Nile: Quaternary Environments and Prehistoric Occupation in Northern Africa* [1980]; A. B. Edwards, *A Thousand Miles up the Nile* [1993]; J. R. Huddlestun, *"Who Is This that Rises like the Nile?" A Comparative Study of the River Nile in Ancient Egypt and the Hebrew Bible* [diss., Univ. of Michigan, 1996]; V. Morrell, *Blue Nile: Ethiopia's River of Magic and Mystery* [2001]; T. Tvedt, *The Nile: An Annotated Bibliography,* 2nd ed. [2004].)

C. E. DEVRIES

**Nimrah** nim'ruh. See BETH NIMRAH.

**Nimrim** nim'rim (נִמְרִים *H5810,* derivation uncertain). A locality in MOAB. Both Isaiah and Jeremiah declared, "The waters of Nimrim are dried up" (Isa. 15:6; Jer. 48:34). The former passage seems to trace the Moabites' southwestward "route of flight…to Edom" (J. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* [1959], 436), downstream from HORONAIM (Isa. 15:5–7), and then S across the Ravine of the Poplars (or Brook of the WILLOWS, i.e., the ZERED, marking the Edomite border; cf. E. J. Young, *The Book of Isaiah,* NICOT, 3 vols. [1965–72], 1:459). If so, then Nimrim would probably be Wadi (Seil) en-Numeirah, a stream-oasis near the SE tip of the Dead Sea. (The present fertile Wadi Nimrin, which flows into the Jordan 8 mi. N of the Dead Sea and marks the N limit of the Plains of Moab, seems more probable to be associated with BETH NIMRAH.)

J. B. PAYNE

**Nimrod** nim'rod (נִמְרֹד *H5808,* derivation uncertain). Son of CUSH and grandson of HAM; an early

warrior and hunter who founded a kingdom in MESOPOTAMIA (Gen. 10:6-8; 1 Chr. 1:10).

**I. The name.** The name Nimrod is of uncertain etymology and there have been many attempts at explanation from both Semitic and non-Semitic sources. Some have speculated that it may be a play on *mārad H5277,* "to rebel," but this remains a hypothesis. An Akkadian personal name *Namratu(m)* is known. Since Nimrod was a descendant of Ham, a non-Semitic origin for the name is probable.

**II. Person.** Nimrod is described as the first to be a *gibbôr H1475* or skilled warrior (Gen. 10:8) and, as a related art, "a hero in hunting" *(gibbôr ṣayid,* v. 9). That he was a "a mighty hunter before the LORD" may be a way of expressing "a renowned hunter," or simply "a mighty hunter in the land."

**III. Kingdom.** His rule included the great cities of BABEL (BABYLON), ERECH (Warka), AKKAD (Agade), and CALNEH (NRSV, "all of them") in the land of SHINAR. This covers the ancient kingdom of Akkad in northern Babylonia. From that land he went out to ASSYRIA and built NINEVEH, REHOBOTH IR (possibly a description of Nineveh), CALAH, and RESEN (Ras al-ʿAyin?). The last city mentioned is said to be "between Nineveh and Calah," that is, inner Assyria, called "the land of Nimrod" by Micah (Mic. 5:6). Archaeological support for the presence of southerners in prehistoric and Sumerian times is found in the lower levels of these sites.

**IV. Identification.** Several suggestions have been made. (1) The view that Nimrod reflects the sagas of the gods sees him as the Akkadian god of war and hunting, Ninurta (a form such as *Nimurta* is not attested), under his title *lugal. marada,* "king of Marad." He could possibly be MARDUK (Sumerian *amar.ud[u]),* the hero god of battle, but he seems to play little part in the pantheon until the 14th cent. B.C. E. A. Speiser sees in Nimrod the prototype of Ninus, the classical founder of Nineveh.

(2) Viewed as a Cushite (Nubian/Ethiopian; see CUSH), Nimrod has been identified with the Egyptian king Amenophis III, who ruled 1411-1375 B.C. (cf. G. von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary,* 3rd. ed [1972], 146). This proposal would imply a transference of ideas, since Amenophis never reached the TIGRIS River.

(3) The view that Nimrod was GILGAMESH rests solely on the fact that the epic hero-king of Erech (c. 2700 B.C.) marched northward and was a well-known hunter. In its favor is the quoted proverb, "Like Nimrod, a mighty hunter before the LORD" (Gen. 10:9), since the Gilgamesh Epic was widely quoted throughout the ANE. The frequent mention of Nimrod in place names (e.g., Nimrud is the present name of Calah) and in the early Islamic texts may stem from the OT. The dissimilarity of the names Nimrod and Gilgamesh, however, makes this view unlikely.

(4) Some have proposed Tukulti-Ninurta I of Assyria (c. 1244-1208 B.C.), regarded as the first Assyrian king of Babylonia, but this identification is contrary to Gen. 10:10, which envisages Nimrod as originating in the S.

(5) Another suggestion is Sargon I of Agade, c. 2300 B.C., who undertook building work at Nineveh and ASSHUR and was renowned in early omen literature. This view would require that he be related to the Kašši of the eastern hills (= Cush), but no evidence for such a connection is extant. (See further E. A. Speiser, "In Search of Nimrod," *Eretz Israel* 5 [1958]: 32-36; *ABD,* 4:1116-18; *DDD,* 627-30.)

D. J. WISEMAN

**Nimrud** nim'rood. See CALAH.

**Nimshi** nim'shi (נִמְשִׁי *H5811,* derivation uncertain). Grandfather of King JEHU (2 Ki. 9:2, 14). Elsewhere Jehu is identified as "son of Nimshi" (1 Ki. 19:16; 2 Ki. 9:20; 2 Chr. 22:7), but in these passages the Hebrew word *bēn H1201* probably means "descendant" (see BEN-).

**Nineveh** nin'uh-vuh (נִינְוֵה *H5770,* from Akk. *Ninu(w)a;* in the NT, gentilic Νινευίτης *G3780,* "Ninevite"). KJV NT Nineve. Capital city of ancient ASSYRIA. The ruins of Nineveh lie about half a mile E of the TIGRIS River and are now incorporated within the suburbs of modern Mosul, Iraq. The ruins are dominated by two citadel mounds divided by the Khosr (Hosr) River: the larger one is to the NW, Kuyunjik (or Quyunjiq, "many sheep"), and the smaller to the SW, Nebi Yunus ("the prophet Jonah"). The Hebrew *nînwēh* is a faithful transliteration of the Assyrian *Ninua,* a name of the goddess ISHTAR (written ideographically with the cuneiform sign of a fish within an enclosure, but this is not connected with the Heb. *nûn H5673,* "fish"—it may have been originally a Hurrian word). The SEPTUAGINT transliterates *Nineuē,* but Greek classical writers use *Ninos,* so named by assimilation to the name of a legendary figure.

**I. History.** Archaeology shows that the site was occupied from prehistoric times (c. 4500 B.C.) and through the Hassuna, Samarra, Halaf, and Ubaid cultures. The book of Genesis describes its foundation as a great northern city by NIMROD (Gen. 10:11; see also ASSHUR).

In early Akkadian times the city flourished and was known to Sargon, his son Manishtusu (c. 2300 B.C.), who restored the temple of Ishtar (Inanna) there, and Naram-Sin. Gudea of LAGASH campaigned in the area during the following century. It appears to have been in constant occupation as a cult and trading center for an independent Assyrian king, Shamshi-Adad I (c. 1800). He again restored Ishtar's temple (Emashmash), as did HAMMURABI of BABYLON. Statues from this temple were sent by the MITANNI king who then dominated Nineveh to the Egyptian pharaoh. Under strong Middle Assyrian kings, SHALMANESER I and Tukulti-Ninurta I, the city was much enlarged and refortified. It thereafter became, with Asshur and Calah, one of the main centers of royal administration. Thus TIGLATH-PILESER I (c. 1114-1076), ASHURNA-SIRPAL II (883-859), and SARGON II (722-705) built their palaces there. The tribute from their wars, including that taken from MENAHEM in 744 (2 Ki. 15:20) and SAMARIA in 722 (Isa. 8:4), was brought there in victory processions.

SENNACHERIB (705-681), to offset the rival capital of Dur-Sharrukin (Khorsabad) built by his father Sargon II, set about the establishment of Nineveh on a grand scale. Outside his immense new palace with its 9,880 sq. ft. of sculptured walls depicting his victories, including the siege of LACHISH and exaction of tribute from Judah, he rebuilt the city walls. To introduce new water supplies he cut channels for 30 mi. from the Gomel River at Bavian and built an aqueduct at Jerwan and a dam at Ajeila to control the flooding of the Khosr River. The city wall had fifteen main gates (five of which have been excavated), each guarded by stone bull colossi. Both within and without the crenellated walls Sennacherib laid out parks, a botanical garden, and a zoo. To this city Sennacherib brought the tribute he had exacted from HEZEKIAH of Judah (2 Ki. 18:15) as recorded also in his prism inscription found here in A.D. 1830. Here also he returned after that Palestinian campaign of 701 B.C. In 681 he was assassinated in the temple of Nisroch (Ninurta?), which must have been located within the walls.

Sennacherib's younger son and successor, ESARHADDON, recaptured Nineveh from rebels in 680 and built himself a palace there, though he spent much time in his other residence at CALAH. His twin son ASHURBANIPAL (669-c. 627) returned to live mainly at Nineveh, where he had spent his school

days as crown prince. With the declining years of the aged king and the sagging economy under his sons Ashur-etil-ilēni and Sin-shar-ishkun, Assyria's vassals rose in revolt. Judah took the first steps toward regaining her independence while the Medes, aided by the Babylonians, sacked Asshur and Calah in 614. Two years later, joined by the Ummanmanda (SCYTHIANS?), a combined force besieged Nineveh for three months (?) and, according to the Babylonian Chronicle, breached the city defenses at a time of unusually high flooding of the Tigris and Khosr (Nah. 2:6-8) and sacked the city as predicted by the prophets Nahum and Zepha-niah. Sin-shar-ishkun (Sardanapalus) perished in his burning palace, though Ashur-uballit and his court managed to escape to HARAN, where they held out until 609. Nineveh was left in ruins (Nah. 2:10, 13), grazed by sheep (Zeph. 2:13-15), unrecognized by Xenophon and his retreating Greeks as they passed in 401 B.C.

At the time of its greatest prosperity, as well described by JONAH, Nineveh itself was enveloped by a circuit wall c. 7.75 mi. in extent. This "great city" had an area sufficient to house a population of 120,000 (Jon. 1:2; 3:2). Evidence for this comes from the more southerly capital of Calah (Nimrud), where 69,754 persons lived in a city half the size of Nineveh. It is probable that the whole district administered by Nineveh at this time encompassed a very wide area, including the Sinjar, Calah, and Dur-Sharrukin. Thus a "three days' journey" would be needed to traverse it and a "day's journey" to reach the city center from the outlying suburbs (Jon. 3:3-4 KJV; but see NIV). In Hebrew unlike Akkadian the writing does not distinguish between the metropolis itself (*[al]Ninua)* and the general region *(Ninua[ki])*. As yet there is no contemporary evidence for Jonah or for the repentance by the people of Nineveh (Jon. 3:4-5), which was commended by Jesus Christ (Matt. 12:41; Lk. 11:30, 32).

**II. Excavations.** Early explorers, attracted by the association of the mosque of Nebi Yunus, reported the "city of Jonah" and the local traditions, but it was not until John Cartwright (17th cent.) that Nineveh was commonly identified with it. When C. J. Rich published his plans of the ruins in 1820, interest quickened and thus encouraged the Frenchman V. E. Botta, who made the first, but abortive, soundings. He abandoned the site, thinking that the more northerly and distinctive ruins of Khor-sabad covered the biblical Nineveh. A. H. Layard and H. Rassam (1845-54) thereupon stepped in. The immediate discovery of bas-reliefs and CUNEIFORM inscriptions and their publication roused much interest in England, and the British Museum assumed control of their work. George Smith was sent to follow up their lead (1872-76), but his main aim was to uncover further inscriptions relating to the Babylonian account of the flood. In this he was successful.

Further work was undertaken sporadically by E. A. W. Budge (1882-91) and L. W. King (1903-05). Both found texts to supplement those found earlier in the palace of Ashurbanipal and the temple of NABU (the god of writing and science). In 1927 R. Campbell Thompson resumed work, this time systematically clearing the temple of Ishtar and the palace of Ashurnasirpal II on Kuyunjik. The opportunity was taken by M. E. L. Mallowan in 1931-32 to make a sounding down to virgin soil and thus gain the first stratification of the prehistoric occupation levels. Since 1966 the Department of Antiquities in Iraq has reopened the Palace of Sennacherib and made additional clearing of that area and of the Nergal and Shamash gates. Road-widening work by Nebi Yunus uncovered Egyptian statues brought back by Ashurbanipal from his capture of Memphis and two campaigns in Egypt.

The site of ancient Nineveh.

**III. The royal library.** During the excavations already described, more than 16,000 clay tablets or fragments, representing an estimated 10,000 texts, were recovered from Kuyunjik (hence their designation as the K[o]uyunjiq Collection). They originally had been collected by Sargon and his successors but primarily were the work of Ashurba-nipal, who boasts that he was one of the few literate monarchs in antiquity.

The majority of texts were originals collected in Babylonia or copied in Nineveh by skilled scribes. They cover many genres of literature, among which are the well-known epics of creation and of the flood (GILGAMESH) and versions that include both episodes (Atrahasis); legends and rituals; religious literature of all kinds, including hymns, prayers, and lists of gods and temples; letters; historical texts of many kinds; and lexicographical and bilingual documents that have proved of great use in furthering the understanding of both Akkadian and Sumerian (see LANGUAGES OF THE ANE). Sufficient copies of some texts are now available to enable a detailed comparison to be made with scribal practices throughout the ANE.

(See further A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains* [1849]; id., *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* [1853]; G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries* [1875]; R. C. Thompson and R. W. Hutchinson, *A Century of Exploration at Nineveh* [1929]; R. C. Thompson and M. E. L. Mal-lowan, *The British Museum Excavations at Nineveh* [1931-32]; A. Parrot, *Nineveh and the Old Testament* [1955]; A. C. Brackman, *The Luck of Nineveh: Archaeology's Great Adventure* [1978]; J. M. Russell, *Sennacherib's Palace without Rival at Nineveh* [1991]; R. Mattila, ed., *Nineveh, 612 BC: The Glory and Fall of the Assyrian Empire. Catalogue of the 10th Anniversary Exhibition of the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project* [1995]; J. M. Russell, *The Final Sack of Nineveh: The Discovery, Documentation, and Destruction of Sennacherib's Throne Room at Nineveh, Iraq* [1998]; T. Kwasman et al., eds., *Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Nineveh, 2* vols. [1991-2000]; *CANE,* 1:244-47 and index; *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East,* ed. E. M. Meyers [1997], 4:144-48.)

D. J. WISEMAN

**Ninlil** nin'lil. See ENLIL.

**Niphish** nif'ish. See MAGBISH.

**Nippur** ni-poor'. An ancient Mesopotamian city, known today as Nuffar, about 100 mi. S of Baghdad or 50 mi. SE of Babylon. It was founded by the Ubaid people c. 4000 B.C. Although the city wielded no political power, it was the undisputed religious and cultural center from the early 3rd millennium until the days of HAMMURABI. From the 17th cent. until the 14th, datable material ceases. By the time of Hammurabi, Nippur had yielded to BABYLON as a religious and cultural center, but it continued to be an important city down to Parthian times.

Nippur was the seat of the cult of ENLIL, and the ancient renown of this god insured his city the continued care on the part of the Babylonian kings. As late as the 7th cent. B.C., the Assyrian king ASHURBANIPAL restored Enlil's temple. Nippur was the seat of SUMER's most important "academy," and in the literature composed and redacted in this academy, Nippur and its leading deities, ENLIL, his wife Ninlil, and his son Ninurta, played a large role. Excavators found some 50,000 tablets and fragments at Nippur, and about one tenth of these are inscribed with Sumerian works.

Excavations were conducted in Nippur by American expeditions in 1890, 1893-96, 1899-1900, 1948, and intermittently thereafter until 1990. These excavations revealed parts of the *Ekur,* "Mountain House," the temple of Enlil and Sumer's leading shrine, as well as the temple of Enlil's consort, Nin-lil. Also found were a large temple dedicated to the goddess Inanna, and a small temple dedicated to an unknown deity, as well as houses of the scribal quarter of the city. (See H. W. Hilprecht, *The Excavations in Assyria and Babylonia* [1904], 289-577; C. S. Fisher, *Excavations at Nippur* [1907]; V. C. Crawford in *Archaeology* 12 [1959]: 74-83; M. D. Ellis, ed., *Nippur at the Centennial* [1992]; *ABD,* 4:1119-22; *CANE,* index; *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East,* ed. E. M. Meyers [1997], 4:148-52.)

L. L. WALKER

**Nisan** ni'san, nee'sahn (ניסן *H5772,* from Akk. *Nisannu).* The first month in the Jewish religious CALENDAR (corresponding to March-April), during which the PASSOVER took place. This name appears twice in the Bible, and only in postexilic writings (Neh. 2:1; Esth. 3:7); it was earlier known as ABIB.

**Nisroch** nis'rok (נסרך *H5827,* derivation uncertain). TNIV Nisrok. An Assyrian deity worshiped at NINEVEH. After SENNACHERIB, the Assyrian king, returned from his loss near Jerusalem, he was murdered by his two sons ADRAMMELECH and SHAREZER while he was worshiping in the house of Nisroch, his god. Sennacherib was apparently "smashed with statues of protective deities" (*ANET,* 288) as well as being slain "with the sword" (2 Ki. 19:37; Isa. 37:38). Since the name Nisroch is completely unknown in the source material for Mesopotamian religion, a textual corruption or an intentional scribal modification is suspected. Perhaps the reference is to some well-known deity (such as MARDUK or Nusku), but the problem remains unexplained. (See further *DDD,* 630-32.)

L. L. WALKER

**Nisrok** nis'rok. TNIV form of NISROCH.

**nitre.** See LYE.

**No** noh (נֹא *H5530,* from Egyp. *nwt).* KJV transliteration of the Hebrew name for the city of THEBES (Jer. 46:25; Ezek. 30:14-16; Nah. 3:8).

**Noadiah** noh'uh-di'uh (נֹעַדְיָה *H5676,* "Yahweh has met [*or* has revealed himself]"; for other possible renderings, see *ABD,* 4:1122). (1) Son of Binnui; he was a Levite and one of four men designated as final custodians of the treasure that EZRA brought back from exile (Ezra 8:33; called "Moeth" in 1 Esd. 8:63).

(2) A prophetess who allied herself with TOBIAH and SANBALLAT against NEHEMIAH at the time of the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem (Neh. 6:14). The reference to this otherwise unknown person is surprising, especially since a different prophet, SHEMAIAH, is the subject of the preceding material (vv. 10-13). On the basis of some Greek MSS, L. Batten *(A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah,* ICC [1913], 258, 262) emends the Hebrew text (from *měyār)îm,* "making afraid," to *mĕbînîm,* "instructing, warning") and suggests that Noadiah supported Nehemiah, but this proposal has not been picked up by subsequent commentators.

W. B. WALLIS

**Noah (man)** noh'uh (נֹחַ *H5695,* possibly from נוּחַ *H5663,* "to rest," but explained [by popular etymology?] with reference to נָחַם *H5714,* "to comfort," in Gen. 5:29; Νῶε #949; *G3820).* Son of LAMECH and descendant of SETH; the last of the ten ANTEDILUVIAN patriarchs listed in Genesis (Gen. 5:28-29). In Gen. 6-9 Noah is the hero of the flood or deluge in which only he and his family survived. See FLOOD, GENESIS.

Noah was 500 years old when his first son was born (Gen. 5:32). The flood came 100 years later, but Noah likely knew about this great cataclysmic judgment 120 years before it occurred (Gen. 6:3; cf. 1 Pet. 3:20). In obedience to God's instructions he built an ark and warned others (2 Pet. 2:5) that divine judgment was impending (see ARK OF NOAH). When the flood came, only Noah, his wife, and his three sons and their wives were saved in the ark. The deluge—extending as far as people had spread, which possibly included the entire globe—destroyed all the rest of the human race (Gen. 7:7). Approximately one year after the flood began (7:11; 8:13), Noah was told to leave the ark. In response to Noah's sacrifice came the divine assurance that the earth would never again be destroyed in this manner and that seasonal changes would continue with regularity (8:20-22).

Noah became the father of the entire human race. The descendants of his sons SHEM, HAM, and

A mosaic from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem showing a representation of Noah's ark.

JAPHETH dispersed over a wide area, as is indicated in Gen. 10-11. Whether or not Noah had other descendants born to him after the flood is not indicated in the scriptural account. God's covenant was

with Noah and his sons. CANAAN, a son of Ham, was singled out for a special curse because of Ham's disrespectful behavior (9:24-25).

The character of Noah offers an interesting study on the basis of the scriptural references. The naming of Noah (Gen. 5:28-29) is associated with the Adamic curse (3:16-17). For generations people had hoped for a seed or offspring through whom they would gain relief from that judgment. Neither the birth of CAIN (4:1) nor that of Seth (4:25-26) had provided a reprieve. When Noah was born, once more hope was expressed that people might have some relief or comfort in the suffering that had resulted from the curse.

Noah was regarded as a righteous man and is described as blameless or faultless among his contemporaries (Gen. 6:9). This pattern of living issued out of his intimate relationship with God, characterized by the Genesis author as "walking with God" and by the author of Hebrews as "heir of the righteousness that comes by faith" (Heb. 11:7). By this manner of life Noah stood in direct contrast to the pattern of living common to his generation, which is described as so corrupt and continually wicked that God was grieved that he had created mankind. Noah was the only one who found favor with God (Gen. 6:8).

Noah was favored by God in being warned about the impending judgment upon the corrupt human race. His responsibility was to build an ark and to serve as a messenger of righteousness (2 Pet. 2:5). Whereas Noah exercised an obedient faith by complying with God's instructions, the rest of the human race outside of Noah's family ignored the warning and subsequently perished in the flood. The moral level of men and women is mentioned (Gen. 6:1-5, 11-13), and Jesus in his teaching portrays the conditions that precipitated this divine judgment upon the human race (Matt. 24:37-39; Lk. 17:26-27).

Of immediate concern to Noah after leaving the ark was the bringing of an offering or sacrifice to God, who had sustained him through this terrible judgment. As Noah worshiped, he was assured by God that divine blessing awaited him and his sons, and that his judgment would not be repeated. Noah and his sons were commissioned to replenish the earth and to subdue all creatures and vegetation. This COVENANT was divinely initiated and universal in scope. It applied to all living creatures and was to be everlasting in duration. It was sealed by God through the visible sign of the RAINBOW (Gen. 9:9-17; cf. also Isa. 54:9). To Noah and his seed came the divine assurance that never again would all flesh be destroyed with a flood.

Little is known about Noah in the 350 years of his life subsequent to the flood. He engaged in farming or husbandry, and in the course of time cultivated the vine and was overtaken by the sin of drunkenness (cf. H. H. Cohen, *The Drunkenness of Noah* [1974]). Whether this behavior of yielding to the temptation of drunkenness by righteous Noah was due to age or inadvertency is not indicated in the scriptural account. Learning of his father's unseemly behavior, Ham informed his brothers, who respectfully cared for their father. It seems probable that Canaan, the youngest son of Ham, must have been the most disrespectful. When Noah became aware of the situation he announced a curse upon Canaan, indicating that he would be consigned to servitude in his relationship with his brothers. Some scholars interpret this as a prophetic utterance by Noah in which he predicted that due to the expression of these unfavorable traits by the descendants of Canaan, they would become servants to their brethren. (See further *ABD,* 4:1223-31.)

S. J. SCHULTZ

**Noah (woman)** noh'uh (נֹעָה *H5829,* derivation uncertain). One of five daughters of ZELOPHEHAD of the tribe of MANASSEH (Num. 26:33). Since Zelophehad had no sons, his daughters requested

ELEAZAR the priest that they be allowed to inherit their father's property, and the request was granted on condition that they marry into their father's tribe (27:1-11; 36:11; Josh. 17:3-4). This decision was very important and became a precedent.

**Noah, Apocalypse (Book) of.** An ancient Jewish work about Noah, known to us only from the book of JUBILEES (*see Jub.* 10.13; 21.10) and generally thought to underlie certain portions of *1 Enoch* (see ENOCH, BOOKS OF). R. H. Charles assigned four sections (1 En. 6-11; 54:7—55.2; 60; 65:1—69.25; 106-7) to *the Apocalypse of Noah (see APOT,* 2:168; contrast J. E. H. Thompson in *ISBE* [1929], 1:165-66). Charles regarded 161 B.C. as the latest date of composition for the *Apocalypse (1 En.* 83-90 presuppose the existence of chs. 6-36, which are thought to be part *of the Apocalypse,* and chs. 83-90 can be dated to a period no later than 161).

H. G. ANDERSEN

**No-Amon** noh-am'uhn. See THEBES.

**Nob** nob (נֹב *H5546,* derivation unknown). A town NE of JERUSALEM. Nob is described as "the town of the priests" (1 Sam. 22:19), near SAUL's capital of GIBEAH, to which the TABERNACLE came to be transferred after the destruction of SHILOH (14:2-3; cf. Jer. 7:14). At the time of DAVID's flight from Saul, c. 1015 B.C., the high priest AHIMELECH provided David at Nob with SHOWBREAD and the sword of GOLIATH (1 Sam. 21:1-9). Vengefully, Saul subsequently slew eighty-five of the priests and put the city to the sword (22:11-19).

Three centuries later the town was described as a halting place for the Assyrians as they arrived from the NE; from Nob they could "shake their fist at the mount of the Daughter of Zion" (Isa. 10:32). It suggests the identification of Nob with Ras Umm eṭ-Ṭala(, the eastern slope of Mount Scopus, on the N part of the Olivet ridge (J. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* [1959], 70). Other proposals in the same area include Ras el-Mesharif (originally suggested by W. F. Albright in AASOR 4 [1924]: 139; see map in H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12* [1991], 454) and el-(Isawiyeh (cf. Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], 393, 440). Such a general location for Nob is confirmed by 2 Sam. 15:32, which speaks of David's coming to the top of the ascent of Olivet "where people used to worship God," and by Neh. 11:31-32, which lists Nob as a Benjamite town between ANATHOTH and ANANIAH (= NT BETHANY, modern el-(Azariyeh).

J. B. PAYNE

**Nobah (person)** noh'buh (נֹבַח *H5561,* apparently from נָבַח *H5560,* "to bark"). One of the descendants of MANASSEH who conquered GILEAD and drove the AMORITES from the area; he "captured Kenath and its surrounding settlements and called it Nobah after himself" (Num. 32:42). See JAIR; KENATH; NOBAH (PLACE).

**Nobah (place)** noh'buh (נֹבַח *H5562,* apparently from נָבַח *H5560,* "to bark"). A town in GILEAD that was in the neighborhood of JOGBEHAH, W of a Transjordanian caravan route (Jdg. 8:11). It was on that route, in the city of KARKOR (v. 10), that GIDEON fell upon a Midianite army and captured the kings ZEBAH AND ZALMUNNA (v. 12). This Nobah is probably the town that was originally known as KENATH and later renamed by a Manassite (Num. 32:42); see NOBAH (PERSON). Some, however,

argue that a different Nobah is in view and that it should be identified with modern Tell ṢafuṮ, a short distance NW of Jogbehah (see *ABD,* 5:896-97; but others identify Tell ṢafuṮ with Jogbehah itself).

**Nobai** noh'bi. See NEBAI.

**noble.** This English term, as an adjective or noun, is used variously in Bible versions to render several words. The Hebrew term *ḥōr H2985,* indicating free or noble birth, is used as a noun, occurs only in the plural, and is especially frequent in the book of Nehemiah (1 Ki. 21:8, 11; Neh. 2:16; 4:14; et al.). The adjective *)addîr H129,* "majestic, splendid," can also be used as a noun with reference to nobles and chieftains (Jdg. 5:13; 2 Chr. 23:20; et al.). Another adjective, *nādîb H5618,* means "willing," but when applied to someone who is willing or generous, it too can be rendered "noble [one]" or even "prince" (Num. 21:18; 1 Sam. 2:8 et al.). Several other Hebrew words can occasionally be used in this sense in particular contexts (e.g., Esth. 1:3; Job 29:10; Jon. 3:7).

In the NT, the Greek adjective *eugenēs G2302* indicates nobility in the sense of being "well-born" or "of noble race" (Lk. 19:12; 1 Cor. 1:26), but it can also refer to nobility of mind (e.g., the Bereans in Acts 17:11). Another adjective, *kalos G2819,* "good," can be properly rendered "noble" in certain contexts (e.g., 1 Tim. 3:1). The same is true of some other terms (cf. Rom. 9:21 NIV; Acts 24:3 KJV et al.).

W. GERIG

**Nod** nod (נֹד *H5655,* apparently from נוּד *H5653,* "to wander" [cf. Gen. 4:12, 14]). A district E of EDEN to which CAIN went to live after he had killed his brother ABEL (Gen. 4:16). The location of Nod is unknown, and some argued that the name is symbolic of Cain's judgment as a fugitive (cf. *nōdî* in Ps. 56:8, variously translated "my wandering," "my lament" [NIV], "my tossings" [NRSV, possibly reading *nĕduday,* from *nĕdudîm H5611]).*

**Nodab** noh'dab (נֹדָב *H5656,* perhaps "[God] has incited" [cf. *ABD,* 4:11-34]). The name of an Arabian (less likely, Aramean) tribe in TRANSJORDAN, mentioned with JETUR and NAPHISH as allies of the HAGRITES (1 Chr. 5:19). This coalition was defeated and dispossessed by the tribes of REUBEN and GAD and the half-tribe of MANASSEH (vv. 18, 20-22), apparently during the time of SAUL (v. 10). Some have argued that Nodab should be associated or identified with the Ishmaelite tribe descended from ABDEEL (cf. W. F. Albright in *Studi orien-talistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida, 2* vols. [1956], 1:1-14). Others note that in the list of ISHMAEL's sons, Jetur and Naphish are followed not by Nodab (as in 1 Chr. 5:19) but by KEDEMAH (Gen. 25:15; 1 Chr. 1:31), so perhaps Nodab is an alternate name or a textual corruption of Kedemah *(cf. HALOT,* 2:678).

W. B. WALLIS

**Noe** noh'ee. KJV NT form of NOAH.

**Noeba** noh-ee'buh. See NEKODA #1.

**Nogah** noh'guh (נֹגַהּ *H5587,* "brightness, splendor"). Son of DAVID, listed among the children born to him in Jerusalem (1 Chr. 3:7; 14:6). This name, like that of ELIPHELET #2, is missing in the parallel

list (2 Sam. 5:14-15).

**Nohah** noh'hah (נֹחָה *H5666,* "rest"). (1) Third son of BENJAMIN (1 Chr. 8:2). This name, which curiously is feminine in form, does not appear in the other lists of Benjamin's sons (Gen. 46:21; Num. 26:38-40; 1 Chr. 7:6). Some have thought that Noah and RAPHAH in 1 Chr. 8:2 were either alternate names of HHUPHAM (SHEPHUPHAM) and SHUPHAM (who occupy the same places on the list at Num. 26:39), or that the families that issued from the latter two "afterwards perhaps received new names from famous chiefs, instead of the original designations, so that Nohah and Rapha would be later descendants of Shephupham and Hupham" (KD, *Chronicles,* 145). Other views have been proposed. See also comments under AHIRAM.

(2) According to CODEX VATICANUS (LXX$^{B}$), followed by the NRSV and other versions, Nohah was also the name of a place from which the Israelites pursued the men of Benjamin (Jdg. 20:43). The MT here has *mĕnûḥâ,* meaning perhaps "at their resting place" (NRSV mg.) or "easily" (so NIV; cf. KJV, "with ease"), though it may be an otherwise unknown place name, "Menuhah" (so NJPS; cf. KJV mg., "Menuchah"). The LXX$^{B}$ (*apo Noua,* "from Nohah") evidently understood the Hebrew consonants to represent *minnôḥâ.* If this interpretation is correct, Nohah was probably a village named after #1 above, but its location is not known. C. F. Burney *(The Book of Judges, with Introduction and Notes* [1918], 485) adopted this reading "in default of a better solution," but acknowledged "that the emendation is extremely precarious."

**noise.** This English term is used by the KJV almost ninety times, but it occurs with much less frequency in modern versions, which often use synonyms (e.g., "sound," as in Isa. 24:18) or use alternate expressions (e.g., "the noise of the shout" in 1 Sam. 4:6 KJV becomes simply "the uproar" in NIV). Many references to noise occur in the context of God's predicted judgment, either direct or indirect, against the earth's inhabitants (Isa. 29:6; 33:3; Jer. 4:29; 47:3; 50:22; Ezek. 26:10; Rev. 6:1; 8:5; 9:9; 11:19; 16:18), which emphasis is confined to prophetic books. There is also the noise of people, either in rejoicing over the appointment of a new king (1 Ki. 1:40-41, 45; 2 Ki. 11:13) or in worshiping the golden calf (Exod. 32:17). The psalmist's admonition to "make a joyful noise" to God is rendered by the NIV, "shout with joy" or the like (Pss. 66:1; 95:1; 98:4, 6; 100:1). A roaring noise is associated with a jubilant throng (Isa. 24:8), enemy hordes in their attack on Israel (Isa. 25:5), and the waves of the sea (Jer. 51:55). A growling noise is the picture of shepherds in their attempt to frighten a lion away (Isa. 31:4) and of songs that are unacceptable to God (Amos 5:23). Peter writes of a rushing noise that will accompany the future passing away of the heavens (2 Pet. 3:10).

R. L. THOMAS

**nomad.** Nomads are wandering groups of individuals who change area of residence, usually according to a seasonal pattern, within a larger area that is their home territory (see also BEDOUIN). Usually at least three types are distinguished. The first group is characterized by hunting and collecting its immediate needs, with little concern for surplus or organized divisions of labor. The second group is pastoral in nature and is characterized by following a consistent pattern of grazing, regulated by the seasons and nature of the herd or flock. The labor is divided among various groups, usually families, each with its own herd and territory. These individuals live off their herds, using milk and animals for food and skin and hair as the source for clothing, tents, water bottles, etc. The third group is characterized by agricultural ties. They stay in one spot until the crop is exhausted, then

move on to new land.

Certain values arise from the demands of nomadic life. The need for mobility results in reduction of property—the wealth of the group being often largely limited to livestock. The mutual dependence of members of the tribe, together with consciousness of common descent, leads to solidarity and to such concomitant practices as blood revenge. There were many nomadic groups in the ANE, and they are mentioned in documents from MARI, NUZI, ALALAKH, UGARIT, and TELL EL-AMARNA. Some mentioned at various times and places were the Arameans (Aḫlamŭ, Sute-ans—see ARAM), HABIRU, HYKSOS, and various S Arabian groups. Most present-day nomads are camel nomads who also possess the horse, but the patriarchs were apparently "ass nomads" (see ASS, DONKEY). The donkey played a significant role in the patriarchal narrative (Gen. 22:3; 24:35; 30:43; 32:5). This animal was sacrificed at Mari, where many other patriarchal customs were paralleled. In Zech. 9:9 the king is described as riding on a donkey.

Regardless of the nature of his life in UR, when ABRAHAM undertook his travels he began a nomadic life that continued for ISAAC and JACOB before the children of Israel settled in Egypt. Although Abraham had camels, his herds were comprised largely of sheep, goats, and donkeys. He moved his tent from place to place (Gen. 13:3, 5, 18; 20:1) and established grazing rights with LOT (13:8). The story of Isaac reflects a nomadic or at least a seminomadic state as he settled down for a season and raised grain, then moved on (26:12). Likewise, Jacob's return from LABAN is described almost like the movement of a small tribe of nomads with its several tents (31:33). The descent of Jacob's family into Egypt (cf. 42; 46:34; 47:4) is paralleled by similar events in secular history, such as the group depicted on a wall painting in the tomb of Khnum-hotep III at Beni Hasan, dating from c. 1890 B.C.

The prophecy of ISHMAEL's future suggests a nomadic life (Gen. 16:11-12), and later references reflect this nomadic state (37:25). The place names and encampments of the Ishmaelites support this identification with the Arabs (25:13-18;

Nomadic life in Syria.

see ARABIAN). It is significant that under DAVID an Ishmaelite was in charge of the camels (1 Chr. 27:30). The Ishmaelites were linked with the Edomites among the enemies of Israel (Ps. 83:6).

In Egypt the Israelites lived in an area frequented by nomads and seminomads. MOSES took refuge among a pastoral nomadic tribe (Exod. 2:15-22) and tended sheep (3:1).The KENITES and Midianites (see MIDIAN) seemed to be tent-dwelling nomads (Jdg. 5:24; 6:4-5). In the wilderness wandering, Israel was again a seminomadic people moving with their cattle from oasis to oasis

(Num. 10:31; 33:1). The TABERNACLE was especially suitable for a people with such a nomadic tradition. In the conquest there were elements of ass nomadism (Josh. 15:18; Jdg. 10:4; 12:14).

The nomadic life of the Hebrews is reflected in their language, which refers to a man's home as his "tent" (1 Sam. 4:10 et al.). To express the idea of rising early and starting a trip, the OT uses the verb šā*kam H8899,* which literally means "to load the backs [of beasts of burden]" (1 Sam. 15:12 et al.). Imagery derived from nomadic living is common (e.g., Pss. 78:55; 104:2; Cant. 1:5, 8; Isa. 33:20; 40:22; Jer. 10:20) and is especially rich in the Psalms (Pss. 23; 44:11; 49:14; 78:52, 72; 79:13; 80; 95:7; 100:3). This nomadic background frequently formed the basis for the language used in prophetic appeals (Isa. 40:11; Jer. 50:6; Ezek. 34:6, 11; Zech. 13:7). The prophets used this imagery as a basis for comparing the duties of the leaders of the people (Jer. 23:4; 25:34; Ezek. 34:2, 5, 8; Zech. 10:2; 11:3, 5, 8, 15).

(See further J. Flight, "The Nomadic Idea and the Ideal in the Old Testament," *JBL* 42 [1923], 158ff.; R. *deVaux, Ancient Israel [1961],* 3-15; J. M. Wagstaff, *The Evolution of Middle Eastern Landscapes: An Outline to A.D. 1840* [1985]; A. Keohane, *Bedouin: Nomads of the Desert* [1994]; J. S. Jabbur, *The Bedouins and the Desert: Aspects of Nomadic Life in the Arab East* [1995]; P. M. Kurpershoek, *Arabia of the Bedouins* [2001].)

L. L. WALKER

**Nomades.** KJV Apoc. rendering of a common Greek noun meaning "nomads" (2 Macc. 12:11).

**Non** non. KJV alternate form of NUN (only 1 Chr. 7:27).

**Nooma** noo'muh. See NEBO (PERSON).

**Noph** nof. KJV form of MEMPHIS.

**Nophah** noh'fuh (נֹפַח *H5871,* perhaps related to נָפַח *H5870,* "to blow"). An unknown city of MOAB, mentioned only in a poem: "We have demolished them as far as Nophah, / which extends to Medeba" (Num. 21:30). The whole verse, however, bristles with textual problems (cf. the apparatus of *BHS).* The MT itself (by the use of a *punctum extraordi-narium* over the letter r) suggests that the word for "which" (*)ăšaser H889)* should perhaps be read as *)ēš H836,* "fire," and such a reading is reflected in the SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH and in the SEPTUAGINT. Accordingly, the ESV translates, "we laid waste as far as Nophah; fire spread as far as Medeba"; the RSV and NRSV, in addition to accepting the reading "fire," delete the reference to Nophah and translate simply, "we laid waste until fire spread to Medeba."

**Norea, Thought of.** Also known as *Ode of Noreah.* A very short tractate included in the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY (NHC IX, 2). Norea, who in other Gnostic documents appears as a prediluvian savior figure (e.g., the daughter of EVE), is here described as being received into the divine Pleroma so that she "might generate herself…be joined to all of the Imperishable Ones, and [speak] with the mind of the Father." This Coptic work is thought to be the translation of a Greek original dating to the 3rd cent. A.D. or even earlier. (English trans. in *NHL, 445-47.)*

**north.** The Hebrew term *ṣāpôn H7600,* prob. from *ṣāpâ H7595,* "to keep guard, to watch")

designates one of the four cardinal points of the compass and is often so used in the OT (Gen. 13:14 et al.). The prophets also use this term to refer generally to identifiable countries lying NE, or even due E of Palestine. Usually these are references to foes who, because of the sea on the W and the Arabian desert on the E, were forced to enter Palestine from the N (see E. Yamauchi, *Foes from the Northern Frontier* [1982]). Because of this, even BABYLON, lying due E of Palestine, was spoken of as being N (Jer. 1:14-15; 6:1, 22; et al.). The many references in Dan. 11 to "the king of the North" probably are references to the SELEUCID kings of SYRIA as opposed to "the king of the South" (i.e., Ptolemies of Egypt). The Greek term *borras G1080* appears twice in the NT and in both instances means "north" as the cardinal compass point (Lk. 13:29; Rev. 21:13). See also EAST; SOUTH; WEST.

W. GERIG

**northeast, southeast.** See NORTHWEST, SOUTHWEST.

**northerner.** This term is used by some versions (e.g., RSV, NJPS) to render Hebrew *ṣĕpônî H7603,* which occurs only in Joel 2:20. Because the context describes a locust plague, the term is usually taken to refer to that plague. However, because such swarms of locusts *generally* come from the S, some assert that this is Joel's picturesque way of describing the invading foe from the N mentioned so often in Jeremiah particularly (thus NIV and NRSV, "northern army"). The mention of the DAY OF THE LORD in 1:15 and 2:1 (from the section on the plague) lends credence to this view. Some believe that Joel had both in purview and that he looked upon the locusts as a type of the eschatological day of the Lord.

W. GERIG

**northwest, southwest.** These words correspond respectively to Greek *chōros G6008* and *lips G3355* (accusative *liba).* They occur only in Acts 27:12, which says that Phoenix was "a harbor in Crete, facing both southwest and northwest." The RSV, however, translates "looking northeast and southeast." See discussion under PHOENIX.

**nose, nostrils.** It is not hard to see why the nose (Heb. *)appayim,* dual of *)ap H678,* "face") should be regarded as the organ of ANGER in the body. DAVID, in telling of God's power and in particular his anger, says, "Smoke rose from his nostrils; / consuming fire came from his mouth, / burning coals blazed out of it" (2 Sam. 22:9; cf Job 41:20 [Heb. v. 12], where the HAPAX LEGOMENON *nāḥîr H5705 is* used). Anger is associated with the idea of heat. When a person becomes angry, the muscles of his body become tense in readiness to deal with the object of anger. The body movements become forceful and swift. When the tensed respiratory muscles act in this way, the result is a snort. As Job says of the horse, "Its majestic snorting is terrible" (Job 39:20 NRSV). The Hebrews did not consider the respiratory system any further than its entrance, and so the nose was regarded as containing the breath of life rather than the lungs (Gen. 2:7; 7:22). The term can thus be used to indicate passion (e.g., Job 27:3). See also FLAT NOSE.

D. A. BLAIKLOCK

**nose jewels.** Hebrew women often wore a ring passed through the right nostril, and this still is done by BEDOUIN women in the E. The rings were made of gold or silver, and often had jewels, beads, or coral hanging from them. REBEKAH was given a nose ring (Gen. 24:22, 30; Heb. *nezem H5690,* which can sometimes refer to an EARRING), and it is said that the ladies of Jerusalem wore nose rings (Isa.

3:21). Among the jewels the Lord says he presented as a gift to Jerusalem was a ring for the nose (Ezek. 16:12).

S. BARABAS

**Not my people, Not pitied.** See LO-AMMI; LO-RUHAMAH.

**novice.** This English term is used by the KJV to render Greek *neophytos G3745* (lit., "newly planted"), which occurs only once (1 Tim. 3:6; NIV and NRSV, "recent convert"). In his instruction to TIMOTHY, PAUL wrote that if any man desires the office of a BISHOP, he must not be new to the Christian faith, "or he may become conceited and fall under the same judgment as the devil."

S. BARABAS

**number.** A mathematical unit, part of a series that has a fixed order. The birth and progress of mathematical theoreticization is not apparent in the Bible.

1. The background of biblical numbers
    1. Neolithic evidence of numbers
    2. Sumerian numbers
    3. Egyptian numbers
    4. Akkadian, Assyrian, Babylonian numbers
    5. Ugaritic and Canaanite numbers
    6. Later Semitic numbers
2. Numbers in the OT
    1. The form of OT numbers
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    5. Symbolic and mystical numbers
    6. Numerological explanations of the OT
3. Numbers in the NT
    1. The state of Greek numbers and mathematics
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    3. Form, terms, and operations of NT numbers
    4. Rhetorical, symbolic, and mystical numbers

**I. The background of biblical numbers.** The ultimate origin of the concept of number must on the basis of the Christian worldview be traced to the inherent nature of the creation law-ordinances of God. The concept of number is therefore as old as man, the creature "thinking God's thoughts after him." Number is one of the basic modalities of the world-order.

***A. Neolithic evidence of numbers.*** The cave paintings and glyptic arts of the paleolithic and mesolithic cultures are evidence of the human sense of form and relationship. And there is supporting evidence of this sense when an arrangement of multiple simple geometric forms are related to yield a complex design to indicate the aesthetics of geometry. However, in various finds of Neolithic materials around the world, sets of holes, posts, stones, and massive megalithic boulders have been

found all in patterns of regular geometric proportions, often in one-to-one (1:1) correspondence. It is important that *number* and *numeral* are two concepts that have been found in every tribe and culture examined since the founding of anthropological science.

Undoubtedly the primary Sumerian numbers were *one* and *two.* The notion is reflected in the biblical story of the CREATION of EVE in which ADAM first recognized, in the initial place of all future human beings, the fact of duality. The evidence from linguistics also indicates that *three* in many languages is equivalent to "many." And in fact it has been pointed out with a fair degree of evidence that in the oldest language families of the ANE, the terms for "three" are philologically, if not semantically, related to the terms for "beyond" and "many." The greatest innovation and advance of the Neolithic and protoliterate period was WRITING; however, in every case it appears to have been preceded by number.

***B. Sumerian numbers.*** Aside from the problems of Proto-Elamite and Proto-Danubian, the Sumerians of the alluvial plains of S Iraq were the world's first literate people. See SUMER. Just as lists, poetry, epics, lexica, and many other types of writing appear, so do various number concepts and operations become manifest in the Sumerian CUNEIFORM tablets. There is no doubt that mental processes that had taken great periods of concentrated effort were suddenly displayed with the Neolithic township establishment of Sumerian culture. Almost all the simple arts of arithmetic operations are found in the Sumerian economic texts: addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, extraction of simple roots, and raising to higher powers, as well as the handling of a number of types of fractions. Significantly lacking are place notations and the elusive notion "zero." The most important feature of Sumerian numbers is their sexagesimal character. That is, the base is not 10 (thus $10^2 = 100$, $10^3 = 1000$), but 60 ($60^2 = 3600$, $60^3 = 216{,}000$). The system was adapted to fractions so that individual units could be expressed in sexagesimal fractions. Thus the numeral 1 can stand for 60, a power of 60, 1/60 or even $1/60^n$ and 2 for 2 x 60 = 120, 2/60, etc. The common fractions 1/2, 1/3, 1/4, 1/5 were written accordingly as: 30/60, 20/60, 15/60, 12/60.

The legacy of this system is interesting because it was admirably superior for WEIGHTS AND MEASURES; in fact, some scholars have surmised that this was its origin. Because of its importance, almost all subsequent metrology systems in the ANE and the Mediterranean were sexagesimal. This system is better adapted to dividing the circle and performing calculations on the circle, such as astronomical quadrants into degrees, minutes, and seconds of arc. Yet, the full development of a true place notation with zero was never fulfilled. In time the Sumerian system was developed to yield cuneiform signs for: 1/2, 1/3, 2/3, 1, 10, 60, 10 x 60 = 600, $60^2$, 10 x $60^2$ = 36,000, and the largest unit, $60^3$. This is vastly beyond the scope of the largest Egyptian unit, 100,000. The sexagesimal system was utilized extensively for the two great protosciences of the Sumerian civilization, ASTROLOGY and the calendrical cult (see CALENDAR). There is no question but that the sexagesimal system of the Sumerians was known to other peoples of antiquity (Hittites, Akkadians, Greeks, and others) and that some faint remembrance of it can be detected in the early books of the Hebrew Bible.

***C. Egyptian numbers.*** The Greek historians and many authors since them have assumed that mathematics had its origins in EGYPT. However, the great antiquity of the Mesopotamian economic documents with their arithmetical operations, which appear in the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C., predate the oldest documents and inscriptions from Egypt. The number system is strictly decimal and unlike the cuneiform yields straightforward 1:1 symbols from 1 to 9, 10 to 90, 100 to 900 and 1,000

to 9,000. The operations of addition and subtraction were simple enough, but multiplication was performed by the process of doubling: thus 14 x 14 could be handled by halving a 14 and used as 7 x 14 plus 7 x 14 or solved by using the 10 as 10 x 14 plus 4 x 14. Division was the inverse of this operation. Complex fractions were reduced to unit fractions; thus 23/45 is reduced to 1/5 + 1/5 + 1/9.

Probably because of their vast experience in manipulating fractions and devising elaborate tables for solutions to problems involving fractions, the Egyptians arrived at a very close approximation of π, namely, 3.16. Also, they derived a correct formula for the volume of a PYRAMID. The fruits of Egyptian mathematics and its practical usage in surveying and construction were passed on to the Semites of Syria-Palestine, but no legacy of theory or the more sophisticated solutions of problems appear among the remains of the cultures to the N. In time Egyptian mathematicians—the scribes entrusted with the royal enumerations—formalized the linear epigraphical script of hieroglyphic into a cursive set of ligatured signs. Numbers and their associated operations were handled in the same manner. The increasing mood of conservatism and intransigence that characterized the last millennium of pharaonic Egypt took its toll on the development of numbers and the understanding of the concepts of numbers. To what degree intuitiveness influenced the mechanical notions of this Egyptian culture has not yet been decided, but they utilized their clumsy system to record enumerations as high as 1,422,000. This enumeration was affected by the use of many duplicated signs that had to be totalled to be read. The geometric theory of Egypt, like that of early Ionic Greece, was based largely on constructions. Even the rudiments of algebra were never approached.

A tablet showing archaic numerals (from Uruk, c. 3200 B.C.).

***D. Akkadian, Assyrian, Babylonian numbers.*** The Sumerian sexagesimal system and the Egyptian decimal system seem to have been known to the Akkado-Babylonians, the E Semite cultures that inherited and refined the ancient non-Semitic culture of Mesopotamia. The Assyrians in the N of the

Tigris-Euphrates valley and the Babylonians in the S were dedicated businessmen and traders. Literally hundreds of thousands of economic documents, business ledgers, and contracts have been excavated and studied. They also were adept builders, and the hard facts of life on the plains of Iraq forced cooperation and authoritative planning for irrigation and defense. The Babylonian mathematical tablets are some of the finest exact scientific treatises still extant from the ancient world. Of special importance is that the late Babylonian scribes were on the verge of discovering two of the chief mathematical tools of later ages, "functions" and algebra. In these matters they were centuries beyond and above any of their contemporaries. The close (and often disastrous) proximity of Mesopotamia to Palestine made the mathematical insights of Babylon available to Israel, but there is only slight evidence that any of this learning actually found common currency in the twelve tribes.

The area of a triangle, quadrangle, trapezoid, and the volumes of many types of figures could be computed by the Babylonians. In the last period of Babylonian culture, the SELEUCID, practical knowledge overcame the more difficult solution type of problem, and ASTRONOMY dominates the texts. The contents of these texts had been abstracted and refined and were known to the Greeks. Thinkers such as Thales utilized these results. Their greatest insight was in the field of elementary number theory, which at this time was unresearched. It is from the E Semitic Akkadian language that the Hebrew terms for both cardinal and ordinal numbers were derived.

In general, the mathematical texts of Mesopotamia may be divided into two classes, the *problem texts,* which offer methods and insights for solving specific problems with examples, and *table texts,* which give tables of successive series of numbers under certain operations. The problem texts appear to have originated in the time of the first dynasty of Babylon and were recopied with little alteration thereafter. Probably under the era of peace brought about by HAMMURABI (1792-1750 B.C.), the great advances in algebra and geometry took place. In Babylon under the Kassite kings, astronomy and astrology were the foremost pursuits. The table texts are probably a subclass of the Sumero-Babylonian *Listenwissenschaft* or "catalogue-science," by which the vast lexical lists were assembled. Under the Kassites, parallel columns of Sumerian terms and

Plaque with geometric shapes used to work mathematical formulas (from Babylon, c 1800 B.C.).

phrases with their Babylonian equivalents were executed, and long series of these running on to twenty or more tablets have been discovered. The astrological omen series *Enūma Anu Enlil was* collected at this time. The same method was already in use with tables of numbers. Simple tablets

exist in which figures in a column are followed by their reciprocals and other more complex operations (as in the tablet YBC 7354-70g; see O. Neugebauer and A. Sachs, *Mathematical Cuneiform Texts* [1945],

| A | B | C | D |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1/60 | 60/1=60 | 60/(1 x 2)=30 | 60/2=30 |
| 2/60 | 60/2=30 | 60/(2 x 2)=15 | 60/2=30 |
| 3/60 | 60/3=20 | 60/(3 x 2)=10 | 60/2=30 |
| 4/60 | 60/4=15 | 60/(4 x 2)=7,30 | 60/2=30 |
| 5/60 | 60/5=12 | 60/(5 x 2)=6 | 60/2=30 |
| 6/60 | 60/6=10 | 60/(6 x 2)=5 | 60/2=30 |

17). The text is devised in the sexagesimal system but given below in the modern decimal notation:

Column *A* lists a set of numbers in the form of sexagesimal fractions, in this case interest charges on loans; column *B* gives the reciprocals; column *C* gives $B \times 2$; and the factor of 2 constant is given in column *D*. With such a table a business clerk or scribe could easily manipulate any set of figures for the appropriate interest rate. Recent investigations have located in Babylonian mathematics what we now call Fer-mat problems and even formuli for the length and area of figures such that one of the following expressions hold: $ax^2 + bx = c$, $ax^2 - bx = c$ and the two derived equations $bx - ax^2 = c$ and $bx = ax^2$ (E. M. Bruins in *Janus* 53/3 [1966]: 194-211). Under the later Babylonian and Assyrian rulers, astronomical lists again flourished, and great strides were made in the accuracy with which observations of the heliacal rising of fixed stars, ephemerides of the planets, and eclipses of the sun and moon were recorded.

When Babylon fell to CYRUS of Persia in 539 B.C., the tradition of Babylonian mathematics passed to Iran. A final flowering of astronomical observation, simple algebra, and the tables for lunar, planetary, and solar cycles took place after the conquest of Mesopotamia by the Greeks in 333 B.C. The last vestige of this great mathematical tradition was passed on in the Seleucid and Arsacid era and died out in the medieval period. However, two further aspects of Akkadian, Assyrian, and Babylonian numbers were important. The cardinal and ordinal terms for the numbers derived from E Semitic cuneiform influenced those terms in Ugaritic and Hebrew. In addition, the Mesopotamian scribes became so familiar with handling numbers that they often used numerical signs to signify certain common words in cuneiform texts (e.g., 15 = Akk. *ḫamiššer* "right," and Sumer. *MIN.EŠ* [for sexagesimal 2, 30] = decimal 150, Akk. *ḫamšame;* cf W. White in *Clio Medica* [1970], 197ff.).

***E. Ugaritic and Canaanite numbers.*** The culture of ancient UGARIT, a seacoast town that stood on the site of the modern Syrian town of Ras Shamra, was derived almost wholly from Mesopotamia. Like their Assyro-Babylonian cousins, the W Semites of Ugarit utilized the numerical sign system, but there is little evidence that they ever reached the insight into general concepts of mathematics, algebra, and number theory that was known along the Tigris and Euphrates. In the economic texts from Ugarit not only the signs for the numbers are Sumero-Akkadian but in most cases the names of the commodities as well. It almost appears as though Akkadian was the language of business and finance. In Ugarit's complex poetic literature, written in the difficult W Semite tongue now termed *Ugaritic,*

the numbers are written out phonetically. However, in both ledgers and literature, the intricacies of the sexagesimal system in which Babylon gloried are missing, and the straightforward decimal operations are predominant.

The evidence from other parts of the ancient world shows that laborers who could not compute with the Babylonian cuneiform signs used simple scratches or vertical lines in 1:1 correspondence, with the objects they wished to tally. On numerous potsherds and stone blocks distributed around the Mediterranean coast, such tally marks have been discovered. The possibility that some such markings may be yet identified on some Canaanite building block or pier is very high. However, all such systems have a basic simplicity; in Phoenician inscriptions such groups of signs often fall into the following patterns: I=1, II=2, III=3, I III=4, II III=5, III III=6,I III III=7, II III III=8, III III III=9, and a bar of approximately the same length was used for 10. A wide divergence exists for numbers above 19. The sign for 20 usually was written with a sign somewhat like the "N" or "H" but distinct from any of the letters of the "alphabet." The numbers 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, and their combinations with the integers 1 through 9 in the unit place, were all written in terms of the "20." For example, 83 is written as III I II N N N N. It is interesting to note that while repetitive signs were written in groups of four by the Egyptian scribes, the Canaanites and Phoenicians grouped their integers in threes.

The sign for hundreds is a modified *)aleph;* the quantity "one" was added as a small vertical stroke to the right of the sign to designate one hundred, two for two hundred, and so on. The sign for thousands was again not clearly derived from any of the consonantal symbols. No occurrences are known of numbers of greater magnitude, but a little imagination can lead us to assume that the integers were indicated to the right by the use of the vertical ones.

The wide distribution of the ARAMAIC language and its attendant E Semitic culture allowed a significant diversion in the types of numerical notations demonstrable from the various Aramaic sources. Those from the military colony of ELEPHANTINE have few numerical signs except for those common in the later Hebraic texts. Yet, the epigraphic Aramaic contains a system close to that of the Phoenician. The sign for 20, however, is obviously an *(ayin,* and signs for two and three thousand are attested. These symbols are in the form of the *tau,* with the integer indicated to the right. Probably the manipulation of the actual operations was done in accordance with the Egyptian manner described above.

***F. Later Semitic numbers.*** There is considerably more evidence of the numerical systems used by the Semitic peoples after the rise of Greece and the establishment of the Greek colonies in Egypt, Magna Graece, and along the Black Sea coast. Of special importance are the Syrian Palmyrene and S Arabian Nabatean systems. These two numerations developed on the basis of the late Egyptian hieratic script, and a separate sign for 5 was introduced. The configuration is similar to certain styles of *(ayin,* remotely like English *Y.* The use follows that of the Canaanite and Phoenicians, with the exception that the extra ones are set to the left of the five; for example, IY=6, IIY=7, IIIY=8, and IIIIY=9. The "ten" is similar to the hieratic Egyptian sign for *d)d(w),* a long bar with a sharp down stroke and frequent tight curl. The symbol for one hundred is the English reversed *P.* Symbols for numbers of larger magnitude utilize a hundred determinative with the integer indicator set to the left. The peculiar duplication of the sign for 20 is retained up through 70; the largest value below 99 remains to be discovered.

None of these possible consonantal signs are remotely similar to the initial consonants of the words for these numbers when spelled out. There is little doubt that these symbols are numerical

signs. In the same manner as the Phoenician writing system, which was an extensive and very simplified syllabary, the letter system was later modified to serve as an ordered phonetic alphabet under the Punic culture, and was later utilized to indicate numbers similar to the Greek. All evidence points to the Greek development of this system and its parallel, which later was accepted by the Semites. Since this system was illegible to the Greeks and other Indo-Europeans, it was an effective argot among Semitic traders and may be one of the tricks of the Carthaginian merchants spoofed by Plautus in his early Latin comedies.

## II. Numbers in the OT

***A. The form of OT numbers.*** In the OT MSS now available, the numbers are spelled out phonetically, but there is no reason to assume that a more direct numeral system was not available. Masons' marks and what may be simple tallies have been excavated in Israel. The earliest evidence of epigraphic inscriptions yields little in the way of numbers—nothing as general or well distributed as the Aramaic and later Semitic inscriptions. The few numbers that appear in the earliest Palestinian inscriptions (the GEZER Calendar, the MOABITE STONE, the OSTRACA from Samaria, and the SILOAM inscription of HEZEKIAH) either have the numbers of small magnitude 1 through 3 so that they are hardly useful as evidence, or they are written out phonetically.

There is no doubt that the modified Egyptian system in use among the Semites of the rest of ASIA MINOR and the E Mediterranean was also in use among the Jews. The fact that many of the numbers recorded in the earliest autographs of the text were written in this system and later transliterated into phonetic spellings, accounts for many of the primitive textual errors incorporated in the transmission of numbers. The restatement of purely numerical signs in alphabetic numbers, where the consecutive order of the letters of the writing system are not equal to the consecutive order of integers, is known. The chief difficulty with such a system is that no associated operations can be defined. Another source of errors is found in transmission of signs of the sexagesimal or vigesimal system into decimal notations. In the extant MSS of the OT and the various versions, the numbers are spelled out phonetically. The Maso-retes pointed such terms as though they were regular nouns and adjectives, and consequently they completely altered any original differentiation of form that may have existed. However, there exist many problems concerning the base and operational procedure utilized for certain notations, as in Ugaritic, which seem to follow hieroglyphic Hittite. (Cf. C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook* [1965], §7.1-2.)

***B. Mathematical terms and operations.*** The terms for the numbers in Hebrew as used in the OT are as follows:

The numeral 1 (cardinal) is *)eḥād H285* (cognate to Ugaritic *)ḥd).* This word appears 960 times in the OT, including contexts that have a theological bearing (Gen. 1:9; Deut. 6:4; et al.). Although it can function as an ordinal, "first" (cf. Gen. 1:5 and 8), a different term is normally used with this meaning, *ri)šôn H8037* (derived from *rō)š H8031,* "head"), which occurs some 180 times in the OT (Gen. 8:13 et al.).

The numeral 2 is šĕ*nayim H9109* (dual in form, as usual in the other Semitic languages; cognate to Ugar. *ṯnm,* Akk. *šena/šina,* Egyp. *śnw(y)).* This term, which occurs 768 times in the OT (Gen. 1:6 et al.), is related to words meaning "repetition," "succession," and the like. The ordinal, šē*nî H9108,* "second," occurs 157 times in the OT (1:8 et al.).

The numeral 3 is *šālōš H8993* (with variant spellings; cf. Ugar. *ṯlṯ* and Akk. *šalāšum),* which

occurs 430 times in the OT (Gen. 6:10); the ordinal, *šĕlîšî H8958,* 105 times (1:13 et al.).

The numeral 4 is *)arba( H752* (cf. Ugar. *rb(t),* Akk. *erbūm),* which occurs approximately 250 times in the OT (Gen. 2:10 et al.); the ordinal, *rĕbî(î H8055,* fewer than 75 times (1:19 et al.).

The numeral 5, *ḥāntēš H2822* (cf. Ugar. *ḥmš,* Akk. *ḥamšum),* occurs 340 times in the OT (Gen. 14:9 et al.); the ordinal, *ḥămîšî H2797,* 42 times (1:23 et al.).

The numeral 6, šēš *H9252* (cf. Ugar. *tt*, Akk. *šiššum/šeššum),* occurs 289 times in the OT (Gen. 7:6 et al.); the ordinal, *šiššî H9261,* 23 times (1:31 et al.).

The numeral 7, *šeba( H8679* (cf. Ugar. *šb(,* Akk. *sebûm),* occurs 390 times in the OT (Gen. 4:15 et al); the ordinal, *šĕbî(î H8668,* 95 times (2:2 et al.). The SABBATH is the seventh day of rest, and possibly the Hebrew term *šabbāt H8701* is related to the word for "seven," but the matter is disputed.

The numeral 8, *šĕmōneh H9046* (cf. Ugar. *tmn,* Akk. *šamāriûm,* more commonly *samānûm),* occurs 109 times in the OT (Gen. 17:12 et al); the ordinal, *šĕmînî H9029,* only 31 times (Exod. 22:30 et al.; on the musical term *sheminith,* see MUSIC VI.C).

The numeral 9, *tēša( H9596* (cf. Ugar. tš(, Akk. *tišûm),* occurs fewer than 30 times in the OT (Gen. 29:26 et al.); the ordinal, *tēša( H9596,* only 7 times (Lev. 23:22 et al.).

The numeral 10, *(eśer H6924* (Ugar. *(šr,* Akk. *ešrum,* as well as other Semitic languages), occurs fewer than 60 times in the OT (Gen. 16:3 et al.), but the related forms *(ăśārâ H6927* (Gen. 18:32 et al.) and *(ăśeret H6930* (Exod. 18:21 et al.), which have the same meaning, are used with comparable frequency each. Moreover, the forms *(āśār H6925* and *(eśrēh H6926* (used only in combination with other terms to form the numbers 11-19; see below) occur a total of more than 300 times (cf. also the verb *(āśar H6923,* piel and hiphil "to tithe"). The ordinal, *(ăśîrî H6920,* usually denotes the tenth in a series, mostly of dates (Gen. 8:5 et al.); it occurs fewer than 30 times. However, there is also a noun, *(iśśārôn H6928,* that means "tenth part" and that occurs with comparable frequency (aside from Exod. 29:40, only in Leviticus and Numbers).

The numerals 11 through 19 are formed by placing the unit number first and then the form *(āśār H6925* (with masc. nouns) or *(eśrēh H6926* (with fem. nouns). The numeral 20 is represented with *(eśrîm H6929* (Gen. 6:3 et al.; this term looks like the plural of 10, but originally it was probably a dual form). The plurals of 3 through 9 are used for numbers 30 through 90 (no separate ordinals of these numbers are extant). Since the Akkadian-Assyrian-Babylonian system adopted the sexagesimal system of Sumer, the numbers from 30 to 90 and multiples of them are not derived from the same sources as the other Semitic languages.

The term for 100 is *mē)â H4395* (Ugar. *m)t,* Akk. *me)u/me)atu* prob. meant simply "crowd, large group," a detail sometimes advanced as an explanation for the long ages assigned various antediluvian figures); it occurs 580 times in the OT, usually in combination with another figure (Gen. 5:3 et al.). Its dual form *(mā)tayim)* can be used for the numeral 200 (11:23).

The powers above $10^2$ are expressed with a combination of terms always involving *)elep* II *H547,* "thousand" (cf. Ugar. *)lp* and other Semitic languages, but not Akk., which uses *limu).* This term is identical in form to the common Hebrew for "ox, herd" *(elep* I *H546),* from which some think the former was originally derived. Moreover, from the word for "thousand" developed other meanings, such as "a large military unit" (which originally must have been composed of approximately 1,000 soldiers, e.g., Num. 31:14). But such units were usually tribal subdivisions, and

so the word could mean simply "clan" (1 Sam. 10:19 et al.) and possibly even "district" (cf. Mic. 5:2). When the word has these derived meanings, many scholars regard it as a separate term (*)elep* III *H548;* cf. *HALOT,* 1:59-60; *DCH,* 1:297-300). Numbers expressed as hundreds or in hundreds occur over 500 times, while numbers expressed as thousands or in thousands occur over 400 times. The greatest frequency is in the books of Numbers and 1-2 Chronicles. The number is used mostly when reporting a census (Num. 1:21 et al.).

Numbers above thousands are indefinite in the Semitic languages except for Akkadian. In Phoenician all such numbers are written in the sign system and not spelled out as words. In poetic and dramatic contexts in the OT, *)elep* is used simply to express a large number; the exact statistic is indeterminate (Num. 10:36) and must be understood as a group or subdivision of the citizen-army and not as an exact number. Military units of this type are often characterized by terms derived from numbers (e.g., the Roman CENTURION rarely had exactly 100 men under his command). In fact, the derived form *)allûp H477* means "chieftain, [tribal] leader" (Gen. 36:15-43 et al.; *see NIDOTTE,* 1:406-10). Larger numbers are indicated by *rĕbābâ H8047* (from *rab H8041,* "many, great"), which means simply "great multitude"; it is usually translated as "ten thousand" (Lev. 26:8 et al.).

Although the Hellenistic use of acrophonic numbers (i.e., symbols that come from the first letter of the name for individual numbers) seems to have encouraged other peoples of the Mediterranean coast to utilize their alphabetic systems as number signs, there is absolutely no evidence that such a practice was common among the Jews of the OT period. The earliest evidence of such usage is found on HASMONEAN coins (2nd cent. B.C.).

The Hebrew of the OT is very imprecise about fractions, which were the mainstay of both Akkadian and Egyptian operations in mathematics. Generally, Hebrew utilizes the feminine forms of the ordinals for fractions. The most notable exception is the term *ḥăṣî H2942,* "half," used even when a fair degree of accuracy is expected (Exod. 25:10 et al.; this term is derived from the verb *ḥāṣaṣ H2951,* piel "divide," a term peculiar to Heb. and not implying a quantitative measure). The fraction 1/3 is the regular ordinal *šĕlîšî* (Num. 15:6 et al.), while 2/3 is expressed with the idiom *pî-šĕnayim* (lit., "mouth of two," as in Zech. 13:8; cf. Deut. 21:17; 2 Ki. 2:9). Regularly expressed are the fractions 1/4 (1 Sam. 9:8), 1/5 (Gen. 47:24), 1/6 (Ezek. 46:14), 1/10 (Exod. 16:36), 2/10 (Lev. 23:13), 3/10 (Lev. 14:10), and 1/100 (Neh. 1:11). The uncommon fractions 4/5 (Gen. 47:24) and 9/10 (Neh. 11:1) are expressed in terms of "four parts" and "nine parts."

There is absolutely no evidence that such mathematical concepts as powers, roots, or infinity were recognized or understood. The simple operations of addition (Gen. 5:3-31 et al.), subtraction (assumed from Gen. 18:28 et al.), multiplication (Lev. 25:8 et al.), and division (Num. 31:27 et al.) are only barely mentioned. However, since most mathematics among the craftsmen of the time was practical and applied, there is no special significance to the lack of mathematical knowledge evidenced by the OT. The terms and operations that are mentioned are all accurate as used herein, but there is no reason for these to be exhaustive.

***C. Enumerations.*** By far the highest frequency of numerical data given in the OT are enumerations either of age or census. These two areas produce some of the most difficult textual problems that arise.

**1. Common enumerations, ages.** The ages assigned to the characters in the OT are all in accord with common experience except those in the ANTEDILUVIAN period (Gen. 5). The ages given for the line of

ADAM to NOAH are all of great length, from ENOCH's 365 years to METHUSELAH's 969 years. A great deal has been written about this series of ages. The conservative opinion has traditionally been that the conditions of the cosmos before the flood were such that great longevity was not merely plausible but commonplace. Two factors militate against this simple solution. (a) The longevities play no specific part in the biblical theology of the scriptural revelation. (b) Other ancient documents that describe antediluvian antiquity include vast ages (e.g., the *Sumerian King List)*. A careful analysis of the ages demonstrates that they are all figures of two sorts: multiples of five, (5n), or multiples of five plus seven or two times seven, (5n) + (7 x 2). For example, the age of Seth, 912 = 5 x 181 + 7. Since every one of the ten ages quoted in Gen. 5 passage is reducible in this fashion, along with many other ages and chronological totals of the patriarchs, the scheme cannot possibly be accidental. The finality of LAMECH's career is enforced and reinforced by the manner in which his age is stated: "and all the days of Lamech were seven and seventy and seven hundred, and he died" (5:31, lit. trans.)

The basic structure of the multiples of five in the sexagesimal system, plus the perfective seven that is repeated throughout the creation narrative, is consistently maintained. Furthermore, this pattern persistently appears throughout the Prophets, the TALMUD, and the MIDRASH, where the numbers 600,000; 60,000; 30,000; 12,000; 6,000; 3,000; 1,200; 600; 300; and 120 are commonplace (U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis* [1961], 249-68). Numerous attempts to reinterpret the term "years" used in the ages of the patriarchs have been unsuccessful; the OT simply does not use the term in any other sense than the solar year. The appearance of the large sexagesimal numbers in the early chapters of Genesis proves the antiquity of the text or literary tradition utilized by MOSES.

**2. Large number enumerations, census.** The most consistently confused material in the OT from MS to MS and version to version is the record of large CENSUS figures. Undoubtedly the source of the difficulty can be traced to several changes in notational systems before and during the transmission of the text. Some passages of noteworthy problems are: 7000 charioteers in 1 Chr. 19:18, but 700 in 2 Sam. 10:18; 40,000 stalls in 1 Ki. 4:26 (MT), but 4000 in 2 Chr. 9:25; "eighteen years old" in 2 Ki. 24:8, but "eight" in 2 Chr. 36:9 (MT). Of special importance is the fact that 2 or its multiples often are replaced by 1, 10, etc., or 3 and its multiples. In many cases such problems can be explained by careful analysis without resort to specious and innovative emendations. Some of the difficulties like those already cited can be understood only as primitive textual errors in one or another family of MSS (note the important study by J. W. Wenham in *TynBul* 18 [1967]: 19-53).

***D. Rhetorical numbers.*** Since numbers were for the most part spelled out and used as words in literature, all Semitic languages developed artistic canons of usage for number terms. The Ugaritic texts, as well as the Akkadian, frequently have a device for building to literary completion with set series of numbers.

**1. Climactic and idiomatic uses.** All ancient Semitic literatures rely upon a series of numbers (linked either syndetically or asyndetically) to bring about progression and anticipation in narratives. The standard form is 1-2, 3-4, 5-6, then on 7 a change or finale occurs (cf. *Epic of Gilgamesh* 11.140-45); the creation-law order of Genesis is revealed in precisely this fashion (Gen. 1:3—2:3; cf. 8:4; Exod. 16:27; and frequently; see also M. G. Kline in *WTJ 20* [1957-58]: 146-57). The idiomatic use of numbers involves the inclusion of a figure in a literary passage where an indefinite quantity is meant. For a few indeterminate situations, the OT uses 3 (2 Ki. 9:32; Isa. 17:6; Amos 4:8; et al.); for indeterminate large numbers, 40 is used, 40 years being the length of a generation (Exod. 16:35; Deut.

34:7; et al.). It must be recognized that ancient societies did not have the passion for objective exact statistics that marks modern culture. Often in Persian, Greek, and other literatures, numbers such as 40 are used simply as synonyms for "many," "moderate crowd," and other similar expressions.

**2. Poetic series of numbers.** The parallelistic construction of numbers in Akkadian, Ugaritic, NW Semitic, and Hebrew is well known. According to the canons of parallel poetic style, the same form of the noun is not repeated in both lines (see HEBREW POETRY II). Since synonymous numerals are nearly nonexistent, the standard usage became a number X in the "A" position and a second number X + 1 in the "B" phrase. The OT contains the following sequences: X = 1 // X + 1 = 2 (Deut. 32:30; Jdg. 5:30; 1 Ki. 6:10; Ezra 10:13; Neh. 13:20; Job 33:14; Ps. 62:11; Jer. 3:14). X = 2 // X + l = 3(Deut.l7:6;2 Ki. 9:32; Job 33:29;Isa. 17:6; Hos. 6:2; Amos 4:8).X = 3 // X + 1 = 4 (Exod. 20:5; 34:7; Num. 14:18; Deut. 5:9; Prov. 30:15; 18, 21, 29; Amos 1:3, 6, 9,11,13; 2:l). X = 4 // X + 1 = 5(Isa. 17:6). X = 5 // X + 1 = 6(2 Ki. 13:19). X = 6 // X + 1 = 7 (Job 5:19; Prov. 6:16). X = 7 // X + 1 = 8 (Mic. 5:5). X = 1,000 // X + "l" = 10,000 (Deut. 32:30; 1 Sam. 18:7; 21:11; 29:5; Ps. 91:7; this pattern indicates a certain insight into the poetic rather than arithmetic character of these numbers). However, the sequence is used also in prose narrative to indicate an indeterminate, usually small number (Jdg. 5:30 et al.). On occasion the "B" number is taken more precisely (e.g., Prov. 30:18, where the sequence is 3 // 4 and the four aspects are listed in the following context).

***E. Symbolic and mystical numbers.*** Unfortunately the frequent use of notions of symbolism applied to the biblical numbers has resulted in little less than soothsaying. This result has been used to reinforce the extreme opposite position, specifically, that no mystical use of numbers is anywhere indicated in the text. This is equally false. There is no doubt a proper sequence of numbers representing the creation order 7, the ritual 3, and the unique 1. Larger numbers such as 40, 80, 120, and 1,000 also are used with significance. (For opposing opinions on this difficult question see E. W. Bullinger, *Number In Scripture* [1913], and O. T. Allis, *Bible Numerics* [1961].)

***F. Numerological explanations of the OT.*** Most of these types of exegetical systems have been based upon the assumption that the later Jewish system of indicating numbers with the sequential letters of the Hebrew alphabet was practiced throughout the biblical period. Thus, any term in the MT can be deciphered into a code of numbers. For example, the consonantal text of Gen. 1:1 begins with the compounded word *bĕrēʾšît,* which can deciphered in terms of numerals as *b*=2, *r*=200, ʾ=1, š=300, *y*=10, and *t*=400; thus the first word of Genesis equals the total of these numbers, 913, which is then interpreted mystically. This sort of magical nonsense arose during the Hellenistic age and was applied to many ancient writings under the term *gematria* (a corruption from Gk. *geōmetria;* for a summary of this method and its historical development, see J. J. Davis, *Biblical Numerology* [1968], 125-56; recent attempts to find special meanings in biblical numbers include D. Washburn, *The Original Code in the Bible: Using Science and Mathematics to Reveal God's Fingerprints* [1998], and C. J. Labuschagne, *Numerical Secrets of the Bible: Rediscovering the Bible Codes* [2000]).

**III. Numbers in the NT.** As a whole the NT contains substantially less in the way of numerical material than the OT. In the main they are simple counts of crowds or groups or mercantile figures taken from the world of commerce for purposes of illustration.

***A. The state of Greek numbers and mathematics.*** From the early days of the Ionian philosophers,

the Greek world considered numbers as worthy of the highest and most sustained study. In the age of Plato and Aristotle (c. 300 B.C.) the great mathematical insights of Greek civilization were brought forth.

***B. Hellenistic numerology.*** The roots of numerological manipulation of numbers among the Greeks certainly date from Pythagoras (c. 582-500 B.C.), whose mystic brotherhood of disciples eroded whatever objective scientific value their teacher's labors may have held and plunged his name and teachings into a veritable swamp of magic and ritual. After the conquests of ALEXANDER THE GREAT (c. 322 B.C.), this residue settled upon the Semitic states of the ANE. Although frequently utilizing the Greek notational system, which still had no operational significance, the Semitic peoples seem to have retained their own simple mercantile art of arithmetic. The impact of Plotinus and Neo-Platonism energized this mystic trend to a point that gematria was practiced widely among various schools of Hellenistic thought. Not the least important was the Gnostic, from which it passed into the post-Nicene church and the medieval era.

***C. Form, terms, and operations of NT numbers.*** The various numbers recorded in the NT follow the Semitic pattern rather than the Greek. They are never indicated by numeral signs but written out as words either because they are direct quotations/allusions to the SEPTUAGINT (or some variant of the MT) or because they are translated from the Aramaic usage of Christ and the apostles (which followed very closely the Phoen.-Heb. pattern). There is no mention of mathematical operations in the NT except for the uses of the common verb Greek *arithmeō G749,* "to count" (only Matt. 10:30; Lk. 12:7; Rev. 7:9), and the less common *Greek psāphizō G6028,* "to calculate, compute [with pebbles]" (only Lk. 14:28; Rev. 13:18).

In Greek syntax the numbers are treated as nouns and are declined, and the grammatical genders (masculine, feminine, neuter) of numbers 1 to 4 are differentiated for purposes of morphological agreement. The numbers above 20 are indeclinable and treated like plurals of regular adjectives. In addition to all single-digit numbers, many numbers from 10 to 100, and several between 100 and 666, the NT includes some in the thousands and a few very large numbers, such as 23,000 (1 Cor. 10:8), 50,000 (Acts 19:19), and 144,000 (Rev. 7:4 et al.). The figurative numeral *myriades myriadōn kai chiliades chiliadōn,* "myriads of myriads and thousands of thousands" indicates millions (Rev. 5:11; *myrias G3689* can mean either "a very large indefinite number" or specifically "ten thousand"), while *dismyriades myriadōn* is often translated "two hundred million" (9:26; *dismyrias G1490* is 20,000, but "the undefined pl. suggests several units of twenty-thousand multiplied by 10,000," indicating an "indefinite number of incalculable immensity" [BDAG, 252a]).

***D. Rhetorical, symbolic, and mystical numbers.*** The same figures that are given symbolic meaning in the OT (3, 5, 7, 12) are used symbolically also in the NT. The reason for this is the scrupulous attention given in the NT to every aspect of Christ's messianic fulfillment, for example, the twelve apostles as a reinstitution of the sons of Jacob as heads of the twelve tribes of Israel. The only purely symbolic number is the "thousand" applied to lengths of time in the apocalyptic passages. The only purely mystical, in the sense of mysterious, number is 666, the epithet of the ANTICHRIST or his agent in Rev. 13:18. The various people identified over the centuries by this number have usually been determined by gematria and the permutation of the resultant numbers. Over the centuries of such speculations, NERO has been the most popular choice ("Nero Caesar" in Heb. can be spelled *qsr nrwn,* and the numerical values are: *q*=100, *s*=60, *r*=200, *n*=50, *r*=200, *w*=6, *n*=50).

(See further L. L. Conant, *The Number Concept* [1896]; H. G. Zeuthen, *Geschichte der Mathema-tik im Altertum und Mittelalter* [1896]; K. Sethe, *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten Ägypten* [1916]; T. Heath, *A History of Greek Mathematics, 2* vols. [1921]; F. Cajori, *A History of Mathematics* [1926]; O. Neugebauer, *Die Grundlagen der ägyptischen Bruchrechnung* [1926]; A. Heller, *Biblische Zahlensymbolik* [1936]; F. Thoreau-Dangin, *Textes mathématiques babyloniens* [1938]; id., "Sketch of a History of the Sexagesimal System," *Osiris* 7 [1939]: 95-141; E. T. Bell, *Development of Mathematics* [1945]; id., *Numerology* [1945]; O. Neugebauer and A. Sachs, *Mathematical Cuneiform Texts* [1945]; O. Neugebauer, *The Exact Science in Antiquity* [1957]; K. Vogel, *Vorgriechische Mathematik* [1959]; F. Lasserre, *The Birth of Mathematics in the Age of Plato* [1964]; C. B. Boyer, *A History of Mathematics* [1968]; *EncJud* [1972], 12:1254-61; G. Robins and C. Schute, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus: An Ancient Egyptian Text* [1987]; G. Flegg, ed., *Numbers through the Ages* [1989]; K. R. Nemet-Nejat, *Cuneiform Mathematical Texts as a Reflection of Everyday Life in Mesopotamia* [1993]; G. Ifrah, *The Universal History of Numbers: From Prehistory to the Invention of the Computer* [1998]; *ABD,* 4:1139-46.)

W. WHITE, JR.

**Numbers, Book of.** The fourth book of the Bible and traditionally one of the five books of MOSES (the PENTATEUCH or TORAH). Numbers traces the history of the Hebrew people during their wilderness wanderings from Mount SINAI to the plains of MOAB.

1. Title
2. Background
3. Composition
4. Authorship
5. Purpose
6. Text
7. Special problems
    1. Census numbers
    2. Biblical evaluation of the period
    3. Itinerary of the wilderness journey
8. Content
    1. At Sinai
    2. Sinai to Kadesh
    3. Wilderness sojourn
    4. On the plains of Moab
9. Theology

**I. Title.** The English title is a literal translation of the title in the SEPTUAGINT *(Arithmoi)* and reflects the censuses of Num. 4 and 26. Some have proposed that this title was chosen by someone with a superficial knowledge of the book, since the censuses appear to have so little to do with its major thrusts. The usual Hebrew title, *bĕmidbar,* "in the wilderness" (based on the fifth word of 1:1), seems much more apt (sometimes the first word of the verse, *wayĕdabbēr,* "and he [YHWH] spoke," serves as the title). However, the two censuses do relate directly to the overall themes of the book. The first represents the organization of the people for the impending journey and the occupation of the land that was intended to follow shortly. The second census and its accompanying reorganization was

necessitated by the people's failure to obey God at KADESH BARNEA, the resulting death of that generation in the wilderness, and the preparation of the new generation to possess the land at last.

**II. Background.** Because the date of the exodus is a matter of considerable controversy, the events that this book records are difficult to place in their precise context in the ANE. The exodus is variously dated from 1440 B.C. to about 1260 B.C. (see EXODUS, THE). The earlier date has been generally favored by conservatives because of several biblical chronologies, notably 1 Ki. 6:1. Archaeologists have favored the later date.

The book of Numbers is important in this debate especially in one particular: portions of the book (Num. 20-25 and 31) deal with Israel's relations with EDOM in the NEGEV and with the several kingdoms of TRANSJORDAN. A noted archaeologist, the late Nelson Glueck, made extensive surface explorations of the Negev and Transjordanian areas between 1930 and 1940 (cf. his work, *Explorations in Eastern Palestine,* 4 vols., AASOR [1934-51]). His findings convinced him that during much of the 2nd millennium B.C., probably for climatic reasons, these regions were largely uninhabited, and only after 1300 was there settled occupation. If this were true, the early date for the exodus would be impossible.

The validity of Glueck's findings, however, has been contested. In particular, G. L. Harding *(The Antiquities of Jordan* [1959], 33) has pointed to well-stocked tombs of the HYKSOS period (1750-1550 B.C.) in the neighborhood of Amman (biblical RABBAH of the Ammonites). Such tombs argue against purely nomadic occupation. In addition, other discoveries have called into question the trustworthiness of surface observation alone without an accompanying archaeological "dig."

Whichever date one accepts for the exodus, political conditions in the SINAI Peninsula and the ARABAH would have favored the Hebrews. In 1440 B.C., during Ikhnaton's reign, Egyptian influence outside its own borders was at a low ebb. In the later situation, although RAMSES II (1290-1225) and his predecessor, Seti I, reasserted their control over Palestine, Ramses does not seem to have had much influence in the Negev and the Arabah. This is confirmed by two facts. First, MERNEPTAH, Ramses' successor, had to conduct a raid in those areas in 1225 to reestablish control. Second, an Egyptian temple recently found in the Arabah appears to have been largely destroyed at the beginning of the reign of Ramses and to have remained in this condition during his lifetime, being repaired only some years after his death. In either case, the biblical indication that the Hebrews were not harassed by any outside power would be confirmed.

Some investigations into the role of the Midian-ites in the late 2nd millennium have concluded that the biblical references to this group are well suited to this era and would, in fact, be foreign to any other. They were a nomadic people who possessed little territory, but who through commercial and military enterprises controlled vast areas. See MIDIAN.

**III. Composition.** It has long been recognized that, from the point of view of structure, this book is of a more diverse nature than any other in the Pentateuch. Although the main organizing principle is chronological (the book begins at Sinai and ends on the threshold of the Promised Land, thirty-eight years later), much of the material appears to be in topical order. For example, Exodus ends with an account of the building of the TABERNACLE. This event is recapitulated in Num. 9:15-21, suggesting the beginning of the next section of the narrative. This leaves the question: did the events of chs. 1-8 occur before or after the tabernacle was erected?

This example and several others, which will be touched upon later in this discussion, have led many scholars to the belief that the book of Numbers is not a literary unity. That is, the materials in

the book were not rigidly organized according to one principle. Rather, the book is a collection of those accounts that apply to the wilderness period, with diverse materials—legislation, genealogy, travel accounts—being inserted into a loosely constructed chronological framework. The presence of smooth transitions between episodes in some cases and their lack in others favors this conclusion.

The Wellhausen school of BIBLICAL CRITICISM found the diversity of material in the book well-suited to its documentary hypothesis. Based upon the evidence of two divine names, *Yahweh* (usually translated "LORD") and *Elohim* ("God"), the difficulty of reconciling practices recorded in Judges and Samuel with those prescribed in the Pentateuch, and a refusal to credit special revelation, scholars of the 19th cent. concluded that the Pentateuch in its present form came at the end of OT history, in the time of EZRA and not at the time of Moses. Their contention was that four separate books or documents had been written during the course of Israel's history, each with a concept of God and religion somewhat more developed than the former. These were J (Yahweh, c. 850 B.C. [dates vary from scholar to scholar]), E (Elohim, c. 750 B.C.), D (Deuteronomy, 621 B.C.), and P (Priestly document, 444 B.C.). J and E were combined first, then D was appended. Finally, P was worked into the JED compilation, giving the whole a decidedly legalistic and priestly cast. See further PENTATEUCH III.

As mentioned above, the apparent diversity of Numbers seemed clear evidence of the validity of such an approach. The following sections were assigned to JE: Num. 10:29—12:15; 20:14-21; 21:12-32; 22:2—25:5. P supposedly included the rest of the book's contents except for 21:33-35, which was assigned to D (on the basis of a parallel with Deut. 3:1-3). J and E could not be separated in Numbers because the one criterion, the alleged differing use of the divine names, is not applicable. The names are used interchangeably. In fact, those passages where one would expect "God" to be used, according to critical theory, are the very ones that use "Yahweh," and vice versa.

The inherent fallacies and weaknesses in the JEDP system have long been pointed out by theological conservatives, as well as others who were not so oriented. It has been the recovery, however, of large amounts of information concerning the ANE that has caused a basic reorientation in the theory. The following points are relevant to the study of Numbers. The method of construction that the documentary hypothesis embraced was unknown in the ANE. No examples can be adduced of two (not to mention four) complete books being cut apart and the majority of their contents being interleaved into one volume. It appears that a written literature grew as stories or groups of traditions were compiled to form a whole. Often (e.g., in the GILGAMESH epic) the same units of tradition might be combined differently to form several different wholes. But the documentary hypothesis saw the process in reverse, with several wholes being broken into units to form one new whole.

Second, it is evident that the kind of rigid restriction of material (only narrative in this volume, only legislation in that, only priestly concerns in that) is an artificial criterion for distinguishing different sources.

A third inherent fallacy that has become apparent was Wellhausen's belief that development was inevitably upward. Fuller understanding of history has shown that human progress often has been in great bursts of development, or insight, followed by a slip backward and then long centuries of slow recovery of what had been formerly momentarily possessed. This corresponds well with the history of Israel. The revelation at Sinai could not even be carried through the desert without being forgotten and/or corrupted.

Fourth, it is now very clear that the conviction concerning the lateness of the priesthood and of priestly concerns in Israel is completely false. The primacy of priest and cult in all the early civilizations of the ANE makes it impossible to deny the biblical claims (such as those in Numbers)

that priestly concerns were of great importance in early Israel.

If the JEDP system cannot adequately explain the composition of the book of Numbers, how did it arrive at its present form? J. S. Wright (in *EvQ* 25 [1953]: 2-17) has made the following proposal: Presuming that Moses wrote the Pentateuch (see section on authorship below), it is reasonable to assume that various kinds of information were collected in different ways. Many records, such as itineraries, may have been jotted down as time permitted. These, along with Moses' personal reminiscences and observations, would have been kept with his own belongings. Revelations and legal materials may well have been handed over to the priests for publication and enactment. Still other information, such as genealogies, may have been recorded by scribes or others.

Near the end of his life Moses may have felt that this mass of material relating to the exodus and the sojourn, variously recorded and filed, ought to be collected in one library or collection of scrolls. It is suggested that by this time Moses had prepared a group of longer scrolls that contained the basic narratives. The beginning of these scrolls is marked by a somewhat slow-moving recapitulation of the situation at the end of the previous roll. In addition, there were several long legislative scrolls. When these two groups were placed in approximate chronological order, the shorter records, consisting of revelations, laws, and genealogies, were placed in the gaps between larger groups. Sometimes these smaller units were placed as near their correct chronological position as possible, but at other times they were treated more topically.

When these suggestions are applied to Numbers, the following emerges: The previous narrative scroll concluded at the end of the present book of Exodus. After this were collected all the revelations and regulations that pertained to the cult and the covenant that had been given during the Sinai period (many of them prior to the setting up of the tabernacle). These regulations include the entire book of Leviticus and extend to Num. 9:15. They are broken in two places, Num. 1-4 and 7, by miscellaneous records, which perhaps had also been in the keeping of the priests.

The new narrative scroll began at Num. 9:15 with a lengthy introduction. This narrative continues through ch. 14, where it breaks off abruptly. The next chapter is composed of miscellaneous revelations and records dealing with cultic observance. Their significance at this point in the account is not completely clear (see discussion on content below). Wright suggests that chs. 16-19 are grouped together because all deal with priestly prerogatives. The next two chapters appear to be a collection of narrative fragments that are supplemented with an itinerary and quotations from a now-lost Hebrew epic poem of the period. The Tale of Balaam (chs. 22-24), with its Mosaic epilogue, constitutes a return to highly detailed narrative. There follows a collection of miscellaneous materials through ch. 30. Included are census records, revelations, reports of revelations, and reports of legal judgments. Then ch. 31 picks up the narrative dropped at ch. 25 and carries it through 32:32. The remainder of the book is again a miscellaneous collection.

This recognition of the composite literary nature of the book in no way denies its unity of outlook, purpose, or theology. It is clear that all of the units of tradition have the same view of God and of his purpose in Hebrew history. These are not accounts whose fundamentally different purposes or understandings have been warped to conform to one overriding viewpoint. Rather, the eminently successful combination of such diverse literary structures could have been possible only because of their remarkable internal unity.

**IV. Authorship.** Tradition has long held that the Pentateuch was authored by Moses. This tradition goes back at least as far as the NT, where Jesus and the apostles attest it in passing (they nowhere argue for it). Various scholars have questioned this. One of the first was JEROME, translator of the

Latin VULGATE in the 5th cent. A.D. Not questioning the Pentateuch's origin with Moses, he yet voiced the conviction that the five books had been subject to considerable revision, with EZRA being responsible for the final editing.

This last note was echoed by the liberal critics of the 19th cent. They were convinced, however, that Moses did not write any of the Pentateuch and doubted seriously if he was actively connected with more than a small fraction of the material. Rather, unknown authors were responsible for J and E, perhaps the priest HILKIAH for D, and Ezra for P as well as for the final revision in which he everywhere thrust his peculiar legalistic and priestly concerns on the former writings.

Later OT criticism became divided on this issue. At one end of the spectrum was W. F. Albright who, while denying Mosaic authorship as such, asserted that the majority of Pentateuchal materials must be traced to Moses for their origin. On the other hand, the German scholar Martin Noth made the Pentateuchal traditions the work of the twelve tribes in Canaan and denied that a man called Moses ever led the Hebrew people or had anything to do with their traditions. Between these extremes an almost infinite variety of critical opinion is held.

Conservative scholars have generally refused to give up the traditional view. It is clear that the plain sense of Scripture supports some form of this opinion. Although there is no statement in the Pentateuch that Moses wrote the five books in toto, there are numerous statements that he wrote portions of them (e.g., Num. 33:2). In confirmation of this, archaeology has shown that, contra Wellhausen, writing was widely known at this time. More telling than this is the fact that the Pentateuch (after Genesis, which is prologue) plainly claims to record the events and revelations that occurred in the years between the exodus and the conquest. If this is so, and if Moses was indeed recording itineraries and other information, who more than he should be responsible for the writing of these materials?

On the other hand, the Bible does not make it an article of faith that Moses wrote every word of the Pentateuch. Numbers yields several instructive examples in this respect. It may be noted that Numbers (as well as Exodus and Leviticus) everywhere refers to Moses in the third person, except in direct quotations. This does not suggest the direct writing of Moses. The praise of Moses as the meekest man on earth (Num. 12:3) would be rather crass if it were coming from Moses' own mouth (unless one presumes that the passage was dictated to Moses by God, which is nowhere indicated). The reference to the Book of the Wars of the Lord (Num. 21:14-15) probably indicates an editor's use of a slightly later source that more clearly pinpointed the place of the camp to a generation no longer familiar with the exact area. Again, Num. 32:34-42 seems to date to the settlement period as an editor's statement of what the Transjordanian tribes eventually did in the lands that the action just described (32:1-32) had promised to them. These relatively minor matters in no way detract from the integrity of the Pentateuch, unless one assumes that editors were necessarily uninspired, an unwarranted conclusion. Mosaic authorship, as taught by the Bible, nowhere demands that every word be his.

**V. Purpose.** The apparent purpose in compiling the book of Numbers was to record the beginnings of the outworkings of the COVENANT in Israel's life. Modifications and adjustments in the structure of covenant stipulations are reported. More importantly, Israel's reaction to those stipulations is recorded. The themes of trust and obedience are paramount, and the intimate relation of these to the blessing or curse from God is illustrated again and again.

**VI. Text.** Like most of the rest of the Pentateuch, the text of Numbers seems to have been remarkably

stable. Variants in the SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH and the LXX are generally minor and, on established principles of textual criticism, generally indicate the MT to be the better text. The Samaritan recension is characteristically expansionist, including wherever possible parallels from Deuteronomy. Likewise, variants in the LXX are usually longer than the MT.

Portions of one of the Numbers scrolls from Qumran (4QNum[b]) exhibit a most interesting textual character. This text seems to occupy a middle ground between the Samaritan recension and the LXX. Ordinarily it follows the Samaritan text, exhibiting similar expansionist tendencies and often agreeing with the minor Samaritan deviations from the MT. However, in cases where the MT and the Samaritan recension agree against the LXX, this scroll normally follows the LXX. Frank Cross is of the opinion that this kind of text was the normal Palestinian text during the 5th-2nd centuries B.C., and that the expansions are the result of continual rabbinical revision. On the other hand, the MT was preserved in a much more conservative priestly climate in Babylon, being reintroduced in Palestine only in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. See further TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (OT).

## VII. Special Problems

***A. Census numbers.*** It has been recognized for many years that a fighting force of some 600,000 fighting men (Num. 1:46; 26:51) indicates a total community of between two and five million people. Although not an a priori impossibility, this literal interpretation is called into question by several factors. Great armies of this period (e.g., Egypt and Assyria) numbered only in the tens of thousands. Indeed, Joshua's army appears to have been only about forty thousand (whereas Josh. 4:13 may refer only to the number from Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, forty thousand as a total seems indicated in 8:3, 11-12). If *all* the fighting men went with him, as is explicitly said, and he only used thirty-five thousand, then 555,000 men would have been left as spectators—which seems highly unlikely. The difficulty of feeding several million people in the Sinai desert has been noted. In addition, archaeological investigation indicates that the total population of Canaan at this time was somewhat less than three million, which makes it difficult to understand how the Canaanites were able to restrict the Hebrew conquest to the central highlands.

None of these arguments is insuperable (for a detailed defense see T. Whitelaw in *ISBE* [1929], 4:2166-67). Yet they are all troublesome, and several alternative proposals have been put forward. R. K. Harrison *(Introduction to the Old Testament* [1970], 633) suggests that large numbers had a fixed symbolism that is now lost to us. Other suggestions have to do with the meaning of the Hebrew word *)elep H547,* "thousand" (see NUMBER II.B). The term *)allûp H477,* "chieftain," uses the same consonants, and it has been proposed that this latter word is what was intended. Thus, for example, Num. 1:39 would read 60 chieftains and 2,700 men from Dan instead of 62,700 men. Another suggestion holds that *)elep* did not originally mean "a thousand," but rather "a troop" or "military unit." By this reasoning only later was the number of men in such a unit fixed at one thousand. The army included 600 troops of soldiers. C. J. Humphreys (in *VT* 48 [1998]: 196-213) goes so far as to argue that each "troop" averaged only ten men and that the total population was merely 20,000. Each of these solutions has numerous problems implicit in it, so that a final solution cannot be claimed. (See further G. E. Mendenhall in *JBL* 77 [1958]: 52-66; G. A. Klingbeil in *DOTP,* 407-9.)

***B. Biblical evaluation of the period.*** It often has been claimed that the prophetic evaluation of the period is different from that found in the Pentateuch

This photo taken from the Wadi Rum shows the route from Ezion Geber providing access around the SE side of Edom. When the Israelites were forced to avoid going through Edom, they would have used this route.

itself. Various passages (e.g., Amos 5:25; Hos. 2:15; 9:10; 11:1-4; Jer. 2:2-3; 31:2) are quoted to show that the prophets regarded this period as an idyllic time, when Israel lived in unbroken fellowship with God. In contrast, it is said, the writers of P, and those under the influence of that school, were so impressed by God's dramatic punishment in the EXILE that they came to believe that Israel had never served God faithfully. As a result, they forced their interpretation into the Pentateuch.

A study of the prophetic passages quoted demonstrates that the supposed contrast is much overdrawn. It is not said that all Israel served God without fail in the wilderness. Rather, the period is looked upon from the point of view of the prophets' own apostate times. The point is that at least in the wilderness Israel did not seek other gods. The people were responsive to Yahweh, even though they often disobeyed him. The prophets in their time observed that Israel no longer even responded to God's overtures. Several of the references stress the helplessness of Israel and God's care of the nation. A wistfulness is expressed because, despite that care, Israel turned her back on Yahweh so completely.

***C. Itinerary of the wilderness journey.*** Attempts to reconstruct the wilderness journey have been, for the most part, unsuccessful. Two reasons account for this. In the first place, the sites named are not easily identifiable cities whose names have remained the same over many centuries. Instead, they were scattered campgrounds that are difficult to recognize and whose names may have differed with different groups. Second, the biblical data are difficult to harmonize.

Numbers 33 suggests four stages in the journey: EGYPT to SINAI (Num. 33:3-15); Sinai to EZION GEBER (33:16-35); Ezion Geber to KADESH BARNEA (33:36, perhaps with thirty-seven years wandering spent in this area [cf. 13:26; 20:1]); and Kadesh to MOAB (33:36-37). Although this reconstruction corresponds well with Deut. 1:46 and 2:1, there are at least three difficulties with it. (1) The first is the obvious fact that Num. 33 includes no mention of the encampments during the years in the Kadesh area. This silence has led radical critics to deny that there was any wandering. They contend that 20:1 picks up the narrative within days of where 14:45 leaves it. Defeated in their attempt to enter the land from the S, the Hebrews simply turned away and went around to the E. (2)

The second difficulty is the large number of encampments between Sinai and Ezion Geber, whereas Num. 11:34 and 12:16 imply only two stops on a more direct route to Kadesh. (3) A third factor is the command of 14:25 to go away from Kadesh "tomorrow…along the route to the Red Sea," a movement that is not reflected in the above interpretation of ch. 33.

In view of these difficulties, the following reconstruction may be proposed: Perhaps RITHMAH (Num. 33:18-19) refers to Wadi Abu Retemat, which is just S of Kadesh. Thus, Rithmah would have been the location of the camp at the time the spies were sent out (KD, *Pentateuch,* 3:243). If this is correct, then the seventeen places recorded in vv. 19-36 would refer to the thirty-seven years of wandering. This means that the Hebrews began their sojourn at Kadesh (13:26; 33:36-37), wandered in the area S and E of there to Ezion Geber (33:20-35), eventually terminating at Kadesh again (20:1; 33:36). Frustrated in their attempt to drive NE through EDOM to the RED SEA, they turned southward again (21:4), entered the ARABAH N of Ezion Geber, and from there proceeded to Moab. This reconstruction, not without difficulties, has the virtue of reconciling most of the biblical data.

**VIII. Content.** The book of Numbers may be outlined as follows.

1. At Sinai (Num. 1:1—9:14)
    1. Organization of the camp (1:1—4:49)
    2. Special regulations (5:1—6:27)
    3. Concerning the tabernacle (7:1—8:26)
    4. Passover (9:1-14)
2. Sinai to Kadesh (9:15—14:45)
    1. Principles for making and breaking camp (9:15—10:10)
    2. The departure (10:11-36)
    3. Craving for meat (11:1-35)
    4. Dissatisfaction of Miriam and Aaron (12:1-16)
    5. Spies (13:1-33)
    6. Response (14:1-45)
3. Wilderness sojourn (15:1—21:35)
    1. Commandments (15:1-41)
    2. Priestly prerogatives (16:1—18:32)
        1. Authority of priests (16:1-35)
        2. Preeminence of priests (17:1—18:7)
        3. Maintenance of priests (18:8-32)
    3. Ritual for cleansing (19:1-22)
    4. Incidents in the wilderness (20:1—21:35)
4. On the plains of Moab (22:1—36:13)
    1. Major events (22:1—32:42)
        1. Balaam (22:1—24:25)
        2. Apostasy at Peor (25:1-18)
        3. Second census (26:1-65)
        4. Inheritance of daughters (27:1-11)
        5. Appointment of Joshua (27:12-23)
        6. Regulations concerning offerings, festivals, and vows (28:1—30:17)
        7. Attack on Midian (31:1-54)

8. Settlement in Transjordan (32:1-42)
2. Appendices (33:1—36:13)
    1. Itinerary (33:1-49)
    2. Commands concerning the Promised Land (33:50—36:13)
        1. Possession (33:50—34:29)
        2. Special cities (35:1-34)
        3. Inheritance (36:1-13)

***A. At Sinai.*** The materials of this section round out our knowledge of the Hebrews' eleven-month stay at Sinai. Whether or not all of these events occurred between the first and twentieth days of the second month of the second year (Num. 1:1; 10:11) is not possible to ascertain, especially since the subjects appear to be grouped topically rather than chronologically.

It has been urged at various times that the square camp (Num. 2:1-34) is an artificial design created by later priests who knew nothing of the actual events. Recent studies, however, of Egyptian encampments during the time of Ikhnaton and Ramses II indicate that Egyptian armies of that time used the square camp pattern, whereas the Assyrian armies of later days used a round pattern.

The first verses of Num. 5 present a fine example of transition from one topical collection to another. Earlier, the camp was discussed. Here, the regulation concerning leprosy in the camp leads smoothly into a collection of miscellaneous regulations. Perhaps these regulations, similar to many others in the book, were given by God in response to specific situations. This may account for their rather random nature and the fact that they are not included in the larger body of legislation in Leviticus.

Of special interest is the trial-by-ordeal for infidelity (Num. 5:11 – 31). This "lie-detector" test was a very ancient practice in the ANE and attests to the antiquity of the book of Numbers. The practice appears barbarous to those of the present day, but examination shows that, viewed in the context of the ancient world, the Bible's application of the ordeal was remarkably restrained and humane.

Again note that the regulation concerning the benediction of the priests (Num. 6:22-26) leads into a section containing narration and legislation having to do with the TABERNACLE. This indicates the care with which the material was collected. It is not simply a haphazard arrangement, but one that shows order and logic.

***B. Sinai to Kadesh.*** Virtually all commentators connect the narrations of the PILLAR OF FIRE AND OF CLOUD and the blowing of trumpets (Num. 9:15—10:10) to the first section of the book. This is compelling since what follows speaks so distinctly of the departure. On the other hand, the section on the pillar and the trumpets has nothing to do with the encampment but everything to do with the journey. In its generality, it provides a transition from the encampment and an introduction to the wanderings.

This section is notable for its consistent record of distrust and disobedience on the part of the people. All segments are included. The entire people were involved in the craving for meat (Num. 11) and again in the refusal to enter the land (and, conversely, their attempt to enter after it had been refused them, ch. 14). MIRIAM and AARON were caught up in it (ch. 12), as were tribal leaders (ch. 13). Chapter 14, with the primary disobedience and the major punishment, is the watershed of the book.

***C. Wilderness sojourn.*** On the face of it, Num. 15 with its several commandments and regulations seems an anticlimax after the drama and tragedy of ch. 14. Perhaps a combination of reasons explains this material's presence at this point. First, probably a narrative scroll ended at ch. 14, leaving a place for insertions. Second, although the land had been denied to the present generation, it had been promised to the next. These regulations concerning the land served to seal that promise. Third, it was failure to observe these very kinds of commands that had brought Israel to this unhappy place. It must not happen again.

Numbers 16-18, although seemingly diverse, all deal with the life of the priesthood, and its meaning and value in the Hebrew nation. Contrary to Wright's suggestion, however, ch. 19, with its prescriptions for cleansing from uncleanness acquired by association

An aerial view of the Desert of Zin. The Israelites lived for 38 years in this wilderness.

with the dead, does not seem to fit into that priestly topic. Perhaps it was included at this point because it begins with a command to the priests.

The reader of Numbers often is startled to learn how little actually is said of the thirty-seven years in the wilderness. Even if it be granted that Num. 20 and 21 contain incidents scattered throughout the whole period, we know very little. If on the other hand, as Scripture seems to indicate, all of the events related in these chapters took place on the way to Moab during the last year of the journey, we know next to nothing. Perhaps it may be that the old generation, having committed the final apostasy, is of no more concern in the outworking of the covenant.

***D. On the plains of Moab.*** The engaging tale of BALAAM (Num. 22-24) has been subjected to a number of studies by William F. Albright (e.g., "The Oracles of Balaam," JBL 63 [1944]: 207-33). He suggests that whereas the rest of the language of Numbers represents the updating and modernizing of a later era, the poetic sections of this account reach back into the 13th cent. This provides another confirmation of the authenticity of the sources of the book.

After the apostasy at PEOR (Num. 25), virtually all of the remainder of the book looks forward to the conquest. A second military census is taken. Miscellaneous questions concerning land allotment and inheritance are answered. The new commander is appointed. The final threat of an enemy behind their backs (the Midianites) is removed, and the Promised Land is allotted to the two and a half

tribes. In contrast to the previous generation, whose disobedience was more pronounced as it got closer to its destination, there is about this group an aura of faith and purpose that was (as related in Joshua) to open the door of the land to them.

**IX. Theology.** A comparison of Numbers with examples of modern critical history writing will demonstrate a crucial difference between the two. Whereas modern history seeks primarily to give a full account of what happened and from a human point of view to explain why it happened, the book of Numbers is seeking to convey a point of view concerning the nature of the Creator and his creation. This need not indicate that Numbers therefore does not accurately report those historic events it records. In fact, given the truth that it is in history that God reveals himself, there is every reason to believe that the Hebrews would be at pains to treat historic events as exactly as possible that they might know God better. What is different is that Numbers does not record all events, but only those that best convey the truths the book is seeking to teach. It is a selective history, with theological truth constituting the criterion for selection.

The book's theology revolves around the outworking of the COVENANT between God and Israel. In the latter half of Exodus and virtually all Leviticus, the stipulations of the covenant are detailed. In return for protection and blessing and a new land, the people agree to serve God only, and that without idolatry. When the covenant was put into practice, however, the gap between

The book of Numbers traces the Israelite journeys from Mount Sinai to the Plains of Moab.

profession and reality became plain. A covenant's working principle is trust, yet it is evident that the Israelites, particularly the first generation, found it almost impossible to trust. The extreme sinfulness

of men and women is taught as clearly in this book as in any other in Scripture. Sinners do not tend upward toward God and goodness. Rather, given every evidence of God's presence (the tabernacle) and his power (various deliverances), they remain proud, selfish, and afraid.

In contrast, God's faithfulness is clearly depicted in the book (see FAITH, FAITHFULNESS). The covenant was broken repeatedly and finally in such a way that the people would not even allow God to keep his promise to them. He would have been more than justified in abandoning them or even destroying them, as he threatened. It took fervent intercessory prayer by Moses to bring from God the continuation of the covenant. He did not annul it even though the people, by their action, had chosen to do so. His purpose to do good to this nation, and through it to the world, would not be thwarted.

The ANGER of God, as depicted in Num. 14, is offensive to many people and often is termed "sub-Christian." But it depicts the personal nature of God and expresses the dynamic, passionate nature of biblical faith. Half-hearted faith is an abomination in the Bible. This divine "explosion" is much more understandable and acceptable to the fiery Mediterranean temperament than it is to the more stolid and inhibited outlook of the northern European peoples.

Another truth that this book teaches is the HOLINESS of God. God is unutterably holy. The contrast is not between infinite and finite; rather, it is a question of ethical purity, as the entire law shows. In this respect there is a gulf fixed between God and the sinner, which can only destroy that person who attempts to bridge it (e.g., MIRIAM, KORAH). The impure cannot exist in the presence of the pure. Numerous object lessons are used to teach the Hebrew people this truth. The minute distinctions between clean and unclean objects, the safeguards around the tabernacle and its service, the mass of concrete legislation, are all endeavors to demonstrate that in the spiritual and moral realms, there is that which defiles and separates, and there is that which cleanses and unites. God in his grace provided and provides a way of access into his holy presence.

Christians can find great profit in the study of this book. They will find in it valuable correctives for overfamiliarity with almighty God. They will gain new appreciation for the dimensions of the gulf that God's grace has bridged in Jesus Christ. They will become more sensitive to their own great professions and little trust. They will rejoice in the consistency of God's purpose to bless those who will in the slightest degree permit him to do so. They will be strengthened to believe God for deliverance from situations beyond their control. They will be encouraged to press on from the vagaries of a "desert" existence to that Christian rest that is the inheritance of all believers, if they will but possess it.

(Significant commentaries include G. B. Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers,* ICC [1903]; M. Noth, *Numbers: A Commentary* [1968]; P. J. Budd, *Numbers,* WBC 5 [1984]; R. K. Harrison, *Numbers* [1990]; J. Milgrom, *Numbers: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation* [1990]; T. R. Ashley, *The Book of Numbers,* NICOT [1993]; E. W. Davies, *Numbers,* NCBC [1995]; J. W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Numbers* [1998]; R. D. Cole, *Numbers,* NAC 3B [2000]; B. A. Levine, *Numbers, 2* vols., AB 4 and 4A [1993-2000]; L. R. Bailey, *Leviticus-Numbers* [2005].

(See also E. J. Young, *Introduction to the Old Testament,* rev. ed. [1960], 89-98; G. W. Coats, *Rebellion in the Wilderness* [1968]; M. Douglas, *In the Wilderness: The Doctrine of Defilement in the Book of Numbers* [1993]; J. Van Seters, *The Life of Moses: The Yahwist as Historian in Exodus-Numbers* [1994]; J. K. Hoffmeier, *Ancient Israel in Sinai: The Evidence for the Authenticity of the Wilderness Tradition* [2005]; R. P. Knierim and G. W. Coats, *Numbers,* FOTL 4 [2005]; and the bibliography compiled by W. E. Mills, *Numbers* [2001].) J. N. OSWALT

**Numenius** noo-mee'nee-uhs (Νουμήνιος, "new moon"). Son of a certain Antiochus (not one of the SELEUCID rulers), Numenius was a Jewish official sent on special missions to Rome by Jonathan and Simon MACCABEE. Jonathan, following his victory over the commanders of DEMETRIUS in Upper GALILEE, sent an embassy consisting of Numenius and Antipater (son of Jason) to Rome "to confirm and renew the friendship with them" (1 Macc. 12:1). The Romans responded favorably and urged others to do the same. Likewise, the Spartans reacted positively to a letter from Jonathan (12:5-23).

Simon succeeded his brother Jonathan after the latter's capture and defeat through a subterfuge by TRYPHO. Simon's victories and successes were applauded by the Romans and Spartans. Shortly before he was declared "leader and high priest forever" in 140 B.C. (1 Macc. 14:41), Simon sent Numenius on a second mission to Rome with a large gold shield "to confirm the alliance with the Romans" (14:24). Numenius returned from Rome with letters to all the neighboring kings and countries declaring the sovereignty of the Jewish people and the integrity of their territory. A copy of this letter is recorded (15:16-21). JOSEPHUS (*Ant.* 13.5.8) alludes to the event, and in his report of a slightly variant version of the letter he mentions Numenius, but incorrectly dates the episode in the time of Hyrcanus II (76-67 B.C.; see HASMONEAN II.E). Numenius's success on these missions would indicate that he was a capable diplomat who successfully represented the Jewish cause in Rome.

B. VAN ELDEREN

**nun (letter)** nuhn (from נוּן [attested in the Bible only as a personal name], "fish"). The fourteenth letter of the Hebrew ALPHABET (נ), with a numerical value of fifty. It is named for the shape of the letter, which in its older form was thought to be a stylized picture of a fish; more likely, however, the letter originally depicted a snake (in Ethiopic it is not called *nun,* but rāṯher *nāḥāš,* "snake,"=Heb. *nāḥāš H5729).* Its sound corresponds to that of English *n*.

**Nun (person)** nuhn (נוּן *H5673* [variant נֻן] only 1 Chr. 7:27], "fish"; but LXX Ναυη, reflecting Heb. נָוֶה *H5659,* "pasture, residence"). KJV also Non (1 Chr. 7:27). The father of JOSHUA (Hoshea, Jeshua), and therefore an Ephraimite (Exod. 33:11; Num. 11:28; 13:8; et al.). Nothing more is said about him.

**Nunc Dimittis** noonk'di-mit'is. The title given to SIMEON's prayer (Lk. 2:29-32), drawn from the first line of the Latin VULGATE, "Nunc dimittis ser-vum tuum, Domine" ("Now, O Lord, you let your servant go"). The poem declares that God's promises, as prophesied by ZECHARIAH in his BENEDICTUS (1:69-79), have "now" been fulfilled. The description of Jesus as "a light of revelation to the Gentiles and for glory to your people Israel" (2:32) is a clear allusion to Isaiah's prophecies concerning the SERVANT OF THE LORD (cf. esp. Isa. 42:6; 46:13; 49:6). (See further S. Farris, *The Hymns of Luke's Infancy Narratives: Their Origin, Meaning and Significance* [1985], 143-50.)

**nurse.** As described in the OT, a nurse (Heb. *mêneqet H4787)* was a woman who suckled a very young child or who helped bring up children. PHARAOH's daughter readily complied with MIRIAM's suggestion to find a Hebrew woman to supply the needs of the infant MOSES (Exod. 2:7; verb *yānaq* H3567 hiphil, "to suckle, nurse"). NAOMI took care of her infant grandson, thus falling into the second category (Ruth 4:16 NRSV; ptc. of ʾāman *H587).*

There is evidence to suggest that a nurse was given an important place in the family even after a

child grew to maturity. When REBEKAH decided to leave her own family and go with ABRAHAM's servant to marry ISAAC, "they sent their sister Rebekah on her way, along with her nurse" (Gen. 24:59). When this nurse died, it was an event important enough to record in the Scriptures, which state that the place where she died was named ALLON BACUTH, "oak of weeping" (35:8).

Just as this type of nurse took care of the needs of a physical child, so God and his chosen ones were like nurses to those who were children spiritually. ISAIAH spoke prophetically of the voice of the Lord concerning his people: "Kings will be your foster fathers, / and their queens your nursing mothers" (Isa. 49:23). PAUL, in addressing the Thessalonian Christians concerning the leadership of himself and other apostles, says, "we were gentle among you, like a nurse tenderly caring for her own children" (1 Thess. 2:7 NRSV; Gk. *trophos G5577,* rendered "mother" by the NIV, "nursing mother" by the TNIV).

D. A. BLAIKLOCK

**nut.** Any of various dry fruits that have a separable hard shell and an interior kernel. In Gen. 43:11 there is a description of the gift that Israel (JACOB) sent to the governor, not knowing that the latter was his son, JOSEPH. This present included *boṭnîm* (pl. of *boṭnâ H1063),* probably a reference to pistachio nuts

Immature almonds growing on a tree in Israel.

*(Pistacia vera),* commonly called *batam* in Arab (cf. the place name BETONIM). Other suggestions include *P. terebinthus palaestina (FFB,* 165; *HALOT,* 1:121) and *P. lentiscus atlantica (ABD,* 2:808, s.v. "Flora"). This nut tree grows 30 ft. high and bears velvety leaves that later become quite smooth. It grows in the rocky areas of Palestine and Syria. The edible kernel is small and greenish-yellow in color. It is sweet to the taste. It is usually eaten raw, but can be fried, salted and peppered.

It can, however, be argued that the nuts mentioned in this passage were ALMONDS (*Amygdalus communis),* which presumably were common in Palestine but were not grown at that time in Egypt. In the desert of Sinai, the Israelites ornamented the golden lampstands with models of almonds (Exod. 25:33-36). This shows that they knew them when in Egypt, and Pharaoh may have given instructions for planting almond trees after seeing the delicious present sent to Joseph. Even today, the rock crystal drops used on candelabras are sometimes called "almonds" in Great Britain. The nuts in the garden described in Cant. 6:11 (Heb. ʾĕgôz *H100) are* undoubtedly walnuts *(Juglans regia).* The

trees grow over 60 ft. high. The foliage is slightly fragrant, and the tree gives good shade. The nuts are very delicious (cf. *FFB,* 192-93). See also FLORA (under *Anacardiaceae* and *Juglandaceae*); TEREBINTH.

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

**Nuzi** noo'zee. A town occupied by HURRIANS in the 2nd millennium B.C. (The name is always written in CUNEIFORM in the genitival form *Nu-zi,* but presumably the name was *Nu-zu.)* The remains of Nuzi were buried in the mound of Yorghan Tepe in NE MESOPOTAMIA, about 9 mi. W of the modern town of *Kirkut in Iraq. It* was excavated in 1925-31 by the American Schools of Oriental Research in conjunction with the Harvard University Museum. The importance of Nuzi for the Bible student results from the fact that the 4,000 clay tablets found there probably give a fuller picture of the life of the individual citizens than can be gained for any other town in the ANE, with the possible exception of MARI. However, at Mari most of the tablets deal mainly with the royal family and its political activities, while at Nuzi there were found records of the life and activity of hundreds of ordinary citizens.

Still more important to the Bible student is the fact that at many points the customs evidenced in these tablets show a remarkable similarity to those described in the book of GENESIS. Thus the Nuzi material is valuable for corroborating the accuracy of Genesis and also for giving a better understanding of its meaning. This article will pass over the many references to features of life that probably were common in most parts of the ANE at that time, but will note particularly a few that are valuable for throwing special light on the book of Genesis.

**I. Connection with Haran.** It was in Haran, in N Mesopotamia, that Abram (ABRAHAM) lived for many years before moving on to CANAAN. See HARAN (PLACE). Many of his relatives remained in that city. REBEKAH was brought from there to marry ISAAC. JACOB later returned to the home of his uncle LABAN in Haran and spent many years there. Although Nuzi is far to the E of Haran, both cities were a part of the region occupied by the HURRIANS during the 2nd millennium B.C., and it is therefore not surprising to find that many of the customs and laws evidenced in Nuzi between 1500 and 1400 are reflected in the activities of the patriarchs at a somewhat earlier period.

**II. The importance of written documents.** There was a time when it was widely held that the PENTATEUCH could not have been written by MOSES because it was thought that in his day WRITING had not been invented. While there is now abundant proof to the contrary from various sources (e.g., see SUMER), it is of particular interest to note that at Nuzi at this early time written documents were extremely important and a great many of them were produced.

**III. Adoption.** Dozens of adoption tablets have been found at Nuzi. Israelite law, so detailed on many subjects, contains no regulations for ADOPTION, and the history of the Hebrews in Palestine after the conquest, as recorded in the OT, contains no evidence of such a practice. But at Nuzi it was customary for a man, if he had no children, to adopt someone to carry on his name and inherit his property. This seems to be reflected in the statement of Abraham, before Isaac was born, that unless the Lord should give him a child, ELIEZER of Damascus would be his heir (Gen. 15:2).

**IV. Teraphim, or household gods.** The incident of the TERAPHIM (Gen. 31:17-35) was extremely puzzling before the discovery of the Nuzi documents. When Jacob determined to leave his uncle

Laban, RACHEL stole Laban's teraphim. Laban became anxious not simply because his daughters and his son-in-law had left without notice, nor because of the great amount of property that they had taken with them, but primarily because of the loss of the household gods.

Jacob, with his abundant flocks and herds, must have had a sizable number of shepherds, and it would have required a considerable force to overcome the resistance that he could offer. Laban pursued Jacob three days, taking with him a sufficient number of supporters to cause Jacob to be terrified at his approach. Thus the pursuit of Jacob was a very expensive proposition for Laban. In the Middle Ages students wondered why Laban would have gone to so much expense and trouble on account of these household gods. It was suggested that the teraphim might have been made of gold, but even if they were, their intrinsic value would hardly have been enough to pay for Laban's expedition: they were so small that Rachel was able to hide them in the saddle-basket on which she was sitting in her tent. Though her father searched the tent most thoroughly, he never suspected their presence. The mystery became still greater when it was noticed that Jacob was utterly shocked at the idea that he might have stolen the teraphim. When Laban was unable to find them, Jacob bitterly rebuked him for his suspicion (Gen. 31:36-42).

Previous to the discovery of the Nuzi documents, the whole situation was obscure (and it may have been equally so at the time of the Israelite kingdom when, according to the critics, the story would have been composed). The tablets from Nuzi show that according to Hurrian custom at that early time, if a man desired to appoint a son-in-law as his principal heir he would turn over to him his household gods. After the man's death, appearance in court with the household gods would be accepted as proof of such a disposition. Rachel was trying to secure all of Laban's property for her husband, and Jacob was rightfully indignant at being accused of attempting such an underhanded trick. The whole incident becomes understandable in the light of these facts, and it becomes clear why Laban, still suspicious, desired that a boundary stone be put up at MIZPAH, and that Jacob should swear that he would not pass over this boundary in order to do him harm (Gen. 31:44-53, esp. v. 52). The Nuzi tablets make it clear that a great part of Laban's reason for this was his desire that at his death the remainder of his property should go to his own sons and not be taken away from them by Jacob. It is good to note that later Jacob demanded that any strange gods in the hands of his people be buried (35:2-4), and that at no time did Jacob try to make false use of these teraphim.

**V. Sisterhood.** To the modern reader it seems strange that Abraham should have said that SARAH was his sister instead of stating what to Pharaoh was the more important fact, that she was his wife (Gen. 12:11-20). It is still stranger that he should have repeated this act in the land of ABIMELECH


Nuzi.

Household idol representing the Sumerian deity Hendursag (from Ur, 1750 B.C.). Some texts discovered in Nuzi suggest that Rachel stole her father's household gods (teraphim, Gen. 31:19) because she wanted to secure her inheritance rights.

(20:1-18), and perhaps even more so that Isaac should later have followed his example (26:6-16). It has been suggested that light may be thrown on these perplexing incidents by the discovery at Nuzi, as evidenced by many legal contracts, that a position called "sisterhood" was there considered to be of even more importance than that of a wife, and that a wife was sometimes elevated by a special act to this superior position. In view of the evidence that this was the custom in the area in which Abraham had spent many years, it is not impossible that Abraham and Isaac may have felt that they were giving their wives a more important and secure position by calling them sisters.

Since such a custom was evidently unknown to Pharaoh or to Abimelech, an unfortunate situation resulted. Yet, although these two rulers accused the patriarchs of misrepresentation, there is no evidence in the Scripture that Abraham and Isaac felt guilty or that God condemned them for their words. God punished Pharaoh and Abimelech for what they had done, but, as far as we know, he did not rebuke Abraham. Therefore it is not impossible that it was a case of misunderstanding rather than of misrepresentation. The incident is quite understandable from this viewpoint in the light of the Nuzi documents. In such a case it is hard to imagine that the story could have originated in the time of the Israelite kingdom when this custom would have been completely unknown. (For a different perspective, see B. Eichler, "Another Look at the Nuzi Sistership Contracts," in *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of J. J. Finkelstein,* ed. M. de J. Ellis [1977], 45-59.)

**VI. Hagar.** There is a similar situation in the events concerned with HAGAR and ISHMAEL. It might seem strange that Sarah should have requested Abraham to impregnate her maidservant Hagar in

order that she might raise up a son for Sarah (Gen. 16:2). Again the Nuzi documents show that what occurred was exactly in line with the customs at Haran. In the Hurrian society, where the son was so very important, if a wife did not have a son it was regular practice for her to provide her husband with a slave-wife for this purpose.

Prior to the discoveries at Nuzi a certain amount of light had been thrown on this incident by somewhat similar regulations in the Code of HAMMURABI, which was discovered in 1901. Yet this did not entirely solve the problem, for in that code (§144) only a priestess is specifically given this right, and she is not entitled to claim the concubine's children for herself.

**VII. The maidservants of Leah and Rebekah.** According to many critical scholars of an earlier generation, the statements in Gen. 29:24 and 29 that Laban gave a named maidservant to each of his daughters were clearly later interpolations from the P document and out of harmony with the rest of the story, which they attributed to an earlier document. It is evident from the Nuzi tablets, however, that at the time of Jacob it was in that civilization a normal part of a marriage agreement that the father-in-law should give the bride a maid, her name being regularly specified in these documents.

**VIII. The Habiru.** The Nuzi tablets are also of importance because of the continuing discussion as to the origin of the term *Hebrew* (see HEBREW PEOPLE). The book of Genesis refers to Abraham as "the Hebrew" (Gen. 14:13) and reports that JOSEPH told the Egyptians that he was stolen out of "the land of the Hebrews" (40:15). These occurrences make it seem unlikely that the term originally meant simply a descendant of Jacob, or even a descendant of Abraham. Nuzi is only one of various sources in the ANE where ancient documents refer to a people called the HABIRU who seem to have been landless wanderers, sometimes entering into voluntary servitude. Although Nuzi material contains a number of such references, they are insufficient to solve the problem but may form an important link in its examination.

*Other points of contact.* Since the contracts, wills, memoranda, and other types of material in the Nuzi documents give a varied and extensive picture of many phases of life, scholars point out still other similarities between its customs or laws and those of Genesis. Some of these represent features common to other portions of ANE civilization. Others are equally true of later periods of biblical history. In this article the attempt has been made to confine the discussion mainly to such matters as are peculiar to the time of the patriarchs, which therefore may provide strong support for the idea that the Genesis narrative is true, and also that it was written at an early time, before Hurrian customs and laws had disappeared as a result of the advance of the Assyrian conquerors.

(See further E. Chiera and E. A. Speiser, "A New Factor in the History of the Ancient Near East," in AASOR 6 [1926]: 75-92; E. Chiera et al., *Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi,* 6 vols. [1927-39]; R. F. S. Starr, *Nuzi: Report on the Excavations at Yorghan Tepe near Kirkuk, Iraq,* 2 vols. [1937-39]; C. H. Gordon, "Biblical Customs and the Nuzi Tablets," *BA* 3 [1940]: 1-12; I. J. Gelb, P. M. Purves, and A. A. MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names* [1943]; F. R. Steele, *Nuzi Real Estate Transactions* [1943]; B. Eichler, *Indenture at Nuzi: The Personal Tidennētu Contract and Its Mesopota-mian Analogues* [1973]; E. R. Lacheman and M. P. Maidman, *Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi VII: Miscellaneous Texts* [1989]; D. I. Owen and G. Wilhelm, *Nuzi at Seventy-five* [1999]; M. P. Maidman, *Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi VIII: The Remaining Major Texts in the Oriental Institute of the U. of Chicago* [2003]; *ABD,* 4:1156–62; *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East,* ed. E. M. Meyers [1997], 4:171-75.)

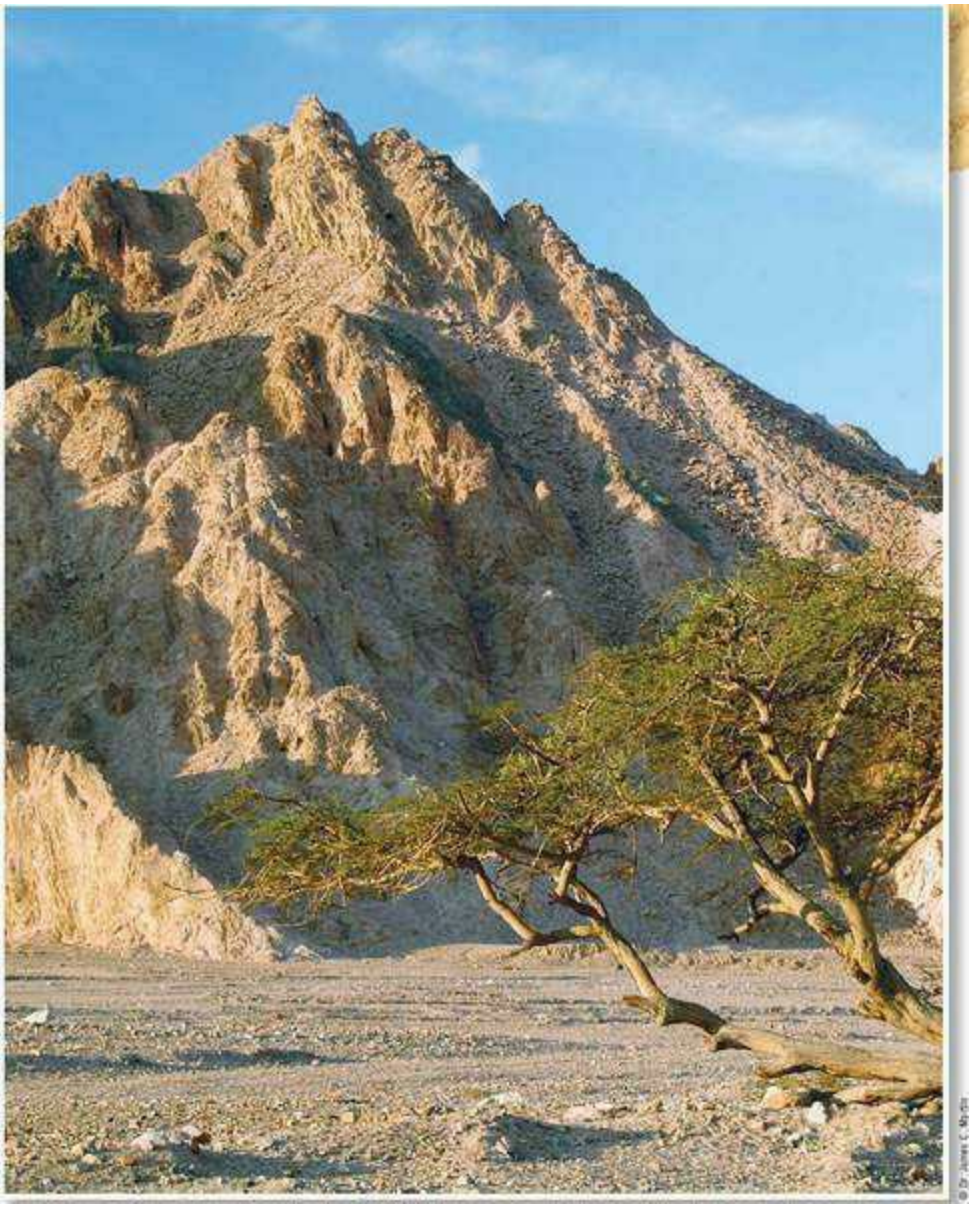
A. A. MACRAE

**Nympha** nim'fuh (Νύμφα *G3809,* "bride, young woman, nymph"; possibly masc. Νυμφᾶς, short form of Νυμφόδωρος "gift of the nymphs"). KJV Nymphas. A Christian woman in whose house the believers had meetings, and to whom PAUL sent greetings (Col. 4:15). Apparently she lived in LAODICEA, although some have argued that the language is ambiguous and that her home may have been either in COLOSSE or in HIERAPOLIS. Nympha must have been a woman of means, possibly a widow. Many have inferred that she did not merely host the Christian assembly, but that she was also a leader in the local church (cf. J. D. G. Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon: A Commentary on the Greek Text,* NIGTC [1996], 284-85).

It is not certain, however, whether a man or a woman is referred to. The accusative form found in the text can be accented either as a feminine (Νύμφαν) or as a masculine (Νυμφᾶν). In the context, the personal pronoun referring to this person is masculine singular *(autou,* "his") according to most MSS, but CODEX VATICANUS and several other witnesses have the feminine singular *(autēs,* "her"), which is the reading adopted by UBS$^4$/NA$^{27}$ and generally preferred. CODEX SINAITICUS, CODEX ALEXAN-DRINUS, and some other witnesses have the plural *autōn,* "their," which may be a secondary reading under the influence of *adelphous* earlier in the verse. The plural, however, was preferred by J. B. Light-foot *(St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon* [1879], 242-43) on the grounds that it is the more difficult reading in this context (how does one explain *"their* house"?) and that the normal (Attic) form of the feminine name was *Nymphē* (but see J. H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek. Vol. I: Prolgeomena,* 3rd ed. [1908], 48).

**Nymphas** nim'fuhs. KJV form of NYMPHA.

# O



Not even these inaccessible mountains in Edom could save its inhabitants from the judgment announced by Obadiah.

**oak.** This English term, referring to a tree of the birch family (genus *Quercus)* that produces acorns, is used variously by different Bible versions to render several Hebrew words. According to some scholars, "oak" is properly the translation of )ē*lôn H471* (Gen. 12:6 and nine other times) and )*allôn H473* (Gen. 35:8 and seven other times), whereas the terms )ē*lâ H461* (Gen. 35:4 and eleven other times) and )*allâ H464* (only Josh. 24:26) refer properly to the TEREBINTH (see P. J. King and L. E. Stager, *Life in Biblical Israel* [2001], 27, 108-10; cf. also *FFB, 154-55,* 182-83).

Other scholars, however, doubt that the terms can be clearly differentiated, or even that they refer to specific trees. All four of these words, as well as a fifth one, )*ayil H381* (Ps. 29:9 and four other times), are derived from the root )ē*l IV H445,* "power," and possibly associated with )*el* V *H446,* a common Semitic term for deity (see EL). Thus it may be that some or all of them denote, in general, "stately, mighty tree" (cf. the rendering "great/large tree" in the NIV for )ē*lôn* at Gen. 12:6; Josh. 19:33; Jdg. 4:11; 9:6; 1 Sam. 10:3; and for )ē*lâ* at 1 Chr. 10:12). At least one passage, though,

appears to make a distinction among the terms *)allôn, libneh,* and *)ēlâ,* which most versions translate respectively as "oak, poplar, and terebinth" (Hos. 4:13; cf. also Isa. 6:13).

In any case, it is generally acknowledged that many or most of the passages involved do refer to some type of oak. Just as the CEDAR was considered the most important evergreen tree, the oak was viewed as the most important deciduous tree. At least three of the prophets compared cedars and oaks for their strength (Isa. 2:13; Amos 2:9; Zech. 11:2). The oak always has been the symbol of strength, and it was for this reason that the Druids in Great Britain held their services in oak groves. The old Germanic races believed that heathen gods resided in oak trees. It is worth noting that one of the terms, *)ēlôn,* occurs only in connection with place names that appear to have cultic associations (see esp. Gen. 13:18 and Jdg. 9:6; cf. the pagan associations of *)ayil in* Isa. 1:29. and of other terms in Hos. 4:13). An oak was chosen in BETHEL, underneath which to bury REBEKAH's old nurse, and the place was named ALLON BACUTH, "oak of weeping" (Gen. 35:8). Later, the Israelites buried King SAUL under an oak or terebinth at JABESH GILEAD (1 Chr. 10:12; here the term is *)ēlâ).* See also DIVINERS' OAK.

An example of the Tabor Oak.

It is uncertain whether these passages refer to only one or to several of the species of oak found in Palestine. Suggestions include *Quercus ilex* (the beautiful evergreen oak or HOLM tree), *Q. (pseudo)coccifera* (or kermes oak, the eastern race sometimes called *Q. calliprinos,* very common in Palestine), *Q. aegilops* (or valonian oak, a large, prickly-cupped tree that is very common in the Levant), and *Q. ithaburensis* (the Tabor oak, which can live for over 300 years). See also FLORA (under *Fagaceae).*

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

**oar.** See SHIPS.

**oath.** A solemn appeal to God in attestation of the truth of a statement or the binding character of a PROMISE. The meaning "oath" is expressed in Hebrew with *)ālâ H460* (Gen. 24:41 et al.) and *šĕbû(â H8652* (24:8 et al.); in Greek with *horkos G3992* (Matt. 14:7) and cognates. The Hebrew verb for "swear" is *šāba( H8678* (Gen. 21:23 et al.); Greek *omnyō G3923* (Matt. 5:34 et al.).

**I. The significance of an oath.** In situations where the truthfulness of an important statement is not readily accessible to empirical confirmation, the credibility of a claim is enhanced by the use of an oath (Exod. 22:7, 10-11; Num. 5:19-20). When, for example, the evidence at hand failed to convince the SANHEDRIN of the truth of Jesus' claim to be the MESSIAH, Jesus accepted the last resort for strengthening his claim and acquiesced in the solemn charge of a judicial oath with its terrifying aspect of ordeal by death (Matt. 26:63). Projected actions set forth by a promise are made somewhat more certain of coming to reality when covered with the sanctity of an oath—with its threatening CURSE if the promise is broken, and with its hoped-for blessings if the contemplated deed is accomplished. An oath had a performative function of putting one's promises or projected deeds under the agency and judgment of God, and hence could serve to bolster a will that tends to prevaricate, for in biblical times it was universally accepted that all actions and intentions were under divine surveillance. A higher measure of integrity and prediction in social and political life undoubtedly resulted with the widespread use of oaths in human relationships.

The pragmatic value of the use of an oath constituted only a part of its meaning in a religious society, such as that of the ancient Hebrews. For the people of the OT, as A. Lelievre puts it, an oath throws into relief the solemn seriousness and efficacious power of the life and words of human beings when brought into vital connection with God *(A Companion to the Bible* [1958], 312). The Hebrews, sensing the presence of God, took joy in making an oath before God (2 Chr. 15:14-15) and found peace and comfort in their holy vows taken in the name of God (1 Sam. 20:42). In this way they expressed their faith and loyalty. Had not God himself accompanied his words with an oath (Gen. 22:16-18; Ps. 110:4; Heb. 6:13), guaranteeing the veracity of his declarations and the irrevocability of his promises (Num. 23:19)?

W. Eichrodt suggests also that the proclamation of the divine name in an oath was treasured as an act whereby God came forth and offered himself in fellowship *(Theology of the Old Testament* [1961], 1:206). People would eagerly use God's name when they wanted to be assured of his nearness. For some, undoubtedly, the oath came to have magical power because of the divine name, but for the ordinary pious Hebrew it remained a purely religious form with profound meaning and became an inseparable part of the redemptive plan of God as expressed in the covenant. (For a full treatment of this vital connection between oath and redemption via the concept of ordeal, see M. G. Kline in *WTJ* 27 [1964-65]: 115-39 and 28 [1965-66]: 1-37.)

**II. Verbal structures used in an oath.** A wide range of expressions was developed by the Hebrews for use in oath-taking situations. Some forms were not far removed from the "on-my-word-of-honor" formula used by God when he said, "I swear by myself" (Gen. 22:16; Isa. 45:23; Amos 6:8), or when Ezekiel records God as having said, "As I live, surely my oath…" (Ezek. 17:19 RSV). God is also declared to have sworn by his "great name" (Jer. 44:26), by "his holiness" (Amos 4:2), and by "his right hand and by his mighty arm" (Isa. 62:8).

In some verbal structures the sanction is merely implied, as when the one making an affirmation says, "God is witness between you and me" (Gen. 31:50; 1 Sam. 12:5). Here, obviously, the all-seeing God has witnessed every transaction between the two men and is in a position to judge. PAUL

uses the same restrained type of oath where it is enough of a sanction merely to call upon God as witness to the truth of his writings (2 Cor. 1:23; Phil. 1:8). In Gal. 1:20 Paul says he is writing "before God," a statement that can be taken as a theological interpretation of Jesus' injunction to forswear the contemporary excess and extravagance in the use of an oath: "Simply let your 'Yes' be 'Yes,' and your 'No, 'No'" (Matt. 5:37).

A similar form of oath was used frequently in situations where the future course of action seemed uncertain, and where one's intentions could be misunderstood easily. A person who had some convictions about his place within the possible course of events would show the sincerity of his judgments arising out of his convictions by using the formula, "As surely as the LORD lives" (1 Sam. 14:39; 19:6; 20:3; 2 Sam. 15:21). God again was called upon as a witness in an oath, and the result was that the person's word was taken as inviolable. In these usages of the oath the emphasis is religious rather than merely judicial: more upon the recognition of the presence of the holy God, with the oath being taken as a sign of loyalty to him (Deut. 6:13; Isa. 48:1; Jer. 12:16) than upon the compulsive sanction of a threatening curse. Yet the force of the sanction is not absent entirely in these forms, for the witnessing of God may eventuate in judgment, as is suggested by the form of the oath used in Jer. 42:5, "May the LORD be a true and faithful witness against us if…."

**III. The oath and curses.** The ever-present possibility of perjury—that is, a person swearing falsely for his own gain—made inevitable the form of the oath that included more explicitly an imprecation or CURSE. This form clearly called upon God the witness to act as a judge who could, if necessary, exact the curse in the event of falsehood. By including a conditional curse in the oath, the swearer meant to convey greater conviction that he was telling the truth, and undoubtedly he himself often was helpfully motivated to be as he wanted others to take him. The oath in this form may have been more for the purpose of calling a person's attention to God, rather than calling God's attention to a human transaction. A common form that this type of oath took was, "May the LORD do thus and so to me, and more as well, if' I do not do so and so (Ruth 1:17 NRSV; cf. 1 Sam. 3:17; 14:44; 2 Sam. 3:35; 1 Ki. 2:23).

It is suggested by some that the punishment called down in imprecatory oaths, while certain, is deliberately not specified. W. F. Stinespring suggests that this is so because of a "fear lest the mere mention of the curse should *ipso facto* bring it to pass—a remnant of animistic conceptions" (*HDB* rev., 707). Undoubtedly many people felt this way about the uttering of a curse that was not associated with an oath and would even tend to feel the same way in using curses as part of an oath. On the other hand, it seems apparent that the pragmatic wisdom of actually mentioning the type of punishment that is deserved, if one is perjuring, would enhance the credibility of the claim or promise and overcome any reluctance to mention the actual curse.

Actually the formula for many oaths explicitly specified the punishment in case of perjury. The classic example is the oath of God accompanying the promises of the COVENANT made with ABRAHAM for Israel (Gen. 15:7-21). In attestation of the truth and certainty of the covenant oath, animals were severed in two and the parties to the transaction passed between. Jeremiah's words suggest clearly that the import of such a ceremony is that this is a specification of the kind of punishment that will be placed upon a violator of an oath, namely, he will be treated "like the calf they cut in two and then walked between its pieces" (Jer. 34:18).

Some scholars (e.g., G. F. Oehler, *Theology of the Old Testament* [1883], 176) have insisted that the reference to punishment here is secondary and that the main stress is that the two halves of the sacrificed animals denote the two contracting parties in a covenant, while the flame (person) passing

between denotes the union of the two by God, who alone is really constituting the oath of covenant. It is, of course, difficult to see how God could literally apply the curse of the oath upon himself and even more difficult to conceive of the necessity of his having ever to apply the sanction to himself. Evidently MOSES is, at least, giving expression to his (and Abraham's) persuasion of the absolute integrity of God.

But the graphic enactment of the curse threat in connection with the ratification of the Abrahamic covenant (Gen. 15) is more than expressive of a human attitude; as Kline puts it, is suggestive of Moses' awareness of "a dispensation of grace and blessing guaranteed by a twofold immutability" *(WTJ 27* [1964-65]: 4). According to Kline's analysis, if this passage is taken with the institution of CIRCUMCISION in an oath-covenant in ch. 17, and the testing of Abraham as an oath-ordeal in ch. 22, a more pervasive pattern of thought is indicated. Circumcision is looked upon as a sign of the curse to be applied if the oath of allegiance is broken, and therefore, in a positive sense, also as a pledge of the sincerity of the oath of allegiance. Such thoughts, so clearly symbolized, could not have taken root in the Hebrew consciousness so readily without the background of a concept of oath that involved punishment as a part of its sanction.

In a mysterious fashion God was making use of the sign of circumcision accompanying the oath-covenant to disclose his intentions of redeeming the race by the sacrifice of his Son. In the NT Paul makes use of these OT principles to explain how UNION WITH CHRIST in his death means tasting the wrath of God against sin and then also being raised with him in newness of life with God (Rom. 6:3-4; Col. 2). Oehler's interpretation seems to miss this pervasive biblical pattern. Jeremiah's words point correctly to an understood specification of the kind of punishment to be placed upon a violator of an oath, and upon Christ when he was made a curse on the cross for his people (Gal. 3:13).

**IV. External gestures and actions accompanying an oath.** Various gestures and actions impressed upon the testator the seriousness of invoking the divine witness. Extending the hand (Ezek. 17:18) and lifting the hand heavenward (Deut. 32:40; preferably the right hand, Dan. 12:7; Rev. 10:5-6) were so common as a part of the oath that the phrase "to lift up the hand" came to denote the taking of an oath (Exod. 6:8 et al.; the NIV renders, "to swear with uplifted hand"). Even God in an anthropomorphic fashion is pictured as swearing by his right hand (Isa. 62:8). In another gesture the individual would put his hand under the thigh (apparently a euphemism for genitals) of the adjurer (Gen. 24:2; 47:29). The Jews later swore by heaven, the earth, Jerusalem, the temple, and by one's head (Matt. 5:34-36), all of which Jesus expressly forbade. Giving a gift to the adjurer as a token of good intent was common, as seen in Abraham's giving seven lambs to ABIMELECH in support of his claim of having dug the well at BEERSHEBA, which Abimelech's servants had seized (Gen. 21:25-32). Similarly the Arabs would smear seven stones with blood. Sacrifices also accompanied an oath, particularly an oath associated with the covenant of God (Gen. 15:9-10).

**V. Judicial oaths.** Certain civil situations in Hebrew life called for an oath. Where an innocent person might be charged with guilt on the basis of circumstantial evidence and any further investigation would be futile, an exculpatory judicial oath could be utilized to clear him. Moses' law prescribed an oath in four such situations, as follows: (a) when goods deposited with someone were stolen or destroyed (Exod. 22:10-11); (b) when someone who had found lost property might be accused of having stolen the goods (Lev. 6:3); (c) when a wife was suspected of adultery (Num. 5:11-28); (d) when a community unwittingly was shielding a criminal, in which case an oath taken by the members of the community freed them from complicity and placed a share of the guilt of the

offender upon whoever saved him from detection (Lev. 5:1). Other kinds of civil relationships where an oath was used included promises in the performance of duty or business (1 Ki. 2:43) and the highly specified pledge of allegiance by a vassal to a sovereign (Eccl. 8:2). Oaths such as these were common in non-Hebrew cultures and furnished the pattern for the covenantal oath of allegiance between God and his people. (See M. G. Kline, *The Treaty of the Great King* [1963].)

**VI. The oath and ordeals.** In many early cultures it was assumed that an exculpatory oath could be verified before a law court by submitting to an ordeal or test that often was severe enough to take one's life. It was believed that God would protect the innocent from death and permit the guilty to succumb in the ordeal. Thus, it was really God who made the judicial decision of "guilty" or "innocent." The ordeal is applied directly in the OT only in the case of a wife suspected of infidelity (Num. 5:11-31). The woman is obliged to consume "the water of bitterness," a concoction of holy water and dust from the floor of the tabernacle into which have been washed the writings of the imprecations laid upon her. If she is not affected by this drink, it can be assumed that God has vindicated her oath of innocence.

For the most part, the OT has utilized the concept of the ordeal in connection with God's covenant-oath of redemption, in which circumcision was a symbol of the ordeal, and as a partial explanation of outstanding events in the life of Israel that are pictures of the salvation to come, such as the Noachian deluge, the passage of Moses through the Red Sea, and Joshua's crossing of the Jordan. These incidents can be seen as representations of an ordeal by water through which Israel passed in safety by the hand of God and which are referred to as a "baptism" in the NT (cf. 1 Cor. 10:2; 1 Pet. 3:21; 2 Pet. 3:5-7). Likewise, when Jesus speaks of his redemptive work as a "baptism to be baptized with" (Lk. 12:50 KJV; cf. Mk. 10:38) one can see how the same conceptualization is utilized in presenting his work on the cross as a validation by ordeal of an oath taken before God to redeem mankind. The resurrection is God's attestation to the validity of the oath taken by Christ. See RESURRECTION OF CHRIST.

**VII. Perjury.** The willful taking of an oath in order to tell or confirm anything known to be false was a serious act, since it profaned God's name by using it in vain, and irreverently defied and disregarded God's omniscience (Lev. 19:12). Perjury could not go unpunished (Exod. 20:7; Jer. 34:18; Ezek. 17:16-19), for both falsehood and profanity were involved in this act of deliberate deceit. In later times some men sought to condone lying on the grounds that if no oath had been taken, no violation of trust or of God's law was involved. Jesus clearly saw this as an intrusion of pretense and casuistry into the language that God had given for the expression of truth and meaning. With his words, "Simply let your 'Yes' be 'Yes,' and your 'No,' 'No'; anything beyond this comes from the evil one" (Matt. 5:37), he preserved the basic thrust of integrity of language, before God and man, that the oath sought to enshrine.

(See further J. E. Tyler, *Oaths: Their Origin, Nature, and History* [1835]; S. A. B. Mercer, *The Oath in Babylonian and Assyrian Literature* [1912]; A. E. Crawley in *ERE,* 9:430-38; S. Blank in *HUCA* 23 [1950-51]: 73-95; M. H. Pope in *IDB,* 3:575-77; *NIDOTTE,* 1:403-5; 4:34-37; *NIDNTT,* 3:737-43.)

T. M. GREGORY

**Obadiah** oh'buh-di'uh (עֹבַדְיָה *H6282 in* 1 Kings and twice in Chronicles, elsewhere עֹבַדְיָהוּ *H6281,* "servant *[i.e.,* worshiper] of Yahweh"; cf. ABDIEL and see J. D. Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names*

*in Ancient Hebrew* [1988], 116). (1) Son of Izrahiah and descendant of ISSACHAR; a military chief (1 Chr. 7:3).

(2) A Gadite who joined DAVID's forces at ZIKLAG (1 Chr. 12:10). The Gadites are described as "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) Father of Ishmaiah; the latter was an officer over the tribe of ZEBULUN during the reign of David (1 Chr. 27:18).

(4) Son of Azel and descendant of SAUL through JONATHAN (1 Chr. 8:38; 9:44).

(5) An official of King AHAB who was in charge of the palace and who risked his life to save a hundred of the prophets when they were being hunted by JEZEBEL. During a time of famine, he was instructed by the king to go through the land and find grass for the animals. As he was walking, the prophet ELIJAH met him and gave him a message for the king (1 Ki. 18:3-16). Jewish tradition (*b. Sanh.* 39b) identifies him with the prophet Obadiah, but there is no evidence to support this suggestion.

(6) One of five officials sent by King JEHOSHAPHAT "to teach in the towns of Judah" (2 Chr. 17:7).

(7) Descendant of Levi through MERARI and an overseer of the workmen who repaired the temple in the reign of King JOSIAH (2 Chr. 34:12).

(8) A prophet (Obad. 1). See OBADIAH, BOOK OF.

(9) Postexilic descendant of David in the line of ZERUBBABEL (1 Chr. 3:21). His place in the genealogy is uncertain. The NRSV and other versions, following the SEPTUAGINT, understand Obadiah to be the son of Arnan and the grandson of Rephaiah (see discussion under REPHAIAH).

(10) Son of Shemaiah; a postexilic Levite (1 Chr. 9:16). He is commonly identified with Abda son Shammua (Neh. 11:17).

(11) Son of Jehiel and descendant of Joab; he was head of a large family who returned to Jerusalem from Babylon with EZRA (Ezra 8:9; 1 Esd. 8:35 [KJV, "Abadias"]). Some believe he is the same as #12 below.

(12) One of the priests who signed the covenant with NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:5).

(13) A Levitical gatekeeper in charge of the storerooms in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. 12:25).

H. L. ELLISON

**Obadiah, Book of** oh'buh-di'uh. The shortest OT book, fourth among the Minor Prophets. It is directed against EDOM.

**I. Background.** The Edomites were descendants of ESAU. Until the 5th cent. B.C. they lived S of the DEAD SEA in an area approximately 100 by 50 mi. Their fortified cities included SELA, TEMAN, and BOZRAH. Sela, located on an important caravan route, was almost impregnable. The NABATEANS, however, dislodged the Edomites from it before 312 B.C. (see PETRA). The latter then settled in the NEGEV, and were driven out by Judas MACCA-BEE in 164. John Hyrcanus (134-104) forced upon them Judaism, including circumcision and law observance (see HASMONEAN II.A). They became the NT Idumeans, of whom HEROD the Great was the most infamous (see IDUMEA).

Enmity between the Hebrews and the Edomites dates back to the wilderness wanderings, when the Edomites forbade the Israelites passage through their territory. The Edomites helped the Canaanites resist the Hebrew conquest. DAVID and SOLOMON finally subdued them. During JEHORAM's reign the Edomites won their independence, but were defeated in the days of AMAZIAH.

They revolted again in the time of AHAZ. The deep-seated, persistent enmity between the Hebrews and the Edomites is seen in the fact that Edom is a cryptograph for Rome in the TALMUD.

If the book is dated early, the events of the reign of Jehoram are the immediate background. If an exilic or later date is correct, then the events of 586 B.C. constitute the background.

**II. Unity.** Eichhorn first challenged the book's unity, placing Obad. 17-21 in the time of Alexander Jannaeus (see HASMONEAN II.C). Some 19th-cent. critical scholars denied the unity of the book, assigning vv. 1-9, 16a, 18-19, and 20b to a preexilic prophet, and vv. 10-14 and other fragments to the postexilic author (so Cornill, Kuenen, Cheyne). J. A. Bewer *(A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Obadiah and Joel,* ICC [1911], 4) thinks the book has four sections: vv. 1-4, preexilic; vv. 5-14 and 15b from c. 450; vv. 15a and 16-18 from c. 350, when Edom occupied the Negev; and vv. 19-21 from the Maccabean period. W. O. E. Oesterley and T. H. Robinson ( *An Introduction to the Old Testament* [1934], 370) divided the book into seven oracles from the 6th to the 4th cent.

The most common division is twofold. This approach seems to have originated with Julius Well-hausen, who regarded Obad. 15a and 16-21 as an appendix. James Muilenburg makes essentially the same divisions as Wellhausen, setting forth arguments against the unity of the book *(IDB,* 3:579). However, he does say that three items—the motif of "the day," Esau/Edom as a central concern, and the complete reversal of the situation—occur in both sections, so the book could be a unity. John Paterson *(Goodly Fellowship of the Prophets* [1948], 180) and Samuel Sandmel *(Hebrew Scriptures: An Introduction to Their Literature and Religious Ideas* [1963], 214), following Otto Eissfeldt, arrive at the same twofold division. The second section often is considered as a later addition. Some critical scholars, such as John A. Thompson *(IB,* 4:859), Rudolph, and Weiser hold to the unity of the book with some reservations.

**III. Authorship.** Since the date of the book is disputed, it is impossible to fix its authorship. OBADIAH was a common OT name, meaning "worshiper of Yahweh." If the book is dated in the reign of Jehoram, the author may be the Obadiah who had earlier been sent by King JEHOSHAPHAT "to teach in the towns of Judah" (2 Chr. 17:7). In any case, the prophet Obadiah was sensitive to injustice done to his people. He flared out in violent indignation. He was willing to wait for God's just retribution on Edom and the ultimate triumph of right.

Obadiah announced judgment against Edom.

**IV. Date.** The date of Obadiah can be determined only when the event described in Obad. 11-14 is related to a specific occasion in Hebrew history. If the event was preexilic, then a date shortly after this incident is given for the book. If the passage describes the events of 586, then an exilic or postexilic date is given to the book. The date has been widely debated, with most conservative scholars (Caspari, Nagelsbach, Delitzsch, Keil, Orelli, Kirkpatrick, Pusey, et al.) favoring an early date. Beginning with Hitzig most critical scholars (Kuenen, Wellhausen, Nowack, Eichhorn, Ewald, Cornill, G. A. Smith, Cheyne, Emslie, Bewer, S. R. Driver) favored an exilic or postexilic date.

Criteria used in determining the date have included the following: (a) The book's position in the CANON, which is thought to have three groupings of minor prophets (Hosea-Joel?-Amos-Obadiah-Jonah-Micah in the 9th/8th cent.; Nahum-Habakkuk-Zephaniah in the 7th; Haggai-Zechariah-Malachi postexilic), though some argue that the position may be due simply to "word-binding" (the immediately preceding book has a reference to Edom in its last chapter, Amos 9:12). (b) The identity of the events described in Obad. 10-14. (c) The relation of Obad. 1-9 to Jer. 49:7-22.

Of the numerous suggested dates, two are most commonly accepted. The first view identifies the events of Obad. 11-14 with the invasion of Jerusalem by Philistines and Arabians in the reign of Jehoram c. 844 (2 Chr. 21:16-17; 2 Ki. 8:20). Conservative scholars upholding this date are Archer, Laetsch, Unger, E. J. Young. Some arguments in favor of this early date are the following: (a) The description has none of the features that distinguished the fall of Jerusalem in 586. (b) The absence of Aramaic expressions is more appropriate to the 9th cent. than the 6th cent. (c) Implication of a recapture of the city. (d) Nations mentioned are not exilic neighbors, but earlier foes (e.g., Philistines). (e) It castigates the same sins as the 8th-cent. prophet Amos. (f) In the reoccupation, the hill country of Judah is not mentioned, assuming it already was occupied.

The late date (sometime after 586) is advanced for the following reasons: (a) The events of Obad. 11-14 fit most naturally into the destruction of Jerusalem. (b) The bitter hostility to Edom was prevalent at this time (Lam. 4:21; Ezek. 25:12-14; 35:1-15; Ps. 137:7). (c) The Philistine invasion of Jehoram's day was probably of minor importance. (d) The reference to possessing Ephraim and Samaria (Obad. 19) suits a late date better than an early date when Israel was in existence. (e) The possibility is open that both Obadiah and Jeremiah used an older source. Recent critical scholars favoring a late date include J. W. Myers, R. H. Pfeiffer, Bentzen, Harrelson, Weiser. Modern conservative scholars adopting the post-586 date include D. W. B. Robinson and J. A. Thompson.

Other suggested dates include the time of Amaziah; the reign of Ahaz (Raven, Davis); c. 450 (John A. Thompson, Pfeiffer, Sandmel); and c. 312 (Hitzig, Bentzen), but these have not found wide acceptance.

**V. Occasion.** When Jerusalem was plundered and sacked (either by Philistines or Babylonians), the Edomites took delight in its downfall, and shared in its plunder. They caught escaping Judeans, mistreated them, and sold them as slaves.

**VI. Purpose.** The book of Obadiah has a twofold purpose: (a) to delineate God's judgment on Edom for its lack of brotherly concern for Judah, and (b) to set forth the final triumph of right in the DAY OF THE LORD.

**VII. Text.** While some scholars think the text of Obadiah is badly preserved (e.g., Oesterley and Robinson, *Introduction,* 371) , most agree that it is moderately well preserved. There may be difficulties in Obad. 7, 19, 21.

**VIII. Relationship to Jeremiah.** There are clear evidences of some sort of literary relationship between Obad. 1-9 and Jer. 49:7-16. Three theories have been advanced to explain that relationship. (a) Jeremiah borrowed from Obadiah, a view that assumes an early date for Obadiah. This is supported by the fact that careful analysis of the verses shows the variations in Jeremiah to contain typical Jeremianic expressions, while the common material does not. This would also suit the third possibility set forth below (cf. Muilenberg in *IDB,* 3:579). (b) Obadiah borrowed from Jeremiah. This seems to have been advanced for a priori reasons: the events of Obadiah must refer to 586, and hence Obadiah lived later than Jeremiah. Bewer *(Obadiah and Joel,* 3) believes Obad. 1-4 quotes Jeremiah but adds some interpretations and paraphrase. (c) Both used an earlier prophet's oracle, with Obadiah reproducing it more literally than Jeremiah. J. H. Eaton *(Obadiah, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah* [1961, 36) says, "It is not a matter of quoting from an older writer but of co-operation within a prophetic body to present the living Word of God in its current application."

Not even these inaccessible mountains in Edom could save its inhabitants from the judgment announced by Obadiah.

**IX. Content and outline.** The central theme of the book is the utter destruction of Edom. Growing out of that theme is the eschatological message of Judah's restored fortunes when the day of the Lord arrives (Obad. 15-21). Most students of the book divide it into three major sections:

1. The doom of Edom (vv. 1-9)
    1. The title of the book (v. 1a)
    2. Edom warned of its doom (vv. 1b-4)
    3. Total destruction foretold (vv. 5-9)
2. The behavior of Edom (vv. 10-14)
3. The judgment of the nations (vv. 15-21)
    1. The reversal of the situation (vv. 15-18)
    2. The repossession of the land (vv. 19-21)

**X. Theology.** Two teachings stand out in Obadiah. First, God's moral judgment brings strict retribution (Obad. 10, 15) even if evil is seemingly secure (v. 4). All nations who opposed Yahweh will fall. Second, there is an eschatological hope in the coming day of the Lord. This includes Israel's Golden Age (v. 17) and the establishment of Yahweh's kingdom. The day of the Lord motif, found in many prophets (Isa. 2:6-22; Ezek. 7; Joel 1:15—2:11; Amos 5:18-20; Zeph. 1:7, 14-18), looks forward to the end of time and the establishment of a new heaven and a new earth. The universal nature of the day is shown by Obad. 15. In the realm of ethics, Obadiah condemns ridicule, pride, and materialism.

(Important commentaries include J. A. Bewer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Obadiah and Joel,* ICC [1911, bound with other books]; J. D. W. Watts, *Obadiah: A Critical Exegetical Commentary* [1969]; L. C. Allen, *Joel, Obadiah, Jonah, and Micah,* NICOT [1976]; H. W. Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah: A Commentary* [1986]; D. Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah,* WBC 31 [1987]; S. Romerowski, *Les livres de Joël et d'Abdias* [1989]; T. J. Finley, *Joel, Amos, Obadiah* [1990]; J. J. Niehaus in *The Minor Prophets: An Exegetical and Expository Commentary,* ed. T. McComiskey [1992-98], 2:495-541; B. K. Smith and F. S. Page, *Amos, Obadiah, Jonah,* NAC 19B [1995]; P. R. Raabe, *Obadiah,* AB 24D [1996]; J. Barton, *Joel and Obadiah,* OTL [2001]; J. Renkema, *Obadiah* [2003]; D. W. Baker, Joel, *Obadiah, Malachi,* NIVAC [2006]. See also E. Ben Zvi, *A Historical-Critical Study of the Book of Obadiah* [1996]; and the bibliography compiled by W. E. Mills, *Amos-*

*Obadiah* [2002].)

A. K. HELMBOLD

**Obal** oh'buhl (עוּבָל *H6382,* derivation uncertain). Also EBAL. Son of JOKTAN and descendant of SHEM (Gen. 10:28; Samaritan, "Ebal"). In the parallel passage (1 Chr. 1:22), the MT has "Ebal" (cf. NRSV and other English versions), but some Hebrew and Greek MSS, as well as the Syriac, read "Obal" (cf. NIV). Obal/Ebal was presumably the eponymous ancestor of a S Arabian tribe, perhaps to be identified with the *Banū( Ubal* in Yemen (for other possibilities, see *HALOT,* 2:794, and the discussion in *ABD, 5:4* – 5).

**Obdia** ob-di'uh. KJV Apoc. variant of HOBAIAH (1 Esd. 5:38).

**Obed** oh'bid (עוֹבֵד *H6381,* possibly short form of עֹבַדְיָהוּ *H6282,* "servant *[i.e.,* worshiper] of Yahweh" [see OBADIAH]; Ἰωβήδ *G2725).* (1) Son of BOAZ and RUTH (Ruth 4:17, 21-22; 1 Chr. 2:12); included in the GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Matt. 1:5; Lk. 3:32).

(2) Son of Ephlal and descendent of JUDAH in the line of JERAHMEEL (1 Chr. 2:37-38).

(3) A member of DAVID's elite corps of mighty warriors (1 Chr. 11:47).

(4) Son of Shemaiah, grandson of OBED-EDOM, and a gatekeeper from the Korahites (1 Chr. 26:7; cf. v. 1). See KORAH. Obed and his brothers are described as "leaders in their father's family because they were very capable men" (v. 6).

(5) Father of Azariah; the latter was a military commander who assisted the high priest JEHOIADA in the successful overthrow of the apostate queen ATHALIAH (2 Chr. 23:1).

(6) Son of Jonathan; he was among those who returned from the EXILE (1 Esd. 8:32; KJV, "Obeth"). See EBED #2.

**Obed-Edom** oh'bid-ee'duhm (עֹבֵד־אֱדוֹם *H6273,* "servant *[or* worshiper] of Edom," where *Edom* apparently refers to a Canaanite deity, possibly the consort of RESHEPH; see W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* [1968], 122). (1) A "Git-tite" in whose house King DAVID deposited the ARK OF THE COVENANT after the death of UZZAH (2 Sam. 6:10). Obed-Edom guarded the ark for three months, and the Lord blessed him and his household, so when David heard about it, he inferred that it was time to bring the ark to Jerusalem (vv. 11-12; cf. 1 Chr. 13:13-14; 15:25). Because the term *Gittite* normally refers to an inhabitant of GATH (2 Sam. 15:18; 21:19), many scholars believe that Obed-Edom was a PHILISTINE living in Israel, presumably a convert to Yahweh who, like ITTAI (15:19-22), was an expatriate loyal to David. Others argue that *Gittite* could refer to a native of some Israelite town (such as GATH HEPHER and GATH RIMMON), that Obed-Edom was a name borne by several Levites (see below), and that the narrative in Chronicles suggests that Obed-Edom the Gittite was a Levitical gatekeeper and musician (1 Chr. 15:18-25; 26:4-8, 15; but see below, #2 and #3).

(2) Son of JEDUTHUN #2 (1 Chr. 16:38). He was a Levite who may have served both as a gatekeeper for the ark (15:18, 24) and as a musician (15:21; 16:5). He may be the same as #1 above. According to some, however, a distinction is intended between the Obed-Edom mentioned in 1 Chr. 16:38a (presumably the musician) and the Obed-Edom mentioned in 16:38b (the gatekeeper, here identified as son of Jeduthun and thus distinguished from the previous one; cf. the renderings in the NRSV and NJPS). Similarly, it may be that the Chronicler distinguishes between the Obed-Edom in 15:21 and the one in 15:24 (see KD, *Chronicles,* 205-6, 219).

(3) A descendant of KORAH who is listed, along with his sons and descendants, as belonging to a division of gatekeepers (1 Chr. 26:4-8). He was responsible for the South Gate, and his sons for the storehouse (v. 15). This Obed-Edom may have been a son of Kore (cf. v. 1). Because we are told that "God had blessed Obed-Edom" (v. 5), he is probably being identified with #1 above.

(4) A Levite who was in charge of "all the gold and silver and all the articles found in the temple of God" during the reign of AMAZIAH king of Judah (2 Chr. 25:24). When Jehoash (JOASH) king of Israel sacked the temple, Obed-Edom may have been one of the hostages he took to Samaria.

**obedience.** The Bible is conspicuous in its many graphic depictions of human responses to the words and will of God. Responses that are avowedly favorable to such a degree that one is persuaded to act can be expressed with such Hebrew verbs as *šāmaʿ H9048,* "to hear, listen" (e.g., Exod. 24:7; cf. esp. the common idiom "to hear the voice of," as in Gen. 22:18), and *šāmar H9068,* "to keep [a command]" (e.g., Exod. 12:24). Greek can also use for this purpose the corresponding verbs *akouō G201* (e.g., Acts 28:28) and *tēreō G5498* (e.g., Matt. 19:17), but in addition it has such verbs as *peithō G4275,* which in the passive can mean "to be persuaded of, follow, believe, obey" (cf. esp. Gal. 5:7), and *hypakouō G5634,* "to listen, respond, obey" (e.g., Mk. 1:27). More specifically, the act of "believing" (Heb. *ʾāman H586* hiphil; Gk. *pisteuō G4409)* exemplifies the supreme act of obedience (cf. Rom. 1:5; see FAITH). In contrast, responses that are apathetic or disregard God's Word are characterized as "rebellion," "unbelief," "disobedience." (See *NIDOTTE,* 4:175-81; *NIDNTT, 2:172* – 80.)

**I. The external nature of obedience.** An external and somewhat formal approach to this topic will tend to focus attention on observable circumstances or inferable causes and consequences of the act. The most evident aspect of obedience is the presence of a person (or group) with authority who commands or requests another to comply with his expressed will. This authority can be recognized because usually it is expressed through the media of accepted customs and traditions or venerated ordinances and laws, whose value to human life are unquestionable. To obey is to adjust to demands judged to be worthy. Obedience, thus, can be seen as being motivated by such things as convention, habit, fear of punishment, and hope of reward. When MOSES says, "If you fully obey the LORD your God and carefully follow all his commands I give you today, the LORD your God will set you high above all the nations on earth. All these blessings will come upon you and accompany you if you obey the LORD your God" (Deut. 28:1-2; see also 30:9-10), it seems evident that the response of obedience frequently occurs in a matrix of external causes and inducements similar to those listed above.

A word of caution is necessary, for it is easy to deduce that the biblical writers advocated obedience to God only for practical reasons. Such an inference would be too naturalistic in its understanding of the OT and NT, and ignores the deeper spiritual aspect of obedience found even in the OT, as in 1 Sam. 15:22, "To obey is better than sacrifice." Undoubtedly most of the obedient responses mentioned in Scripture included an element of obeying because of *what* was commanded: religion in the Bible is never looked upon as impractical. The biblical idea of obedience is distorted, however, if it is not recognized that men and women obeyed also because of *who* commanded. God's will was thought to be definitive for the establishment of all practical wisdom and law. Hence, biblical writers could present practical reasons for obedience and speak of desirable consequences, while all the time they knew that true obedience to God's Word took place without thought of REWARD.

The manner in which the obligation to obedience is developed and applied is a formal element

of obedience. The psalmist, for example, is urging obedience when he stresses the dependence of


In this photo of Shalmaneser III's Black Obelisk, the bottom panel depicts five Israelites demonstrating their obedience to the Assyrian king by bringing their tribute.

man, as a created being, upon God as the uncreated Being (Ps. 95:6-7). The law of God likewise is seen as placing his people under an obligation to obedience because it was graciously given (Exod. 19:5; Ps. 119:1-4). In the NT, human beings are under the same compulsion to obedience, but only because of the knowledge of God revealed in Christ. Similarly a promise of blessing is expressed, but it is more specific concerning the hope of appropriating the glory and excellencies of Christ (2 Pet. 1:3-7). God's common goodness to all is a formal basis for obedience (Ps. 145; Acts 14:17), and God's special work of redemption is pressed as the ground for loving obedience (1 Cor. 6:20 et al.).

Additional formal elements are cited in the dispositions that are requisites for obedience, such as sincerity (1 Tim. 1:5), love (Jn. 14:21; 2 Cor. 5:14; 1 Jn. 2:5), diligence (Rom. 12:11), frankness (Matt. 5:16; Phil. 2:15), constancy (Gal. 6:9), and patience (Rom. 2:7). Tranquility in interpersonal relations also requires the formal compliance of obedience as seen in the relations of parent to child (Eph. 6:4; Col. 3:20), of husband to wife (Col. 3:18), of master to servant (employer to employee, 1 Pet. 2:18), and of citizen to government (Lk. 20:25; Acts 5:29).

**II. The internal aspects of obedience.** When Jesus rebukes those who outwardly comply with the law but inwardly do not (Matt. 6:2, 5, 16; 23:23-25), he is exemplifying SAMUEL's perceptive insight about the internal aspect of obedience when he said "to obey is better than sacrifice" (1 Sam. 15:22). True obedience is more than subjection to an authority in a formal manner, for a person can be subservient without a corresponding inner disposition of obedience. Biblically, to obey is to hear in such a way that inner assent is inseparable from outer activity. Rudolf Bultmann describes this action as the whole man standing behind and being *in* what he does. He says the individual "is not doing something obediently, but is essentially obedient" *(Jesus and the Word* [1934], 61).

In the NT, hearing or obedience of this internal sort is associated closely with believing; it is to be joined to Christ (Rom. 15:17-18; 16:19; 1 Pet. 1:2). A common biblical formula pointedly says, "faith comes from hearing" (Rom. 10:17; cf. 1 Thess. 2:13). The thought is that the word of the gospel calls forth faith from those who hear it, which is then labeled as an "obedience of faith" (Rom. 1:5; 16:26), an expression understood variously as "obedience to the faith," "the obedience that comes from faith," or even "the obedience that is faith." Speaking in parables and in direct discourse, Jesus portrays the believers as those who hear the Word of God and do it (Matt. 7:24; Mk. 4:20; 7:32-37; Lk. 8:21). Obedience is the hallmark of the personal decision, trust, and commitment that are involved in faith. In summary, A. Richardson says, "Obedience becomes virtually a technical expression for the acceptance of the Christian faith" *(An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament* [1958], 30; see also Acts 6:7; 1 Pet. 1:2).

**III. Obedience and reconciliation.** Obedience in both its external and internal senses underlies the biblical explanation of how the sinner has been reconciled to God. PAUL describes Christ's work of redemption as an obedience unto death (Phil. 2:8) and as an obedience that will make many righteous (Rom. 5:19). Christ's work as the true High Priest is conjointly his life of obedience in the days of his flesh (Heb. 5:7-8) and the offering of his body in sacrifice as an obedient response to the will of God (10:7-10). Theologians speak of these as the active and passive obedience of Christ (see OBEDIENCE OF CHRIST IV.C). The Christian receives the benefits of Christ's obedient life and death through faith in him, something so vital that it will "take captive every thought to make it obedient to Christ" (2 Cor. 10:5).

T. M. GREGORY

**obedience of Christ.** The submission of Jesus to the commandments of God, particularly to his uniquely messianic calling.

**I. Birth and childhood.** The events of Christ's birth and childhood are described in terms of OBEDIENCE to God. The obedience of Mary (Lk. 1:38), the giving of the name JESUS (2:21), and the submission of Jesus to his parents (2:51) as well as to his heavenly Father (2:49) are all according to God's commandment and therefore enjoy his favor (2:52).

**II. Ministry and death.** Christ's public ministry begins with the baptism by John "to fulfill all righteousness" (Matt. 3:15, cf. Lk. 7:30), followed immediately by SATAN's temptations, which Christ resists by deliberate obedience to the Word of God (Matt. 4:1-11; Lk. 4:1-13). Luke's characteristic "must" (*dei G1256)* with reference to Christ's ministry includes such particulars as the necessity of taking the gospel to other towns (Lk. 4:43), staying with ZACCHAEUS (19:5), dying in Jerusalem (13:33), and especially his suffering and death for his followers (9:22; 17:25; 22:37; 24:7, 26, 44). At the TRANSFIGURATION, PETER's attempt to lead Christ away from the obedience of death is traced to Satan (Mk. 8:31-33).

John's gospel depicts Jesus' use of the fact of his obedience in appealing to his disciples. He has come not of his own accord, but the Father has sent him (Jn. 7:28; 8:42); his teaching is not his own, but the Father's (7:16; 12:49; 14:10, 24); his deeds also are the Father's (6:38; 8:28), including even the laying down of his life (10:18). The fact that the authority and will of God himself lie behind Christ's ministry is what gives authority to everything Christ says and does; thus it is urgent that people hear and obey him, even as he hears and obeys his Father. Speaking God's words is possible

only as one is indwelt by God (cf. 14:10 and 14:24; also 10:25-30) and by his LOVE (15:10) and responds in love (14:31). God's work is to be completed (5:36; 17:4), also by his disciples (9:4); the last word from the cross (19:30) surely expresses this completion.

**III. Reward.** The Father rewards the Son's obedience by showing his favor at the baptism (Lk. 3:22), witnessing to his authority at the transfiguration (Lk. 9:36), exalting him at his death (Phil. 2:9) by raising him from the dead and giving him the HOLY SPIRIT for him to bestow on his people (Acts 2:32-33), thus giving to the Son the care for his people claimed by Christ (Jn. 17:11, 15, 17, 21, 24) on the basis of his perfect obedience (17:4).

Paul's explanation of the gospel has at its heart the obedience of the one man, Christ, as undoing all the evil introduced by the disobedience of ADAM (Rom. 5:19; cf. Gal. 4:4, where Christ's being born under the law is seen as the condition of his redemption of those also born under it). Hebrews interweaves the themes of the dangers of human disobedience and the blessings coming from Christ's obedience. Christ's prayers were heard because of his godly fear. He learned obedience through his suffering, and this consequent perfection became the source of salvation (Heb. 5:7-10); the entire work of Christ is described as doing God's will, in which God has pleasure (10:5-10). Here too the obedience of Christ has consequences (REWARD) through the pleasing of God.

**IV. Theological implications.** Although it would appear at first that this teaching of Scripture has had only a peripheral effect upon the history of theology, closer examination reveals its immense impact in many areas.

***A. Covenant theology. The*** protest against nominalist speculation, which had divorced God's grace from the work of Christ, was led by the new covenant theology of the late Middle Ages (Gregory of Rimini), later expanded by Anabaptist German and English Calvinist theologians. This theology was the affirmation that "God had bound himself by his Word," and that in particular the cross was not a theological accident, but the manifestation and the fulfillment of God's promise of salvation.

***B. Amyraldianism.*** The Amyraldian attempt (evident also in New English theology) to preserve the sovereign, gracious activity of the Spirit in conversion while denying the limited (i.e., personal or particular) ATONEMENT of Christ was countered frequently by pointing out that the work of the Spirit with individuals was itself an aspect of the reward given to Christ in virtue of his obedient atonement, so that to speak of a particular work of the Spirit apart from the particular atonement accomplished by Christ was to make of the Spirit a nominalistic, mysterious, impersonal force, not the Spirit of Christ.

***C. Active and passive obedience.*** Classic Protestant theology distinguished between the work of Christ in fulfilling the requirements of the law for us (active obedience) and his ministry in suffering the penalty of sin for us through his expiatory death (passive obedience). Christ's active obedience can be regarded also as the general requirement for all people as revealed in divine commandment, while the passive obedience would be the specific, messianic mandate given to Christ alone.

Medieval thinking considered that only nonre-quired virtue had an "extra," transferable character (Anselm regarded only the death of Christ as making satisfaction, since as a man he must be obedient to the law in any case), and even Protestants made use of the same perspective. Lutherans affirmed that Christ as God-man was above the law, and so his obedience of it was not required and hence meritorious. Johannes Piscator, a German Calvinist theologian, endeavoring to protect the true

humanity of Christ, held that Christ was under the law and hence that his active obedience was not meritorious. Later Protestantism saw the biblical necessity for a pure sacrifice, making the active obedience the presupposition for the passive; further, the ongoing work of the risen and ascended Christ also must be regarded as vital to our salvation, and can be thought of under the active aspect.

Many Christians have been convinced that to speak of the passive character of Christ's death implies that it is something that happened *to* him, not something he willingly did for us. While this idea has never been intended by theologians, it may be wise to avoid these particular abbreviations and explain what is intended: that those who trust in Christ receive not only the forgiveness of sins, but also the positive approval and reward of the Father, as the obedience of Christ is imputed to the believer, who now partakes of the promised Holy Spirit and his gifts.

Emphasis on the active obedience is valuable also in considering the parallel with the disobedience of Adam and its consequences. The sinlessness of Christ (in the reality of his temptations) is perhaps the central issue in considering his divine/human character, and obviously can be more easily grasped from a consideration of his obedience (including the INCARNATION itself as an act of obedience). Finally, even the dual aspects of the believer's obedience to God (his obligation to obey God's revealed will and also to fulfill his own personal calling) are given new depth in terms of his Lord's obedience.

(See further A. A. Hodge, *The Atonement* [1867], 212-27, 248-64; G. Smeaton, *The Doctrine of the Atonement as Taught by Christ Himself [1871],* sect. 11-12, 14-15, 22, 28-30, 34-44; G. C. Berkou-wer, *The Person of Christ* [1952], 239-70; id., *The Work of Christ* [1953], 314-27; J. Murray, *Redemption Accomplished and Applied* [1955], 25-30; A. Stöger in *Sacramentum mundi,* ed. K. Rahner et al., 6 vols. [1968-70], 2:616-20.)

D. C. DAVIS

**obeisance.** This English term, indicating a bow as a token of respect or reverence to a superior, is used occasionally (in the phrase "do/make obeisance") by the KJV and other versions to translate selected instances of the Hebrew verb ḥāwâ *H2556* (Gen. 37:7 et al.). This frequent verb, which occurs only in the hishtaphel stem, is often rendered "to bow down." When used of homage given God, it is commonly rendered "to worship" (Gen. 22:5 et al.). See WORSHIP.

**obelisk.** An obelisk is a monumental stone PILLAR, often associated with the worship of the sun and sometimes commemorative. It consists of a tapering, four-sided shaft, about square in cross-section, with a pyramidal top. Such monuments were a

An obelisk in Istanbul, Turkey.

feature of the religion of the Egyptians, and obelisks of various sizes are known from ancient times, with the smaller ones often of funerary character. The oldest temple obelisk standing *in situ* is that of Senusert I, at HELIOPOLIS, dating from the 20th cent. B.C. Jeremiah predicted that the obelisks of Heliopolis would be destroyed (Jer. 43:13 NRSV; the word for "obelisk" here is *maṣēbâ H5167).* The largest finished obelisk (105 ft., 9 in.) is that of THUTMOSE III, now at St. John Lateran in Rome. Obelisks commemorating military victories and the like were common in the ANE.

C. E. DEVRIES

**Obeth** oh'bith. KJV Apoc. form of "Obed" (1 Esd. 8:32). See EBED #2.

**Obil** oh'bil (אֹבִיל *H201,* "camel-driver"). An ISHMAELITE who was the overseer of the camels in the court of King DAVID (1 Chr. 27:30). *Obil* may have been a nickname based on his occupation.

**oblation.** See SACRIFICE AND OFFERINGS.

**Oboth** oh'both (אֹבֹת *H95,* possibly "skin bottles" [cf. BDB, 15]). A stopping-place of the Israelites on their wilderness journeys, between PUNON and IYE ABARIM in MOAB (Num. 21:10-11; 33:43-44). Its location is unknown. Some have proposed modern ʿAin el-Weiba, an oasis S of the Dead Sea, c. 18 mi. W of Punon, but this identification is rejected by others (see the discussion in *ISBE* rev.

[1979-88], 3:578).

**occupations, trades, and professions in Palestine.** Many Bible readers think of ancient PALESTINE as a backward country and in no way comparable to GREECE. Actually Greece was the backward country in the early days. It was the ANE that was the center of civilization, and Palestine is on the one trade road that united Africa (EGYPT) and Asia (ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA). The oldest city that has been excavated to date is OT JERICHO, which goes back to c. 7000 B.C. (occupational remains are even earlier). That is over 5,000 years before ABRAHAM walked across the pages of Palestine. When he did, he was probably an important businessman whose commercial empire extended from Haran in N MESOPOTAMIA to Egypt. See HARAN (PLACE). He may have done his banking at DAMASCUS. His farming and grazing interests were only a secondary factor to feed the great donkey CARAVANS that carried his consumer and luxury goods.

The Palestine of Bible days is like the USA in that both have primitive people and cultured citizens and everything in between. Both have had depression periods; Israel, in the days of the judges, and in the USA in our own memories. DAVID, on the other hand, was a world figure in war and business. He dominated everything between Turkey and Egypt. SOLOMON and ALEXANDER THE GREAT made such cultural impressions on their own times that even today any construction work that is too difficult to understand is attributed to one or the other. By the time of ISAIAH, Israel was in the manufacturing age with assembly line techniques and one-industry cities. The following data is only an introduction to Palestine life as seen in the Bible.

1. Food
    1. The handling of food
    2. Professions relating to food production and sale
    3. Animals as food and animal by-products
    4. The cooking of food
    5. Transportation of food
2. Clothing
3. Shelter
4. Health
5. Trades
    1. Woodworking
    2. Quarrying and mining
    3. Metal working
    4. Pottery making
6. Business
7. Education
8. The royal households
9. The army
10. The wicked professions

## I. Food

### *A. The handling of food*

**1. Water.** The most precious commodity in Palestine is WATER, for water is the first essential FOOD. Palestine gets her moisture in the form of DEW or RAIN. The dew of Palestine is a major factor in her summer crops but is of little value to thirsty people. The rain comes not only directly in showers and storms but also in the mass production forms of springs, streams, rivers, lakes, and pools. The latter are a major life-giving factor in desert areas.

Then come the man-made techniques for handling drinking water. The first of these was the WELL. This was especially valuable in the grazing areas when the pools went dry. In the city the CISTERN was a valuable collecting basin for rain. Palestine has plenty of rain in three-fourths of its area, but this rain is concentrated in a few months and must be stored in the city for use during the long dry season. The cistern did not come into use until the invention of waterproof plaster about the time of JOSHUA's conquest. Its invention made possible the use of much Palestine land, which was short on springs that ran all the year through. The cistern also was used by the shepherds in the driest parts of their grazing areas.

An earlier technique than the cistern was a city's "water works." Here the people tunneled from within the city down to the underground water supply. Thus they always had water unless long droughts lowered their water table. JERUSALEM, GEZER, GIBEON, and MEGIDDO had very costly water works. The one built by HEZEKIAH in JERUSALEM in 701 B.C. is still in use today (see SILOAM). The building of such a system called for the following professions: First, there were engineers to survey the route and keep the water level the same. The latter was difficult since this tunnel was dug from both ends. The two teams of diggers met in the center of the tunnel and chiseled an inscription of this meeting. Second, miners cut the rock and others removed the rock in baskets. Third, a ventilation system was necessary because of the length of the tunnel, and men needed to keep fresh air going to the miners. Fourth, lamps were used in the work and potters made them. Other professions may also have been employed. The well digger and the cistern maker represented two other trades already mentioned. HEROD the Great introduced the Roman AQUEDUCT. Large POOLS also collected the winter rains.

Regardless of where the water was, someone had to bring it to the tent or house where it was used. The water usually was dipped up with a pottery dipper or a broken section of a large jar or by a gourd. It was poured into pottery water jars, which the women or girls carried on their heads; or the water went into goatskin water bags that were carried on the backs by men, women, and children. Water served three other major purposes that will be treated later: fishing, irrigation, and manufacturing (these uses came in that order historically). Mineral springs were health resorts.

**2. Food from the forest.** Historically, the food from the forest came first; a part of the food of Palestine always came from its forest area, which in OT times was much larger than formerly thought. This represented especially the phase of food gathering—food for both man and beast—and could be done by all members of the family. Fruits and berries, salad-flowers, leaves, and herbs could be eaten at once or some of them dried for later use. The flat housetop commonly was used as a drying shed. Nuts were especially valuable because of their fat content and because they could furnish a winter food. The securing of sufficient winter food was always a problem. Almonds and pine nuts were the most common nuts used by people. For animals the carob bean or husks ("St. John's bread") and acorns were gathered. MEDICINE also came from forest and field as leaves, flowers, barks, and roots. See also FLORA.

Most of the wild animals and birds were kosher. The DEER family and its relatives were always choice meat. The hunter and the fowler could be professionals, or any person could try his luck.

Palestine had a great bird population because it was on a migratory flight route over land with plenty of good resting places. Note the great number of QUAIL in the wilderness episode (Exod. 16:13; Num. 11:31-32). Birds were usually caught in nets or traps, or killed with arrow or slingshot. Someone had to keep down the predatory animals, such as the leopard and the lion, bear and wolf. The jackal and hyena had to be kept from the flocks. Poisonous snakes were a problem. See FAUNA.

The forest gave the eater the fuel for his cooking—wood, charcoal, or thornbush. For the city population, there were men who spent their lives as haulers of wood. The making of charcoal was an important profession. In the summertime many of the sheep went up into the timber for grazing. If there was no grass, the shepherd knocked off the leaves of trees for the sheep. That was a major use of the staff he carried. (The goats climbed the trees to help themselves.)

**3. Food from grazing lands.** The main food items were the sheep and goat, and they were of equal value. Small flocks were taken out from the town each day by young boys (remember DAVID), and then brought home for the night. The real SHEPHERD was the man who made a profession of it (as did AMOS). The tools he used will be discussed later. The GAZELLE was the wild animal of this area useful for food. After the heavy fall rains the natural salad plants for food covered the whole area of the grazing lands. Thornbush for cooking came largely from these lands. Acacia leaves were camel feed.

**4. Food from farm lands.** There was rain farming, dry farming, and irrigation farming. Scholars still argue as to whether rain farming or irrigation should have the priority. IRRIGATION farming produced the heaviest crops in the grains, vegetables, and fruits; but this type of farming was usually only at the deltas made by the mountain streams. Dry farming came in about Abraham's time, and much of his real estate holdings were in this type of farm land, where perhaps two crops in three years were par. See AGRICULTURE.

Rain farming had a diversity of crops, but the GRAINS—WHEAT and BARLEY—were the major ones. Barley will grow on poorer soil than wheat; and if the fall rains are very late, only barley will mature early enough to harvest. Barley was for the poor man; wheat for the well off. The Philistines also used barley for their beer. Durra was the summer grain crop. Other crops were lentils, beans of several varieties, fitches, and chick peas. Sesame seed was a major source of cooking oil. FLAX was an excellent cash crop for it was made into LINEN, the most expensive OT cloth. Gourds had various usages.

Among the VEGETABLES, leeks, onions, and garlic were favorites (Num. 11:5). Their melons and cucumbers were famous. SPICES played a big part in their cooking, for it was the only way the common man could have much variety in his cooking. Among native spices were anise, bay leaves, coriander, cumin, dill, mint, mustard, rue, and saffron; imported spices were cassia, cinnamon, and cloves.

An oriental garden was primarily fruit trees. Beside the common fruits, there were the dates, olives, mulberries, figs, and pomegranates. The date, the olive, and the fig were especially valuable as they were year-round food; the olive furnished cooking oil for the rich. The VINE was in a class by itself, and Palestine had a great variety of grapes. As fresh grapes, they were food and drink for approximately one-third of the year; dried as raisins they were year-round food. Grapes were made into WINE, vinegar, and dibs. The last mentioned was a sweet syrup similar to maple syrup. HONEY was a major food product because it took the place of sugar. It was found in the forest as wild honey; it was also cultivated by the farmers, who had pottery bee hives that could be moved from one part of

the country to another at the various flowering seasons. Flowers also furnished Palestine its perfumes; rose, jasmine, and other flowers were also used in drinks.

***B. Professions relating to food production and sale.*** The farmer may have specialized in any one of the various phases of farming mentioned above; or he may have had a hand in several of these at the same time, especially if his farm was small. The grain farmer had considerable free time for other employment during the year. His major seasons were fall planting, spring harvesting, and some summer threshing. His farm animals were donkeys (see ASS, DONKEY) and CATTLE; HORSES were for the army.

The grain farmer needed tools. Some of these he might make himself, but he could always buy them. In the city he found the "carpenter," that is, the woodworker, making plows, threshing sledges, pitch forks, and hay wagons. He could also make the most common sickle, which was a wooden one set with flint teeth held in place by bitumen. The latter two items represent workmen in two other trades. When iron became cheap enough (after David's time) the farmer could buy an iron sickle and an iron ox goad. The farmer also needed a cloth or leather bag in which to hold his seed as he cast it on the ground. He carried drinking water to the field in a pottery jar or goatskin water bag.

Agricultural fields in the Huleh Basin of Israel. (View to the SE toward the Golan Heights.)

When his grain was threshed, he needed a wooden shovel to pitch the crushed grain and straw into the wind to winnow it. The grain passed through a sieve before being used for bread. The grain was transported in cloth bags or wicker baskets, on the backs of people, donkeys, and camels. They stored grain in bags, pottery bins, or jars. The tibin or crushed straw needed the same transport, but much larger containers. Tibin was the food for the animals; straw was used to stuff mattresses. If the farmer had large crops he built underground silos. At least seven other professions beside farming were involved.

The farmer who worked a vineyard needed hoes, shovels, and pruning hooks. Up to David's time the metal used was COPPER; after that, IRON. The poor man used wood tools where possible. Sulphur might be used if grapes had disease. Grapes were carried in woven reed baskets. A stone mason had to cut a wine vat for the making of wine, which was stored in leather wineskins or pottery jars. The orchard man needed the pruning hook, the hoe, the saw, and baskets to carry his fruit. He

depended on bees to pollinate his blossoms, and necessarily that meant pottery bee hives. Animals used on the farm were primarily cattle and donkeys. The CAMEL was used for the heavy transport of grain and tibin to market. The trees on a farm might be the property of someone beside the land owner who farmed the ground. A third party might have the grazing rights to the land after the grain was harvested.

The grower of OLIVES needed pottery jars for the storage of his olives whether he preserved them in brine or olive OIL. For the making of olive oil he had several possible methods. He could crush them in a great stone vat and then secure the best oil by letting it rise to the surface when water was added. Usually a circular basin was cut in the rock and a great stone wheel was turned by a wooden bar in its center and rolled over the olives that spread over the circular basin. Pottery jars stored and transported the oil.

For short hauls of this produce to market, the farmer could carry it on his back (at least twice as much weight as an average American would carry). Or he would use a donkey, if he had one. For long, heavy hauls the camel was more efficient; but the camel did not come into common use until about David's time.

***C. Animals as food and animal by-products.*** SHEEP and GOATS, especially their young, lambs and kids, were the common animal food that humans had cultivated to their use. Cattle provided food only for the rich. Indeed, a poor farmer seldom had a lamb or kid to eat, except on special occasions as weddings or visits to the temple. Although some of the sheep and goats were raised by farmers and grazed near the village, most often they were looked after by professional shepherds. These men were hardy souls and needed little equipment they could not make themselves. They would, however, buy a leather water skin for their drinking water and a leather bag to hold their food, especially bread, cheese, and dates. If fortunate, they would have leather sandals and a cloth robe to serve as a blanket.

Animal products such as milk (usually sheep and goat), butter, and cheese were more common than meat. The pig and the camel were forbidden meats to the Jew in the OT, but pork was a favorite with Greeks and Romans. Birds raised for meat were rare. The most common were the pigeon, the dove, and the chicken; the latter, however, did not get into common use before intertestamental times. Eggs too were then on the food market. Feathers were a by-product used in pillows.

If one lived near the ocean, the Sea of Galilee, or a major stream, FISH was a food item. In NT times the salting of fish was a major industry on the Sea of Galilee, which gave its name to one of the major cities on that lake. Any surplus of fish could be used as fertilizer, which was common in ancient times.

The by-products of these animals (i.e., the non-food factors) were very important. There was WOOL from the sheep and hair from the goat. Special varieties of sheep were raised for wool rather than food. Most of the clothes worn by the people of the Bible were made of wool. The making of cloth was a household industry as well as a manufacturing field, as will be seen later. Camel hair was woven into cloth but goats' hair went usually into tents and rugs, although some was sackcloth. JOHN THE BAPTIST wore a camel hair robe. Wool also was made into felt, and the discard wool could be used for ship caulking.

Skins and leather were important by-products that gave many professions a livelihood. In the line of clothing there were wool pelts, which were sewed together for coats, capes, and winter boots. Skins went to the tanner and often to the dyer. The tanner used oak, sumac, and pomegranate in his work; the skins went to the specialists in the various fields where leather was employed. This leather was used for shoes, sandals, and boots, although the poor man might afford none of these. The leather

belt also was used; John the Baptist had one.

LEATHER went into harnesses for the animals, saddles for the horses and donkeys, bridles for horses, muzzles for oxen, nets and thongs for many purposes. Men used leather water bags and wineskins, and the shepherd's script or bag. The women used a leather churn, and leather was the basic element in most helmets and corselets and shields, although these could be made of metal for the elite soldiers. Leather was used in the chariot. Books were written on it and maps were made of it (see PARCHMENT). The metal worker needed leather for his bellows, and the saint wanted it for his phylacteries. The musician used it for his drums.

The offal of animals was fertilizer, and bones had a usefulness of which the average Bible reader has never dreamed. Worked bones served as tools for the potter and the leather worker. The man who used a small drill needed them as holders. Certain bones served as dice for the man who liked games. They were worked into all kinds of jewelry—beads, eardrops, etc. Bone was fashioned into ointment jars; it was carved as a spatula for mixing rouge and eye paints. It also was employed in furniture inlay. IVORY, of course, was the superb bone for any items used by the rich. A wide variety of professions were represented by these men who worked in bone. Deer horn served as picks; sheep and goat horns became trumpets and oil containers for the shepherds.

***D. The cooking of food.*** Cooking was done by the housewife, but among the rich and in the palaces there were chefs. Because fuel was expensive, it was often cheaper to use a baker in a city than to do one's own baking. The housewife usually made her own BREAD but took it to the baker for baking, whose pay was a percentage of the loaves baked. Baking in the home demanded a courtyard oven made of clay and strengthened with potsherds; sometimes bread was baked on a special pottery or metal plate.

First of all, the grain was sifted and washed. It was then made into flour on a large heavy saddle quern upon which a lighter rider stone was pushed back and forth. Spices and many other food items were ground in a mortar with a pestle. Salt came from the Dead Sea or the Mediterranean. Such stone kitchen utensils were made by special craftsmen. If any liquid was involved in cooking (stew or soup), pottery cooking pots were used by everyone except the rich who used copper kettles. Toward the Arabian frontier steatite cooking pots might have been used. The best fuel for cooking was charcoal, in second place was wood, and finally thorns. Meat could have been roasted in an oven made of clay, or in a common pit. If meat was cooked on skewers, the best were metal, but the poor used sticks. Cooking fats were normally sesame oil for the poor and olive oil for the rich, who could also afford animal fats.

The meal would have been served upon a variety of pottery dishes; if the family was rich, copper, silver, or gold dishes were used. The meal might be eaten from the floor or from low wooden tables. By NT times the Greek banquet hall was also for rich Jews. The garbage that was thrown out into the street was eaten by the dogs, which were the city's sanitation service, but very little food was thrown away. The very poor ate once a day if possible, in the evening. The better-off had breakfast and supper; only the rich ate often.

***E. Transportation of food.*** Most of Palestine produced a surplus of food that was transported to the best market available. This food was carried on the backs of the farmer and his wife, or by their donkey if they had one. The donkey was the most efficient, all-round transport animal. Indeed, before the camel became common (i.e., before David's day), the only caravan animal was the donkey. Great caravans of these could number a thousand and occasionally up to three thousand. The camel carried

a much heavier load and was used especially for heavy bulk cargoes. The two-wheeled cart was used some on level ground, but the four-wheeled wagon was not common in Palestine. It was ideal, however, on Roman roads. The mule and the horse were riding animals only; the horse was used in the army or by royalty. Grain exported to PHOENICIA usually went in ships.

**II. Clothing.** Food was the first problem of life; clothing was the second (see CLOTH; DRESS). In Palestine the most common materials were wool, flax, camel hair (after David's time), and goat hair, in that preference. COTTON came in toward the close of the OT but was not much used in Palestine (Esth. 1:6; Isa. 19:9). SILK came in about the same time, but by NT days it was the world's favorite expensive cloth. The sheepskin with the wool intact was for winter wear, and some garments were of leather. Wool was used also for making quilts for the beds.

Clothing was very expensive, as wool had to be spun into thread by hand and then woven into cloth. Every housewife was expected to be able to spin (Prov. 31:19) and probably many of them could weave. See WEAVING. The latter work, however, was also an industry in which men were employed (the apostle Paul was a weaver). The distaff and spindle used for spinning could be made by the man of the house, but many spindles showed such good craftsmanship that they must have been made by professional woodworkers and bone craftsmen. The spindle whorl could have been made from a potsherd, bone, stone, etc. The best were beautifully carved stones of various sizes and shapes, and were the work of a professional stone carver. The best looms were made by skilled woodworkers. Several varieties of looms were used such as an upright or horizontal loom. In the latter the warp threads were usually held taut by loom weights of pottery, occasionally by stones.

Cotton carder.

The undressed wool cloth was full of oil and grease from the sheep's wool, so the cloth was then taken to the fuller, who removed this oil and also compacted the cloth. He needed large stone or clay basins in which he could tread out the impurities, and chemicals to extract the oils. Plenty of water was necessary, so he had cisterns nearby or worked near running water. He required pottery jars or water skins to carry the water to his basins. After this treatment the cloth could be embroidered in various patterns and sold to the rich.

Different varieties of sheep produce different colored wools from white through yellow, plus tan

and various browns and black, but dyeing was necessary to have other colors. The kermes insects, various barks and plants, madder root plus chemicals were available; but the Phoenicians had the choice PURPLE dye made from the murex of their coastal waters. The use of available dyes on the various natural colored wools gave an almost complete spectrum of colors. Either the wool itself or the finished cloth was dyed. Solomon brought in a specially skilled dye expert from Phoenicia (2 Chr. 2:7). Linen was difficult to dye and normally was used in its natural color or was bleached. Gold thread was used for decorative purposes in the finest cloth (Exod. 28:15). Wool also was beaten into felt. Such heavy cloaks were used in cold areas such as Anatolia (ASIA MINOR). It also was shaped into shoes.

LINEN was an important Palestine product. It was an industry all its own from the sowing of the flax seed to the finished embroidered linen. The Jordan Valley was a major site for this industry in intertestamental times, as it also was back in Joshua's day (Josh. 2:6). The Philistine plain also was used for this industry. Discarded linen tow was used as wicks for lamps. The cloth often was woven so that little sewing was needed; in fact, there was even the seamless robe, woven to fit (Jn. 19:23). The shaping of cloth into other fancier garments was the work of the tailor and dressmaker.

Weaving was used for other purposes than cloth. Goat hair was woven into tents and rugs. There were tents and awnings (Paul's profession), also curtains and hangings, screens and wall decorations, fine oriental carpets, saddle covers, etc. Bags were very important as wood was too expensive for containers. Sackcloth was worn as a sign of mourning. Ropes and cords had to be made and these necessitated a long spinning yard for their manufacture, a trade in itself. These were put to such varied uses as nets, and power for the catapults.

**III. Shelter.** After clothing came the problem of shelter. The answer to this problem was usually a cave, a tent, or a house. The cave always has been the poor man's home in a land whose geology produces numerous caves, which is true of Palestine. Even today the poor use them at all times; in the summer the farmers working away from their village homes use them also. They can easily be made into comfortable homes.

The tent is the mobile home. Even God himself used a tabernacle in the Sinai Desert. The tent usually was made of goat's hair. It was held up by poles and held in place by ropes stretched to wooden pegs in the ground. It was used by both sheik or commoner, but its equipment depended on who used the tent.

The house in Palestine was normally of stone except in the areas where stone was rare; then mud bricks were used, although these should always be on a stone foundation (see ARCHITECTURE; HOUSE). Burnt bricks belong to Egypt and Mesopotamia. Since most of the houses in biblical Palestine were built of field stones, the men who erected them should be called builders rather than masons. These rough walls were covered by a mud or lime plaster and were well finished inside. The stone mason worked on public buildings and homes for the rich. If mortar was used on the common house, it was mud; the rich used a true lime mortar. The beams for the roof of the poor man's house were tree trunks. Branches were laid over these and upon the branches were reed mats. Eight to a dozen inches of soil mixed with powdered lime was then spread over the mats. The roof was kept waterproof by compressing it with a stone roller.

The open door usually gave enough light, and windows were common only on upper stories. The carpenter made the door frames and the doors, also the lattice windows and their frames. Leather hinges sometimes were used, but large doors usually swung on stone sockets below and a hole in the beam above. The floor was of flagstones for the rich, but the poor used a mixture of mud and

powdered lime that gave a good floor, as the inhabitants were usually barefoot. Egyptian schools formerly used this same floor in poor villages. The finest floors were stone and glass mosaics.

In OT times the temple-palace complex built by Solomon was the best of their public buildings. The twelve administrative centers in his kingdom also had their public buildings. By NT times Herod the Great had made Palestine cities duplicates of Greece and Rome. Public buildings demanded the skilled stonemason and his was a special trade; his tools were made by the metalworker. The large rooms required columns to hold up the roof, and they were wood or stone. By NT times the column, its base, and capital were fashioned after Greek or Roman models. Tiles roofed the better public buildings and private homes. Plumbing in NT times used pottery and lead pipes but only in the best buildings. After Joshua's conquest most houses had a cistern, if the occupants could afford it. Public waterworks have already been mentioned above.

Military architecture was a field of its own, and most of the Palestine cities excavated showed more good work than poor. Some twenty feet of the height of a city wall was stone, and above that there was ten feet of sun-dried mud brick. The gates were heavy wood planks studded with metal. Where chariots were used, stables were built; in Palestine these followed the general pattern of a clerestory building.

The building trades in Bible times used the following skilled tradesmen: architect, builder, mason, plasterer, painter, carpenter, cabinet maker, floor finisher, tile setter, plumber, etc. Each of these men in turn depended on other trades. The architect needed tapes, rulers, papyrus, inkwells, ink, and pens. The builder needed metal and wood tools along with a lead plumb bob, string, chalk, etc. The mason obtained his stone direct from the quarry to the building. The plasterer bought his lime plaster from the man who fired the lime kiln; he, in turn, had helpers to collect the fuel for the kiln. The painter needed to purchase his pigments, oils, and brushes from others. The floor finisher needed lime and stone flagging or wood flooring. The tile setter got his material from the tile factory. The plumber needed all his special tools plus various sized lead and pottery pipes.

Temporary shelters were constructed with mats woven from reeds or branches made into a booth above a low stone wall. These were common in the fields at harvest times. The vineyard might have a permanent circular watchtower built of field stone.

**IV. Health.** The problem of health naturally follows those of food, clothing, and housing (see HEALING AND HEALTH). Starvation was often on the horizon for many of the inhabitants of Palestine. Its weather has always been fickle and crops varied from excellent to very poor. War, locusts, or any other natural plague quickly depleted the food supply. The undernourished were always subject to disease and injury, and these people were always numerous.

A health study, beginning with birth, may be enlightening. If there was any professional attendant present, it was a MIDWIFE. The diseases of infancy took a heavy toll, and at every age disease continued its inroads, giving the populace a short life span. Accidents were common and war added far more than its quota. There were the blind, the deaf, and dumb. There were cripples of all kinds, some from birth, most from accidents. Many of these handicapped people had no way to make a living except by begging. Broken bones were common, and the worst were those of the army, where cheek and jaw injuries were common in spite of the helmet, which was designed in part to avoid these injuries. Teeth also made much trouble, both in peace and war.

The Israelites had some sense of sanitation (Deut. 23:12-13), and many items of the Mosaic code have health as a factor. Dogs and a hot sun helped solve their problem of sanitation. The department of health was the priesthood, which checked on contagious diseases. Two major bubonic plagues

probably explain the PHILISTINE deaths at the time they captured the ARK OF THE COVENANT and the later great loss SENNACHERIB suffered in his Judean campaign. Palestine too had its poisonous plants and snakes. Smallpox left its mark on even some of the Egyptian royal mummies.

Among the DISEASES or illnesses mentioned or alluded to in Scripture are dropsy, dysentery, epilepsy, fevers, heat stroke, leprosy, paralysis, sciatica, scurvy, tuberculosis, etc. There were also mental illnesses and evil spirits. Surgery started early with CIRCUMCISION. The many mineral springs of Palestine were health resorts, two of which were near CAPERNAUM. The physician was at work throughout the biblical period. The medical ministry of Christ was unique; and even that of the apostles was significant.

With death came the washing of the body and its BURIAL in a family tomb. If economics permitted, spices and perfumes were used. Even professional mourners were employed if money sufficed. JOSEPH, being high in the Egyptian court, was embalmed.

**V. Trades.** Having sketched briefly the occupations involved in the problems of food, clothing, housing, and health, it is necessary to approach the problem of trades via the materials that were used in the different trades. See also TRADE GUILDS.

***A. Woodworking.*** Archaeologists have found that Palestine was much more widely and heavily forested than earlier scholars ever believed. Furthermore, it had a very wide variety of timber, since its climate at different seasons of the year is quite diverse. The woodworkers recognized the virtues of different woods and used them according to their properties. Olive wood, for example, was ideal for carving, so the cherubim of Solomon's temple were carved from that wood; the holm oak, on the other hand, made the best plow for a farmer.

The beginning of woodworking meant that someone had to fell the tree and cut it up into usable units. If boards were to be made, the trunk sections had to be ripsawed into boards; it was a tricky task to keep the boards of equal width, but these men were specialists. Larger units as beams could be shaped with an adze from tree sections approximately the size of the beam desired. The carpenter worked only on certain sections of the stone or mud brick house. Timber was too expensive to be used for an entire house, but lumber was very costly since everything had to be hand-sawed. The carpenter fashioned the doors and frames, the latticed windows, and the window frames. He also made the fine latticed wood screens used in wealthy homes. If the house had a second story he would put in that floor and perhaps some paneling. If the house used wooden columns he would shape these but would plant them on a wide stone base. Stairs were made of wood or stone. If there was a yard around a wealthy home he would make the gate, whose keys might be of wood or metal. The carpenter would make furniture for the poor but the rich would want a cabinet maker. A beautiful dining room set might be made by an Arab cabinet maker, who used only fine tools. A minimum of furniture for the rich would be beds, chairs, stools, tables, and chests for the storing of clothes. Royalty would need a still better craftsman for the building of thrones, footstools, etc. Special craftsmen would work on the bone and ivory inlaid furniture.

Probably one craftsman in wood specialized in the making of wooden items used by the farmer. He would make yokes, plows, ox goads, pitchforks, shovels, threshing sledges, and perhaps a hay wagon. (A wagon took extra skill because of the wheels.) This woodworker also probably made the wooden frames for the pack saddles used on donkeys and camels. One of the most skilled workers was the man who made and repaired chariots, for he worked on the axle of wheels, the bed, and the tongue. The metalworker fashioned the rim. A skilled craftsman made the litter on which the rich

would ride.

There was a woodworker who specialized in the making of weapons, furnishing the wood parts. He made the bow and the arrows, as well as the shafts for spear, javelin, and mace. The mace often served as a scepter. He constructed the catapult and the beam for the battering ram, as well as the housing for it, and made the assault towers and other siege engines.

The NT relates information concerning shipping, which included several special trades in the field of woodworking. The timber must be cut and fashioned to fit the hull, and one or two masts shaped and set in place. Oars were normal emergency power, and the ship was steered by special oars as rudders. If the ship was large, it would have been decked over. The ship's caulker with his pitch, bitumen, wool, and tow worked hand in hand with the ship carpenter.

Someone made prison equipment such as stocks and gibbets and crosses. The Jews and Romans used the cross in intertestamental and NT times. Some delicate woodworker made the beams for scales and balances. Skill was required by the man who carved dolls and fashioned wooden keys. One skilled but wicked craftsman was the woodworker who carved idols in that medium. Finally, the woodworker in turn had specialists to make his metal tools and other specialists to furnish him with whetstones, emery, chalk, string, etc.

***B. Quarrying and mining.*** Public buildings and wealthy homes needed good building stone. Most of Palestine could furnish limestone and southern TRANSJORDAN had sandstone. Northern Trans-jordan has basalt but this is not a beautiful stone, although it was widely used there. Some Palestine marble was doubtless used as is done today.

Quarrying is a profession of its own. The best stone was reserved for the Jerusalem temples. A great underground quarry lies under a part of the old city of Jerusalem and the marks of the quarry worker are everywhere. It may well have been the source of stone for Solomon's temple. The tools used in this profession are the metal chisel, baskets, wooden wedges, water to spread the wedges, and wooden rollers for the largest stones. The transport of the stone might have been done by the quarry owner, the user, or a third party. Long-distance hauling would have been by camel and donkey.

The stone mason fashioned wine vats, olive presses, and the weights used in them, and vats for the fuller and dyer. In the NT stone water pots are mentioned (Jn. 2:6). The mason made tombstones for RACHEL (Gen. 35:20) and memorial pillars for ABSALOM (2 Sam. 18:18). Other workers in stone made the saddle querns and riders and all varieties of mortars and pestles, sling-shot stones, and weights of all sizes and from many varieties of stones. The bottom of the metal workers' bellow was a specially fashioned stone. More careful work was done in the rouge palettes and alabaster vases for perfumes. The most skilled men worked in scarabs, seal cylinders, and stamp seals. By NT times the CORINTH canal was being excavated. Long before this the Phoenicians had their stone quays. The heathen stonemason worked on the "pillars," the idols, and their altars. Lime for the mason's mortar was made by men who ran the lime kilns.

Salt and brimstone, lye and pigments, could be handled by the quarry method. Flint was taken from a quarry, and flint-working was a craft of its own. Flint tools and weapons were common in Abraham's day. The flint sickle edge was used all through the OT. In one sense a clay bed could be a quarry, but the removal of the clay would be done by a potter's apprentice. Many precious stones such as turquoise also came from the quarry worker.

The copper ores of Palestine were worked on an international scale as far back as the days of Abraham, and much earlier than that. Genesis 14 recorded a war whose prize was the copper mines of Edom and Sinai. The mines were open-face, chamber and tunnel type. Much of the labor seems to

have been done by slaves or prisoners of war. The tools used by the quarry men also were used by the miners, but they needed more tools because the ores had to be crushed. Men did this with stone mortars and stone pestles. There were also quern types of stone used for crushing the ore. Baskets carried crushed ore to the smelters.

Smelting was a skilled profession, and Palestine smelters often did excellent work with the tools available. The smelters needed furnaces (usually stone and clay) and leather bellows to furnish sufficient air draft. Charcoal was the best fuel, and Edom's forests furnished this for the mines in the ARABAH below. Wooden poles also were needed to be introduced into the molten metal. Various chemical reagents were needed to be mixed with the ores in order to extract the copper and separate it from the dross discard. The smelted ore was poured out into ingots of various sizes and shapes. The ore would be refined again later in better grades of furnaces. Some of these types of furnaces have been discovered by the archaeologists. As mines and smelters in Edom and Sinai were far removed from civilization, temporary quarters were erected for the workmen, many of them slaves, who probably worked primarily in the winter season.

The Philistines were the first to introduce iron into Palestine and they held a monopoly on its working. Iron works quite differently from copper. It is unknown when Palestine first mined and smelted its own iron ore. In GILEAD one cave-mine with ore of very rich content has been found, and the ore from it was smelted at the cave's mouth. The date of this work is not known. Smelting iron was a much more difficult task than that for copper.

***C. Metal working.*** The METAL worker took the ingot and worked it up into tools, weapons, jewelry, and any use for which there was a demand. For common work the coppersmith melted the ingot and poured it into stone or pottery molds of open or closed type. If the metal needed reshaping this could be done by hammering, which also hardened the metal. Copper could be cold-worked or hot-worked. If a harder metal and a sharper cutting edge was needed, tin was added to the copper to make bronze. Bronze, however, was quite expensive. Long before the time of Abraham the metal workers of the ANE had done almost everything with copper and its alloys that could be done as late as the 19th cent. A.D.

The blacksmith had to work his metal hot, and that craft demanded real skill. Iron demanded heavier tools in anvils, hammers, and tongs than copper. Iron working used a great deal of good-grade charcoal; iron did not come into mass production in Palestine until the time of David. Since iron rusted quickly in the wet climate of Palestine, the archaeologist must go to dry Egypt to get well-preserved iron tools for his metallurgical studies.

Most of the tool types were the same whether the metal was copper or iron. Remember that each tool normally came in at least several varieties, and many tools came in a *wide variety* of forms. This is a quick listing: axes and adzes, hoes, mattocks, and shovels, plus plowshares, chisels, and knives. The last in the list, knives, were in wide varieties because of their multiple uses and the materials that they cut. There were braces and drills of many kinds, bits, augers and awls, planes and drawing knives, anvils, hammers and tongs, mortar rake and trowel, plum-line, level and square. There were saws for wood, stone and metal, files and rasps, sickles and pruning hooks, also rings and nails, pins, needles, scissors, etc. Chariots and wagons needed metal tires for the wheels. Weights and scale pans often were metal. Coins always were made of metal.

Much of military equipment required metal. Copper, bronze, or iron were used in the following military equipment: spear, javelin and arrowhead, helmet, shield and body armor with greaves; sword and dagger; mace and battle axe, etc.; even the head of the great battering ram. The army's

“flag” was

Phoenician gold earrings from the 7th or 6th cent. B.C.

usually a metal standard such as Rome used. It was necessary to have chains and fetters for the prisoners of war. All of these tools and weapons came in multiple forms.

Beauty must be cultivated so there were razors and strigils, also mirrors, tweezers, brooches, and a wealth of jewelry in copper. Copper kettles and kitchen ware of all kinds were used in the homes of the rich, and copperware was used on their dining tables. Also there was a wealth of metalwork for the heathen craftsmen who cast the molten idol, and also for those who fashioned the metal plates over the wooden idol core. There were many metal tools that accompanied the service of the altar.

The jeweler is worthy of special mention since jewelry was one method of holding wealth. Jewelry could at any time be converted into money because of its gold and silver content, skillfully worked to multiply its value. Precious and semiprecious stones added to its costliness. Carrying precious stones was one method of transporting great wealth in small packages. Jewelry items included rings, necklaces, brooches, pendants, earrings, bracelets and anklets, amulets, scarabs, and beads of all kinds. Palestine had no gold or silver mines but it had excellent silversmiths and goldsmiths. The better jewelry was gold and silver. These jewelry craftsmen also worked in all varieties of precious and semiprecious stones. Cheaper jewelry was in copper and bronze. The poorest was made of bone. Some ivory work, however, was very expensive. See JEWELS AND PRECIOUS STONES.

***D. Pottery making.*** POTTERY is related to quarrying and mining. The choice of clay used determines many features of the finished pottery. When clay is fired to the state of pottery, a completely new material is created. It was the first synthetic material that humans invented. Pottery makers in Bible times were excellent craftsmen; and among the first to use modern assembly line techniques. Pottery has several phases of work. Clay must be dug and weathered, then treaded well before use. Most of the vessels were made on the potter’s wheel, but some were shaped by hand and other pieces were made in a press mold. The firing of the ware demanded special skills.

Pottery was especially useful in the house. There were various kinds of cooking pots, griddles, and kettles for deep-fat frying. There were mixing bowls and large and small storage jars for dry

foods and liquids. There was tableware of all kinds, also lamps and lampstands. There was the brazier to keep the house warm in winter; and the soldier needed a special army canteen that held cold water. There were kettles for manufacturing perfumes and many varieties of perfume juglets, etc.

In the building trades, mud was used as the cheapest mortar. Large sun-dried bricks were made in special molds. Burnt brick and enameled brick were not used in Palestine, although both were employed in Mesopotamia and Egypt. Roof tiles were used in intertestamental and NT times. Clay also was shaped into stoves for cooking and ovens for baking. Clay silos were used to store grain.

The metal worker used pottery crucibles of various types, smelting furnaces, and pottery molds for the metal objects cast. Pottery spindle whorls and pottery loom weights were used in cloth industries. Among the heathen there were clay figurines (Astartes; see ASHTORETH) and incense altars.

Glass was one phase of the ceramic industries, although it was just coming into mass production about NT times. Up to that time it was classed as luxury goods and was used especially by the perfume and mosaic industries. Faience was a related trade, but Palestine imported this ware from Egypt.

**VI. Business.** We turn now from the various trades to business in general (see TRADE, COMMERCE, AND BUSINESS). All craftsmanship and manufacturing, as well as the selling of food products or any items whatsoever, enter the field of business. Business at its higher levels involved not only the merchant but also the banker, and with him came mortgages and interest, insurances, promissory notes, letters of credit, etc. The money changers were even in the temple at Jerusalem. Records were kept on papyrus if valuable, on potsherds if of lesser value. Documents were witnessed and sealed. The clay tablet was not used widely in Palestine except in the patriarchal period.

Business involved the court, necessitating judges, lawyers, and mediators. Weights and measures could be issues in a court case as could wages and sale prices. There were trade guilds but these were not too similar to modern labor unions. Bad debtors often were sent to prison or worked off their loans in service to the person they owed.

**VII. Education.** In OT times EDUCATION was primarily a question of apprenticeship, and most businesses were a family affair. This was primarily technological education, and the technical infor mation was often a family secret. The royal courts trained their own staff.

The Greeks created the educational concepts that dominate American thinking today. They emphasized the arts and the crafts, but also politics and philosophy. The ATHENS of Pericles probably saw the greatest collection of brilliant minds of any time in the world's history. Knowledge was preserved in BOOKS, thus the copying of books was a major industry, and the scribe a man of importance. The university was the last word in education, although it was built around individual teachers rather than buildings. The high Greek concept of the teacher was duplicated by the rabbi. Reading the MISHNAH reveals the diversity of thought patterns carried on by the rabbis. In Greece and Palestine the great teachers had their disciples. By NT times ALEXANDRIA was the center of scientific studies.

**VIII. The royal households.** Male and female doorkeepers guarded the royal household. The men were placed at the gate of the mansion or palace, the women before the women's quarters. Watchmen both by day and night were a necessity; bond servants and bond maids were used for "hired help." Slave labor might also be employed. There were gardeners and men who supplied the palace with

wood and water. In the palace were cooks, beauticians, dressmakers.

In the palace there were special court servants of high political rank. Among these were the bodyguards, butlers, chamberlains, cupbearers, footmen, eunuchs for the harem, jailers, executioners, and wardrobe keepers. Officials also were needed to oversee the royal farms, flocks, and herds. Political positions in the court included the following in addition to many others: king, cabinet members (secretary or recorder, treasurer, etc.), and court officials (judges, lawyers, jailers); then there were governors, ambassadors, proconsuls, and of course tax collectors.

The palace was also the place for amusements, where there were many professionals, such as musicians, dancers, magicians, and jesters. In addition, beauty professionals were at their peak, for the men needed barbers, and the women used the beauty parlor. There were hairdressers and perfumers who provided the finest cosmetics and tools for their use. Even the eyes needed special eye paints. The jeweler found his major market in the palace.

**IX. The army.** The king enforced his power with the ARMY. In the era before David the army was not a national one but rather a tribal force. Each tribe was a law to itself. Every man was to be available for military service, but in his own tribe, and each soldier furnished his own weapons. Note that the tribes fought as a national unit under Joshua; but in the days of the judges only a few tribes worked together as a military unit. Some, like the tribes of Dan and Benjamin, were distinctly individualistic. Samuel warned Israel that kingship would bring in a hereditary federal government and a federal army (1 Sam. 8:11-18). When David called for a census he was creating a federal army! Note that even JOAB objected to this action (2 Sam. 24:1-25).

The Israelite soldier before David's kingship usually carried not only a sword but at least one spear or javelin. He also might have used a mace or battle axe. He defended himself with a shield, either large or small. Special troops were the archers and slingers. The soldier was commanded by men of his own tribe. With David's reign came the federal army directed by men of the king's choice, and his soldiers were supplied with weapons by the king's armorers. Although David was a superb military man he did not use the chariot. Solomon, however, introduced it; and three of his chariot headquarters have been excavated.

The Assyrians had the world's best military machine until the Persian world conquest. Under the Assyrians military weapons and equipment were at their best for any type of warfare. Their siege engines were copied by later armies. They also introduced cavalry, which the Persians later brought to perfection as an arm of their military service. Alexander the Great perfected fast movement and added scientists to his army. The Romans had another excellent military machine, which was built primarily around the infantry. All armies lived off the lands invaded and kept their baggage trains to a minimum; camp equipment also was kept at a minimum.

All cities in the OT and most in the NT were fortified with heavy walls strengthened by towers. The OT city normally had walls averaging at least ten feet thick and thirty feet high and with a minimum of gates. If possible, the large city also had a special citadel at the highest point, which usually included the palace. All countries around the Mediterranean had their navies, but Israel got into this act only briefly in the intertestamental period and in the revolt against Rome.

One of the by-products of military service in Greece was the athletic games. By NT times these games were largely taken over by professional ATHLETES; and the major cities of the Mediterranean world had their athletic contests. These were so dated that the professionals could make the whole Mediterranean circuit in a year. The stadium and later the amphitheater were created to serve these games. The gladiatorial shows were the ultimate touch in brutality and death. The hippodrome was

used for chariot racing; and betting was as common then as now. All these features were in NT Palestine, although CAESAREA apparently was the only city with an amphitheater.

**X. The wicked professions.** Finally, the "wicked professions" must be mentioned, for there were the

A clay tablet representing a liver and used for divination in Babylon.

same criminal elements that appear in all civilizations: thieves, robbers, brigands, prostitutes, murderers, etc. Then there was that large group of "fake religionists." This included all types of false worship, most of which was well represented in Baalism. There were false priests, false prophets, astrologers and diviners, magicians and soothsayers, sorcerers and exorcists, and those who worked with familiar spirits both in ecstasy and demonology, and some who gave oracles. There were also the makers of idols, charms and amulets.

The worship of the God of Scripture is essentially a "calling" and in no sense a profession or occupation as listed in the paragraphs above. Occupations and professions deal with the use (or abuse) of God's created world. On the other hand, worship deals primarily with God himself.

(See further R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology,* 9 vols. [1955-65]; P.J. King and L. E. Stager, *Life in Biblical Israel* [2001].)

J. L. KELSO

**Ochiel** oh-ki'uhl. See JEIEL #8.

**Ochran** ok'ruhn. See OCRAN.

**Ocidelus** oh-si-dee'luhs. KJV Apoc. form of GEDALIAH (1 Esd. 9:22).

**Ocina** oh-si'-nuh (Οκινα. A coastal town S of TYRE, mentioned in the account of the campaign of HOLOFERNES in SYRIA (Jdt. 2:28). Its site is uncertain. Some think the name is fictitious; others have suggested that Ocina is a corruption of Acco.

**Ocran** ok'ruhn (עֹכְרָן *H6581, prob.* "sorrowful"). Also Ochran; TNIV Okran. Father of PAGIEL, who was the leader of the tribe of ASHER during the wilderness wanderings (Num. 1:13; 2:27; 7:72, 77; 10:26).

**Oded** oh'did (עוֹדֵד *H6389,* possibly "[Yahweh] has helped"; see *HALOT,* 2:796). (1) Father of AZARIAH; the latter was a prophet who urged King ASA to reform worship (2 Chr. 15:1; in v. 8 the KJV, following the MT, makes Oded himself the prophet; the NIV and most modern versions restore "Azariah son of," following LXX [*Adad],* Syr., Vulg.). Some have thought that *ʿôdēd* was originally a common noun meaning "prophet," later misinterpreted as a name (cf. *ABD,* 5:8).

(2) A prophet who successfully challenged King PEKAH of Israel for attempting to enslave many people from Judah (2 Chr. 28:9).

S. BARABAS

**Odes of Solomon.** A collection of forty-two Jewish-Christian poems, composed probably in Syriac c. A.D. 100. Some scholars, however, have dated the work considerably later; and the possibility that these hymns were originally written in Hebrew or Greek must be left open. How or why the name of SOLOMON became attached to the work is unclear; the attribution may have been inspired by the biblical comments that Solomon "spoke three thousand proverbs and his songs [LXX *ōdai]* numbered a thousand and five" (1 Ki. 4:32). Many of the odes are psalms of praise to God, but some of them specifically celebrate the coming of the MESSIAH and the salvation he has brought. The work has been preserved primarily in two Syriac MSS. (Text edited by J. R. Harris, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon: Now First Published from the Syriac Version* [1909]. Harris and A. Mingana wrote a 2-vol. commentary, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon* [1920]. For a more recent edition with English trans., see J. H. Charlesworth, *The Odes of Solomon: The Syriac Texts* [1978]; see also *OTP,* 2:725-71; M. Lattke, *Oden Salomos: Text, Überetzung, Kommentar,* 3 vols. [1999-2005].)

**Odollam** oh-dol'uhm. KJV Apoc. form of ADUL-LAM (2 Macc. 12:38).

**Odomera** od'uh-mer'uh (Οδομηρα). A BEDOUIN chief, defeated by Jonathan MACCABEE in a raid in 156 B.C. (1 Macc. 9:66). Based on a variant reading *(epetaxen* instead of *epataxen),* some think that Odomera was an ally of the Maccabees whom Jonathan "summoned" rather than "struck down" (cf. J. A. Goldstein, *I Maccabees,* AB 41 [1976], 395).

**odor.** This English term is used by the NRSV and other versions primarily to render Hebrew *rêaḥ H8194* (KJV, "savour"; NIV usually, "aroma"), which occurs mostly with reference to the sacrificial scent that is pleasing *(nīḥōaḥ H5767)* to God (Gen. 8:21 et al.; it is esp. frequent in Leviticus and Numbers; see *NIDOTTE,* 3:1070-72). The SEPTUAGINT renders this term with Greek *osmē G4011* (in combination with *euōdia G2380),* which also occurs in the NT (e.g., Eph. 5:2). See SACRIFICE AND OFFERINGS.

**offence.** This term, which in Elizabethan English could mean "stumbling," is used by the KJV to render several terms, especially *skandalon G4998.* The Greek word originally referred to the bait stick on a snare or trap, but later to the trap or snare itself, and in the NT figuratively to that which causes someone to stumble morally (Matt. 16:23 et al.). Similarly, the cognate verb *skandalizō G4997* is translated "offend" or "make to offend" in the KJV. The Master warned his disciples solemnly: "If your right eye causes you to sin [KJV, offend thee], gouge it out and throw it away" (Matt. 5:29). Similar instructions were given concerning an "offending" hand or foot (Mk. 9:43-47).

Obviously these startling commands were intended to be taken metaphorically: if that person or thing that is nearest and dearest to you is proving to be a temptation to sin, remove it at once. In such cases drastic action is necessary to save one's soul. Believers should also avoid being a STUMBLING BLOCK to others (Matt. 18:6; Rom. 14:13; 1 Cor. 8:13). Modern English versions use the noun *offense* in the more common sense of "affront."

**Offence, Mount of.** See CORRUPTION, HILL (MOUNT) OF.

**offering.** See CONTRIBUTION; SACRIFICE AND OFFERINGS.

**officer, official.** These terms are used variously in the English versions to render a number of words denoting people who hold positions of authority in civil, military, and religious matters. For example, Hebrew *niṣṣāb* (niphal ptc. *of nāṣab H5893,* "to [take a] stand, be stationed") can designate "overseers" of both religious and military groups (1 Ki. 4:5; 2 Chr. 8:10). The noun *pāqīd H7224* (from a common root that can mean "to care for") can be used similarly (Gen. 41:34 [NIV, "commissioner"]; 2 Chr. 24:11). More ambiguous is *sārīs H6247,* which can certainly mean EUNUCH (Isa. 39:7), but usually refers to a male court official who may or may not have been castrated (Gen. 37:36 et al.). Several other Hebrew terms have comparable meanings. See also NOBLE; PRINCE; RULER.

Among NT terms that may be rendered "officer," the Greek word *praktōr G4551* is found only in Lk. 12:58, although it was an ancient term going back to the 4th cent. B.C. It took on a new meaning in the ROMAN EMPIRE when it was applied to TAX COLLECTORS and other fiduciary officers of the courts. Apparently it is used in Luke in distinction to the judge of the court, so it must refer to some sort of constable who follows the court's direction. The noun *hypēretēs G5677,* meaning "assistant, administrator" (i.e., directed by another), is used in the SEPTUAGINT for some of the Hebrew terms listed above and appears in the NT with various contextual meanings, such as "officer" or "guard" (Matt. 5:25, parallel to Lk. 12:58), "attendant" (Lk. 4:20), and "servant" (Jn. 18:36).

W. WHITE, JR.

**offices of Christ.** CHRISTOLOGY has been traditionally divided in three parts: (1) the person of Christ (his deity and humanity united in one person); (2) the states of Christ (the humiliation and exaltation of the Mediator); (3) the work of Christ. The last topic has been frequently and conveniently dealt with under the title of "The Offices of Christ." The principle that underlies this terminology is simply that the work that Christ accomplished is the perfect fulfillment of certain basic functions or offices in which the essential relationship between God and human begins is expressed. These offices often are classified as prophetic, priestly, and kingly. While these categories are not fully exhaustive of all that Christ accomplished, and while some overlapping may be occasionally observed between them, there are good reasons why these may continue to be used.

(1) One of the most significant (and common) designations of Jesus is "[the] Christ" (Gk. *Christos G5986,* Heb. *māšīaḥ H5431),* which means "Anointed One." See ANOINT; JESUS CHRIST; MESSIAH. Now in the OT three offices were commonly inaugurated by a ceremony of unction as indicative of God's sanction: the offices of priest (Exod. 30:30; 40:13, 15; and many other references), of king (1 Sam. 10:1; 15:1, 17; 16:3, 12-13; 1 Ki. 1:34; 19:15-16; et al.), and of prophet (1 Ki. 19:16; Isa. 61:1; cf. Ps. 105:15). A development of the nature of Christ's work along this structure would therefore be particularly well suited to exhibit the correspondence between OT and

NT, between the expectation of the old COVENANT and the fulfillment of the new covenant (see COVENANT, THE NEW).

(2) The terms *prophet, priest,* and *king* are in fact used by the NT with reference to Jesus Christ, and while other titles could also be pressed into service here, there is no good reason to question the appropriateness of these designations.

(3) This division is consecrated by great antiquity. It appears notably in the beginning of EUSEBIUS's important work, *Ecclesiastical History* (1.3.8-9), and frequently since that time. It has been favored especially since the Reformation, perhaps because of its effective use by John Calvin in the *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (2.15).

**I. The prophetic office.** A prophet is a person used by God to transmit messages that God desires to communicate to human beings (Exod. 7:1; Deut. 18:18). The element of prediction, which is prominent in the popular idea of a prophet, is not an essential of the biblical concept. See PROPHETS AND PROPHECY.

As early as the life of MOSES, we have a promise from God that he would provide his people with prophetic guidance (Deut. 18:15, 18). This promise, which received a partial accomplishment through the succession of OT prophets, was fulfilled in a most complete and satisfying manner in the coming of Jesus Christ, as is indicated by PETER (Acts 3:22-24) and STEPHEN (Acts 7:37). Christ's coming

A "seat of Moses" from the 2nd cent. A.D. found in the synagogue at Korazin. Jesus fulfilled Moses' prediction: "The LORD your God will raise up for you a prophet like me from among your brothers" (Deut. 18:15).

did meet the yearning of those who were looking for the advent of the Messiah; and the prophetic character of his mission received recognition even among the people of his day (Matt. 16:14; 21:11, 46; Lk. 7:16; Jn. 1:23; 4:19; 6:14; 7:40; 9:17). The disciples particularly acknowledged that he had the words of eternal life (Jn. 6:68), and that he uttered the words of God (Jn. 3:34).

Christ referred to himself as a prophet (Matt. 13:57; Mk. 6:4; Lk. 4:24; 13:33; Jn. 4:44), and claimed to present a message from the Father (Jn. 8:26-28, 40; 12:49-50; 14:10, 24; 15:15; 17:8). He came to bear witness to the truth (8:45-46; 19:35). In fact, "grace and truth came through Jesus Christ" (1:17), who could say of himself: "I am…the truth" (14:6), or again, "I am the light of the world" (8:12; 9:5; cf. Jn. 3:19; 12:35, 36, 46). Even the Father from the heavenly heights bore witness to the authority of Christ's prophetic word (Matt. 17:5; Mk. 9:7; Lk. 9:35; Jn. 5:37; 8:18). In

the Book of Revelation we read that "the testimony of Jesus is the sprit of prophecy" (Rev. 19:10).

There are two major ways in which Christ exercised his prophetic office: instruction and example, to which may be added a word about miracles.

***A. Instruction.*** One of the chief activities of our Lord in his earthly ministry was preaching (Matt. 4:17; 11:1; Mk. 1:38; Lk. 4:18, 43) and teaching (Matt. 7:29; 11:1; Lk. 11:1; Acts 1:1). A good share of the gospel account is devoted to a record of his discourses and statements.

Jesus taught with authority (Matt. 7:29). He set his own statements on a level with the Word of God in the OT law (Matt. 5:22, 28, 32, 34, 39, 44; 19:9), not of course to discredit inspired writ, but to provide a divinely accredited interpretation of the OT law. He did not hesitate to give commandments vested with divine authority (Matt. 28:20; Jn. 14:21; 15:12). He emphasized that his words would not pass away (Matt. 24:35; Mk. 13:31; Lk. 21:33) and that the truth he proclaimed should extend to the whole world (Matt. 26:13; 28:19-20). He asserted that the ultimate destiny of men and women would depend on their treatment of his words (Matt. 7:24-27; Mk. 8:38; Jn. 8:24; 12:48). He described these words as spirit and life (Jn. 6:33). After the ASCENSION OF CHRIST, God the HOLY SPIRIT would bring to their remembrance what Jesus had taught them (14:26).

The true disciples therefore were always eager to receive Christ's teaching. They accepted it even when others viewed his utterances as a "hard saying" (Jn. 6:60). They addressed Jesus by the title RABBI, which is an acknowledgment of his authority. MARY received commendation for sitting at his feet and listening to his teaching (Lk. 10:39, 41). Those who wish to be closest to Christ must hear the Word of God coming from his lips (Lk. 8:21; 11:28).

The ministry of Jesus is repeatedly compared to a light that illumines those who are in darkness (Matt. 4:16; Lk. 2:32; Jn. 1:4, 7-9; et al.). After Christ's resurrection the apostles were always eager to proclaim the truths revealed by Jesus (1 Cor. 7:10; 11:23; 1 Jn. 1:3; 2:3-4; 3:22-24; 4:21; 2 Jn. 6; Rev. 22:4). The authority of Christ's teaching was never seriously questioned in the Christian church. Those who did want to discard some elements of it almost invariably had recourse to the doubtful expedient of questioning the authenticity of what they wished to remove, rather than to admit its genuineness and then presume to disagree with Jesus. Perhaps the best summary of this aspect of Christ's ministry came from the lips of soldiers who were sent to arrest him: "No one ever spoke the way this man does" (Jn. 7:46).

***B. Example.*** The prophets were occasionally called to present the truth not merely in verbal expression, but in certain dramatic portrayals in which they were to be the center of an "object lesson" given by divine mandate (cf. Ezek. 4:5; Hos. 1; et al.). In fact, the whole character of the prophetic life was ordinarily to be in such conformity to the divine commandments that the prophet could be called "the man of God." The case of some rebellious prophets, such as BALAAM (Num. 22-24), is really an exception to the rule that God chose to speak of old through holy men (cf. possibly 2 Pet. 1:21). Yet even the most notable and dedicated prophets were under the curse of sin and failed to portray with complete faithfulness the image of God. For its full implementation, the prophetic office demanded one whose life would follow a pattern of perfect conformity to the divine will.

This is precisely what Christ accomplished. His food was "to do the will of him who sent" him (Jn. 4:34). Those who saw him saw the Father who had sent him (12:44; 14:9). In his high-priestly prayer, Jesus summed up his earthly ministry in these words: "I have revealed you *[lit.,* your name] to those whom you gave me" (17:6; cf. also v. 26). In the truest and deepest sense "he made God known," he "exegeted" God (1:18). No one can really claim to know God, but those to whom Christ

willed to reveal him (Matt. 11:27).

Thus Christ could commend his own course as worthy of the imitation of his disciples (Lk. 14:27; Jn. 13:15, 34; 15:12; 21:19, 22), and in turn the apostles presented Christ as the supreme example (1 Cor. 11:1; Phil. 2:5; 1 Pet. 2:21; 1 Jn. 2:6). Moreover, as the IMAGE OF GOD (2 Cor. 4:4; Col. 1:15; Heb. 1:3) Christ is the perennial ideal of the believer, toward whom his every aspiration tends (Rom. 8:29; 2 Cor. 3:17; 1 Jn. 3:2).

***C. Miraculous activity.*** There is some question whether the MIRACLES of Christ fit more appropriately under his kingly office or under his prophetic functions. Certainly in his miracles he manifested his royal power over nature and humanity, yet God often was pleased to accredit the ministry of a prophet through miraculous interventions (e.g., MOSES, ELIJAH, ELISHA). Christ did point to his SIGNS as grounds for acceptance of him (Matt. 11:4, 5, 20-24; 12:28; Mk. 2:9-11; Jn. 5:36; 10:25, 38; 11:42; 14:11). Many were indeed impressed by this evidence of God's supernatural assistance and found in it the proof of a divine mission (Mk. 1:27; Jn. 1:50; 2:11, 23; 3:2; 4:53; 6:14, 30; 7:31; 9:16, 31-33; 11:45, 48; 12:11, 18). This may in fact be considered one of the dominant themes of the fourth gospel.

Both in range and frequency, Jesus' miracles far excel those of other ages of supernatural intervention. For the apex of prophetic utterance, we have the utmost divine sanction in miraculous power. "In the past God spoke to our forefathers through the prophets at many times and in various ways, but in these last days he has spoken to us by his Son" (Heb. 1:1-2).

**II. The priestly office.** In contrast to the prophet, who addresses the congregation in God's name, the priest appears before God as spokesman and representative of God's people. In the OT, this sacred office was carefully protected, perhaps more so than any other (cf. notably the severe punishment of King UZZIAH for infringing on sacerdotal prerogatives, 2 Chr. 26:16-21). See PRIESTS AND LEVITES.

Undoubtedly this feature was meant to impress upon Israel the great majesty and HOLINESS of God, who could not be approached except by those whom he had specifically approved. From the time of the Sinaitic legislation, only AARON and his descendants were admitted to the sacerdotal office (Exod. 29:9; 40:15) and permitted to enter the Holy Place. Only the high priest was allowed to approach God in the Holy of Holies (Heb. 9:3), and that once a year and after a bullock had been slaughtered as a sin offering for himself (Lev. 16:11). As the author of the epistle to the Hebrews points out, these restrictions were fraught with the important lesson that the OT priesthood was still imperfect, and that God's people must be looking expectantly to one who can represent man without being himself entangled in sinfulness, one whose appearing before a Holy God is not merely temporary, but perennial. The somewhat enigmatic OT passages concerning MELCHIZEDEK (Gen. 14:18-20; Ps. 110:4) may have given substance to these aspirations. They were certainly interpreted by the author of the epistle to the Hebrews as foreshadowing the priesthood of Jesus Christ (Heb. 7), a priesthood that is sinless (7:26-28), permanent (7:24-25, 28), and grounded in a divine oath (7:20-22).

Accordingly, the sacrificial language has an important place in the NT, but it is arresting that Christ is expressly referred to as a priest only in Hebrews. There are two major ways in which Christ performs his sacerdotal office: oblation and intercession, to which a word may be added about healing.

***A. Oblation.*** It is a very salient feature of the NT that the death and resurrection of Christ have a

place of singular prominence in all the strata of its teaching (cf. V. Taylor, *The Atonement in New Testament Teaching* [1940], 72-73). This fact does in no wise minimize the significance of his life and teaching, but it marks an emphasis that no serious student of the NT can afford to ignore. The oblation of Christ involves two basic relations: Christ as the spotless victim and Christ as the perfect offerer. In this article obviously the latter must receive primary consideration, but the former is needed as well, since Christ as Great High Priest offered *himself* (Heb. 7:27; 9:14). See also ATONEMENT.

**1. The victim.** Certain NT designations of Christ manifest with great clarity the connection of his work with the practice of OT sacrifices. He is called "the Lamb" more than a score of times in the book of Revelation (cf. also Jn. 1:29; 1 Cor. 5:7). Moreover there are many passages referring to the blood of Christ (Matt. 26:28; Acts 20:28; Eph. 1:7; Heb. 9:14; 1 Pet. 1:18-19; et al.) or where he is represented as a sacrifice (Eph. 5:2; Heb. 9:26, 28; 10:12; et al.). In this connection the sinlessness of Jesus (Jn. 8:29, 46; 2 Cor. 5:21; Heb. 4:15; 7:26; 1 Pet. 2:22; 1 Jn. 3:5; et al.) is in striking parallel to the OT prescription that the victims be without blemish (Exod. 12:5; Lev. 4:3, 23; et al.).

The precise purpose of the biblical sacrificial institution has been the object of intensive discussion. It is not necessary to insist that all the forms of sacrifice were exclusively intended for the expiation of sin, but the expiatory, or more specifically propitiatory, strain is a very prominent feature of the Scriptural representation. Elaborate efforts to dispense with this element have been put forth (C. H. Dodd, F. N. Hicks, O. C. Quick, V. Taylor, and others), but the explanations advanced appear contrived and incapable of giving to the NT message the kind of impact that it has had through the ages and still has today. What won the hearts of men and women since the days of the apostles is the good news that by his oblation Christ has wiped out the sins of those who believe in him. It is this great truth that makes all other sacrifices superfluous, so that animal sacrifices of all sorts are stopped wherever Christianity is accepted. See also EXPIATION; PROPITIATION.

The supreme value of this offering lies in the fact that this victim is not only a spotless human being, but that it is the God-man, the only Son of God, whose life is worth more than the whole created universe. There is no need, therefore, of a constant repetition in the oblation, but the sacrifice of Christ has been offered once for all on the cross of Calvary (Heb. 7:27; 9:12, 25-28; 10:10, 12, 14). Even those who hold that there is a sacrificial significance in the EUCHARIST do not think that the latter is the presentation of a different sacrifice, but insist that we have here a reenactment of the one offering of Christ on the cross.

It is important to recognize the relation of Christ's sacrifice to the Christian SACRAMENTS. It is true that there is considerable diversity of opinion concerning the meaning and effect of the sacraments, but whatever more may be involved, one can at least assert that in BAPTISM the identification of the believer with Jesus Christ in his death and resurrection and the cleansing from sin through his blood are symbolized (Rom. 6:3-7; 1 Pet. 3:21); while in the LORD'S SUPPER the elements used are directly related to Christ's sacrifice, to his broken body and shed blood, and the participation of the believer implies identification with him (Matt. 26:26, 28; 1 Cor. 10:16; 11:26; et al.). (In Matt. 20:22-23 and Mk. 10:38-39 there is an arresting case of the use of the terminology of baptism and of the cup with reference to the death of Christ.)

**2. The perfect offerer.** The author of Hebrews emphasizes this aspect of the work of Christ (esp. in Heb. 5-10). He stresses that one could not assume this office at will, but that only divine appointment would permit one to appear in God's presence. This was true of AARON and his descendants (5:4), as

well as of Melchizedek and of Christ (5:5-6, 10). The dignity of Christ's priesthood is accentuated by the fact that it is sanctioned by a divine oath (7:20-21, 28) as well as by the eminence of his person. (He is exalted above others as a son is above a servant, 3:3-6; like Melchizedek, he is greater than Abraham, 7:4-10; he is higher than even angels 1:4; 2:9.)

Earlier forms of priesthood were handicapped by the fact that the priests were tainted by sin, while Christ is "holy, blameless, pure, set apart from sinners, exalted above the heavens" (Heb. 7:26; cf. 4:15; 5:3; 9:14 and other passages listed earlier). This freedom from sin has not caused a gap between Christ as priest and those whom he represents, for he has entered in full into our situation, even including temptation (2:14, 17-18; 4:15; 5:2); he has become wholly accomplished for his office through his sufferings (2:10; 5:7-9).

Because of their human limitations, OT priests had constantly to repeat their ministrations; Christ by contrast has made an offering that is unique (cf. the previous section). Because of their subjection to mortality, OT priests inevitably passed away from the scene and new ones had to be appointed, but Christ's priesthood is established for ever (Heb. 6:20; 7:16-17, 24-25, 28). Moreover, the effect of OT sacrifices was only temporary, whereas Christ has secured for his own an "eternal salvation" (5:9; 7:25; 9:12, 15). This feature should be kept firmly in mind by those who are inclined to quote the epistle to the Hebrews to support the possibility of the final apostasy of some regenerate individuals (6:4-6; 10:26-29; et al.).

In keeping with the dignity of Christ, the sanctuary in which his priestly ministry is exercised is not marred by the weaknesses of the earthly scene, but it is marked by the majesty and perfection of heaven itself (Heb. 4:14; 6:20; 8:2; 9:11, 24). There is, of course, a sense in which Christ performed his priestly office on earth in the days of his flesh (5:7), offering his own body as a sacrifice upon Calvary's cross as the altar. What the author of Hebrews points out is that these earthly events do not exhaust the meaning of the transaction, but that there are cosmic implications that can be recognized fully only in the perspective of heaven, that is to say, in divine terms.

For the execution of his priestly work, it is apparent how Christ needs to be both divine and human. His deity qualifies him to find acceptance with God and to perform a work of eternal significance and power. See DEITY OF CHRIST. On the other hand, his humanity is essential to secure real contact with those whom he came to redeem, to make possible their identification with him by virtue of his prior identification with them (Heb. 2:14-18). See INCARNATION. (One should consult on this topic Geerhardus Vos, "The Priesthood of Christ in the Epistle to the Hebrews," *The Teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews* [1956], 91-114.)

In keeping with some critical views of the Scripture and of the development of religious ideas among the Jews, it often has been fashionable of late to deprecate priesthood and to view the whole priestly establishment of Israel as a corruption of the nobler outlook favored by some of the OT prophets. In the NT the designation of Christ as a priest and the ascription to him of sacerdotal functions preclude endorsement of such positions. In keeping with the dominant orientation of the Bible as a whole, it is incumbent upon us to view the priesthood as a divinely initiated and sanctioned institution, evident well before the Mosaic legislation, articulated with great fullness and notable centrality in that legislation, and brought to its full bearing and significance in the work of Jesus Christ as the great mediator. Of course, there have been many unworthy priests in Israel's history. Even the best priests have had some failings in their performance of the sacred office, not to speak of their private lives; and in some periods of history, notably at the time of Christ's life on earth, certain abuses were apparently dominant in the priesthood, but this does not warrant a blanket condemnation of the institution as such, when the Scripture makes it so clear that it is a paramount

need of mankind after the FALL and represents Jesus Christ as the perfect answer to that need.

***B. Intercession.*** The verb *entynchanō G1961,* translated "intercede," means "to deal or transact with one person in reference to another" (W. Mil-ligan, *The Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood of Our Lord* [1908], 151). The nature of the transaction is not indicated in this term, and the context must determine whether it is used in a favorable or unfavorable sense. With reference to Christ, the term is found in Rom. 8:34 and Heb. 7:25, where the phrase "for us/them" leaves no doubt that the intervention is to the advantage of those concerned. In 1 Jn. 2:1 Christ is named our advocate (see PARACLETE) who has offered himself for our sins, and in Heb. 9:24 we read that Christ appears "for us in God's presence."

This type of activity is in line both with certain OT priestly functions and with some ministrations of Christ in the days of his flesh. The Aaronic high priest wore the names of the twelve tribes on his EPHOD and on his breastplate (Exod. 28:11-12, 21, 29, et al.), and it is not difficult to see in this arrangement a symbol of the priest's representation before God of those for whom he stood. The ceremonies involving INCENSE (Exod. 30:8, 27, et al.) may well be viewed as symbolic of PRAYER as well. This connection is intimated in Ps. 141:2; Rev. 5:8; 8:3-4.

During the course of his ministry on earth, our Lord frequently engaged in prayer. In a number of cases there is no express indication as to the contents of these prayers, but there are several verses that record intercession for his own (Matt. 19:13; Lk. 22:31; Jn. 17:9, 15, 20, etc.; cf. also Mk. 9:29; Jn. 11:41-42). In the sublime high-priestly prayer of Jn. 17, the mood is so lofty that the conditions of our Lord's earthly life are well nigh transcended, and we seem to be transported to the atmosphere of heaven where Christ appears at the right hand of God. Likewise Jn. 14:16 introduces us to the intercessory ministry of Christ after the resurrection.

This ministry is expressly emphasized in Rom. 8:34; Heb. 7:25; 9:24; 1 Jn. 2:1. It is also prefigured in passages like Isa. 53:12. We are naturally led to ask the questions, What is the bearing of this intercession? What is the blessing requested? From whom is it implored and for whom? Interpreters appear to have been sometimes puzzled by these questions. Some matters, however, may be clarified at once. The one to whom the intercession is directed is surely the triune God, represented, as is frequently the case, by the Father. It is doubtful that it is just one person of the TRINITY in contrast to the other two. The One who offers the intercession is Christ, the God-man, in his office of MEDIATOR—thus not merely as man, nor only as God. This point is surely made amply clear in the epistle to the Hebrews. See further INTERCESSION OF CHRIST.

The blessing sought can scarcely be a favor that God would be reluctant to grant and that is wrested away from him on the ground of personal privilege. It is here that one must note with care the close connection between the atonement and the intercession of Christ. These are distinct but inseparable aspects of the priestly work of Christ, and they appear in conjunction in a number of crucial texts (e.g., Isa. 53:12; Rom. 8:34; Heb. 7:25-27; 9:24-28; 1 Jn. 2:1-2). Perhaps no one has articulated this connection between oblation and intercession as carefully as Hugh Martin (*The Atonement* [1870], 96-160). In the light of this relationship we may feel some confidence in asserting that the primary purpose of the intercession of Christ is to provide a continued application of the merits of his life and death for those whom he has redeemed, so that they are sheltered from the righteous WRATH of a Holy God and, viewed through the interposition of Christ, their covenant head, they are in a position to receive the full measure of the blessings which flow from his redeeming activity (cf. Eph. 1:3-11).

If we are correct in this basic understanding, the intercession of Christ might be compared to a

filter that absorbs deadly rays and that enables God to look at us through Christ, as covered by his interposition (JUSTIFICATION). This type of illustration may help us to grasp the importance of having an eternal high priest and an eternal redemption. It is only "in Christ" that these blessings are ours, and this relationship needs to be sustained in order for us to continue to enjoy the benefits. It is of great importance here to safeguard the close unity between the forensic and the recreative aspects of Christ's redemptive work. Failure to give sufficient attention to the forensic aspect is at the foundation of the one-sided views of the Socinians in the 16th cent. and more recently of W. Milligan and B. F. Westcott. Conversely, those who view the intercession of Christ exclusively in terms of justification are falling short of the full amplitude of his gracious ministration.

We might conclude that the object of Christ's intercession is the full measure of the manifold graces he has secured for his own. While the most eminent of these are the benefits of salvation, Rom. 8:32 permits us to feel confident that nothing that we need is excluded from his intercessory concern. (Cf. Jn. 14:13; 15:7; 16:23; et al.; note as well Jesus' prayers during his life on earth.) What a comfort for the believer, besieged by ills of various sorts and burdened by a sense of his own weakness and unworthiness, to think of the perpetual intercession of Christ on his behalf! This is the precise point of the Scriptures that speak of this theme.

If the question be raised for whom Christ does intercede, the answer appears to be given clearly in the words of Jn. 17:9: "I am not praying for the world, but for those you have given me, for they are yours." This Scripture seems to teach that the intercession concerns mainly those who are encompassed in God's saving purpose. In some instances these may be alive at the time of the prayer, although not yet brought consciously into the circle of the redeemed (cf. Lk. 23:34). In Jn. 17:20 the prayer concerns people who are not even alive at the time. The magnitude of Christ's mind and heart transcends in his intercession the limits of time and space that usually circumscribe us.

And so in keeping with his supreme majesty the great mediator intercedes constantly (Heb. 7:25) and effectually (Jn. 11:42), securing for his own the full measure of the blessings which he purchased for them by the blood of the cross.

***C. Ministry of healing.*** In the OT, the priests had certain medical responsibilities (Lev. 13-14; cf. Matt. 8:4; Lk. 17:14; et al.), and while they had no special power to effect a cure, they were those appointed by God to safeguard public health. This aspect of the priesthood may find its supreme expression in the HEALING ministry of Jesus Christ. The prophecy of Isa. 53:4, "Surely he took up our infirmities / and carried our sorrows," is interpreted by Matthew to have reference, at least in part, to Jesus' healing activity (Matt. 8:17).

B. F. Westcott has a classification of gospel miracles ( *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels* [1896], 466-69) which shows that out of thirty-four miracles of Jesus related with some detail in the Gospels, twenty-five were miracles of healing (this includes three cases of resurrection and six cases of exorcism). Thus the work of Christ could

The modern city of Nein or Nain lies over the remains of the 1 st-cent. village, where Jesus restored a young man to life. (View to the S, with Mount Moreh in the background.)

well be characterized by Matthew as "teaching….preaching…and healing every disease and sickness among the people" (Matt. 4:23 cf. 14:36; Mk. 6:56; Lk. 4:18; Acts 10:38; et al.).

Christ delegated to his disciples some share in this work (Matt. 10:1; cf. also Mk. 16:18; Acts 5:16; Jas. 5:14-15). Faith healing may be viewed as an extension of Christ's priestly office.

**III. The kingly office.** The term KING in the biblical language has a far greater scope than what is commonly understood in the 20th cent. A king cumulated legislative, executive, judiciary, economic, and military prerogatives within his realm. He often wielded unlimited power over the life and properties of his subjects. His rule, which had to provide leadership in so many areas, could easily slip into tyranny and despotism.

In Israel, the original approach to civil government was a THEOCRACY in which God's rule was emphasized and carried out through appropriate representatives who exercised leadership in God's name: Moses, Joshua, the judges. Later on Israel desired to have visible kings, even as the surrounding nations (1 Sam. 8:5 et al.). Some of these provided luster and power to Israel and led the armies to victory, but the great majority of them turned out to be a snare in the path of the nation. In the Babylonian exile the kingship collapsed, together with the independence of the nation. The kingship of the Herods was a far cry from what the people of God desired, and the pious souls in Israel were yearning for a promised renewal of the rule of David, the king after God's own heart. It is this kind of expectation of a messianic kingship that was alive in the hearts of pious men when Christ was born (Isa. 55:3-4; Jer. 23:5; 30:9; Ezek. 34:22-24; 37:24-25; Amos 9:11; Zech. 9:9; et al.).

***A. The nature of Christ's kingship.*** In the gospel accounts, especially in Matthew, the kingship of Christ and his relation to David are emphasized. This is evident in the GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Matt. 1:1, 6), in the ANNUNCIATION to Mary (Lk. 1:32, 33), in the visitation of the MAGI (Matt. 2:2), in the confession of NATHANAEL (Jn. 1:49), in the payment of the tribute (Matt. 17:25-26), in the TRIUMPHAL ENTRY in Jerusalem (Matt. 21:5-9; Mk. 11:9-10; Lk. 19:38; Jn. 12:13), in the conversations with PILATE (Matt. 27:11; Mk. 15:2, 9; Lk. 23:2-3; Jn. 18:33, 37; 19:14-15), in the

dying request of the penitent malefactor (Lk. 23:42), and in the inscription of the CROSS (Matt. 27:37; Mk. 15:26; Lk. 23:38; Jn. 19:19). In this last instance it is noteworthy that an official public recognition was given to Christ's kingship, although in derision.

Jesus himself used the language of kingship extensively in the course of his earthly ministry, notably in the expression KINGDOM OF GOD (or of heaven), which frequently recurs on his lips, but also in a number of other occasions: when he uses or countenances the title LORD (Matt. 7:21-22; 21:3; and parallels in Mk. 11:3 and Lk. 19:31; Matt. 22:43-45 [parallels Mk. 12:36-37 and Lk. 20:41-44];Jn. 13:13-14;20:28-29); when he uses the title "king" in reference to himself (Matt. 25:34, 40; 27:11; Mk. 15:2; Lk. 23:3; Jn. 18:37; cf. also Lk. 19:12, 15, 27; 22:30); when he compares himself to Solomon (Matt. 12:42; Lk. 11:31); when he speaks of his glory or his throne (Matt. 16:27 [parallels Mk. 8:38 and Lk. 9:26]; Matt. 19:28; 24:30; 25:31; 26:64 [parallels Mk. 14:62 and Lk. 22:69]; Jn. 13:31-32; 17:1, 3, 24); when he refers to his own authority (Matt. 28:18; Jn. 5:27-29; 17:2); when he asserts that the kingdom is within them (Lk. 17:21) or not of this world (Jn. 18:36).

It is evident from these statements that our Lord was far transcending the nationalistic and earthly aspirations of those who were looking for the promised Messiah-king. Beyond the rule over Israel is the dominion of the anointed of God over his people and over the cosmos. It is generally in terms of these broadened categories that the apostles envisioned the kingship of Christ (1 Thess. 2:12; 2 Tim. 4:1; Rev. 11:15). This outlook is perhaps best summarized in the title "king of kings and Lord of lords" (1 Tim. 6:15; Rev. 17:14; 19:16).

***B. The subjects of Christ's kingship.*** Considerable differences of opinion have prevailed on this theme. There are those who hold that Christ is to rule over *Israel,* viewed as an earthly nation, while others think that Scripture does not give appropriate warrant for expecting a future renewal of this sort. This is hardly the place to give the details of the discussion. We may perhaps be content to note that, even if this type of kingship is to be envisioned, it will be at best a temporary one and does not need to retain our attention here in a primary manner.

The kingship of Christ over *his church* is the point of major emphasis in the NT. In addition to the passages mentioned above where the word "king" and its derivatives are used, we note the texts where Christ is presented as the HEAD OF THE CHURCH and the CHURCH as the BODY OF CHRIST (1 Cor. 11:3; 12:27; Eph. 1:22-23; 4:15; 5:23; Col. 1:18; 2:10, 19; in 1 Cor. 11:3 and Col. 2:10 the headship may have an even wider reference than the church). Another expression that deserves attention here is the term *archēgos G795,* "author, captain, pioneer" (Heb. 2:10; see AUTHOR). This word relates to the thought that Christ as the leader moves ahead while his disciples follow him (Matt. 4:19; 9:9; 16:24; 19:21 [and parallels]; Jn. 1:43; 10:27; 12:26; 21:22; 1 Cor. 11:1; Eph. 5:1-2; Heb. 12:1-2; 1 Pet. 2:21). Another element implicit in this language is the representation that Christ as the ruler leads his troops into battle and assumes for them the role of the champion who engages in the death-struggle for the sake of his people (Jn. 16:33; Eph. 6:10-17; Col. 2:15; 1 Tim. 6:12; Heb. 2:14-16; Rev. 6:2; 19:11-16). (Cf. on this general theme G. Aulén, *Christus Victor* [1931], and R. Leivestad, *Christ the Conqueror* [1954], where the element of victory in the atonement is stressed, although perhaps in too one-sided a fashion.)

Here also one must note the title LORD (Gk. *kyrios G3261),* which occurs scores of times in the NT. This term has a rich content, involving even an acknowledgement of deity when used in a religious sense (cf. B. B. Warfield, *The Lord of Glory* [1907], and W. Foerster and G. Quell in *TDNT,* 3:1039-1100), but what specifically concerns us here is that it implies dominion or kingly rule, and that it is a particularly appropriate expression of allegiance to Christ on the lips of those

who acknowledge the sovereign authority of Christ as Lord (Jn. 20:28; 1 Cor. 12:3). These constitute precisely the company of the redeemed, the church of God: the kingship of Christ over his church is therefore clearly in view.

We find no trace in the Scripture of a distinction between accepting Christ as Savior and acknowledging him as Lord, as if some people could take the former step while refusing the latter. The full implications of the lordship of Christ, it is true, are not perceived at once at the moment of conversion (nor for that matter at any subsequent moment of this life's course), but they are gradually unfolded and apprehended in the development of the Christian life (SANCTIFICATION). From the very start to the very end, however, the Christian is taught to pray, "your kingdom come" (Matt. 6:10; Lk. 11:2), and this petition must include a yearning for an increasing manifestation of Christ's rule over self, whatever else may also be encompassed in this petition. Christ is moreover presented as the judge of his people (1 Cor. 4:4; 2 Cor. 5:10; Jas. 5:9; 1 Pet. 4:17), and this too is a royal prerogative.

There is also the kingship of Christ over the *universe.* We may do well to distinguish here between the eternal kingship of the Son, the second person of the Trinity, and the mediatorial kingship of Christ the God-man. The former is a natural prerogative of the divine essence, while the latter is presented in Scripture as a special investiture he received as his reward when he was raised (Ps. 2:8-9; 110:1-2; Matt. 28:18; Eph. 1:20-22; Phil. 2:9-11). This rule extends to mankind at large (Ps. 2:8; Jn. 17:2), to the angelic world (Col. 2:15; Heb. 2:14; Rev. 1:18), and to irrational and inanimate creation (Heb. 2:8). Christ fulfills in perfection the destiny that had been appointed to ADAM (Gen. 1:26, 28). Where the first Adam forfeited his privileges by his rebellion, the second Adam has excelled in his obedience (Rom. 5:19) and obtained the glorious fulfillment of the divine plan for the human race.

The kingdom of Christ involves not only his sovereign rule over creation, but his victory over all enemies (Ps. 2:9; 110:6; Jn. 16:33; 1 Cor. 15:54-57; 2 Cor. 2:14; Col. 2:15; Rev. 6:2; 19:15-21; et al.) and his right to judge (Matt. 25:31-46; Jn. 5:22, 27; 2 Tim. 4:1; et al.). Christ exercises the rights of this universal rule not only for himself, but he has chosen to permit his redeemed to share with him in his victory (Jn. 16:33; 1 Cor. 15:57; 2 Cor. 2:14; 1 Jn. 5:4), in his judgment (Matt. 19:28; Lk. 22:30; 1 Cor. 6:2-3; Rev. 20:4), and in his reign (2 Tim. 2:12; Rev. 5:10; 20:4; 22:5).

***C. The time of Christ's kingship.*** When? The question whether the kingdom of Christ is present or future has been the object of extensive, and sometimes passionate, discussion. Those who opt exclusively for one alternative encounter serious exegetical difficulties. A median course of interpretation appears possible in which it will be acknowledged on one hand that Christ reigns now and that his kingship is manifested wherever his rule and his law are obeyed; and on the other hand, that there is a climactic fulfillment of his kingship that is yet future and that will be ushered in with cataclysmic changes (Matt. 24; 1 Thess. 5:3; 2 Pet. 3:10-12) at the consummation of history. Both of these perspectives appear to be firmly embedded in the scriptural outlook. (Cf. George E. Ladd, *Crucial Questions about the Kingdom of God* [1952], 63-74.)

How long will Christ's future kingdom last? This is a difficult question, inasmuch as many passages assert that the kingdom is forever (Ps. 45:6; Isa. 9:7; Dan. 2:44; Lk. 1:33; 2 Pet. 1:11; Rev. 11:15; 22:5), while other Scriptures appear to teach some limit of time (1 Cor. 15:24-28; Rev. 20:1-7).The difficulty may not be as great as it might seem, however, if we take due note of the fact that there are various aspects of the kingdom. The rule of the triune God is surely eternal like God himself. The mediatorial rule of Christ, on which we focus our attention in this article, may have both temporary and eternal features. Most interpreters agree that the mediatorial union of Christ with his

own is permanent, so that his headship, even as his priesthood, is everlasting (Ps. 110:4 and Heb. 5:6, 10; 6:20; 7:17). This could account for the first group of passages.

It is clear that the millennial kingdom and the prophetic fulfillments related to national Israel (if these have a place in God's plan for the future) will have a limited duration. Those who hold to this type of view have therefore a natural explanation for the second group of passages. See MILLENNIUM. It is, moreover, possible to envision the statement of 1 Cor. 15:24-28 as relating to Christ's ultimate recommitting unto the triune God of his universal mediatorial rule (cf. above) after it has fulfilled its purpose in God's all-inclusive plan. This is the position advocated among others by H. Bavinck, L. Berkhof, G. Stevenson, and favored by the present author.

(In addition to the works mentioned in the body of this article, one may consult G. Stevenson, *Treatise on the Offices of Christ,* 2nd ed. [1845];W. Mil-ligan, *The Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood of our Lord* [1908], 61-336; H. B. Swete, *The Ascended Christ* [1910], 1-168; A. J. Tait, *The Heavenly Session of Our Lord* [1912], 105-76; H. H. Meeter, *The Heavenly High Priesthood of Christ* [1916]; H. Bavinck, *Gereformeerde dogmatiek,* 3rd ed. [1918], 3:345-550; L. Berkhof, *Systematic Theology,* 5th ed. [1949], 356-411; R. Leivestad, *Christ the Conqueror* [1954]; T. F. Torrance, *Royal Priesthood* [1955], 1-22; J. G. Davies, *He Ascended into Heaven* [1958], 15-224; J. Bosch, *The Kingly Office of the Lord Jesus Christ* [1959]; A. J. McClain, *The Greatness of the Kingdom* [1959]; G. E. Ladd, *Jesus and the Kingdom* [1964]; G. C. Berkouwer, *The Work of Christ* [1965]; L. Morris, *The Cross in the New Testament* [1965]; L. H. Marshall, *The Work of Christ* [1969]; M. J. Erickson, *Christian Theology,* 3 vols. [1983-85], 2:762-69; R. Letham, *The Work of Christ* [1993]; W. Grudem, *Systematic Theology: An Introduction to Christian Doctrine* [1994], ch. 29.)

R. NICOLE

**officials, city.** See CITY AUTHORITIES.

**offscouring.** This English term, referring to something that is rubbed off, and figuratively to the scum or castoffs of society, is used twice by the KJV and RSV. In one passage it renders Hebrew *sĕḥī H6082,* "something swept away," used metaphorically of Jerusalem's being "scrapings" in the midst of her enemies (Lam. 3:45; NIV, "scum"; NRSV, "filth"). In the NT it renders Greek *peripsēma G4370* (from a compound meaning "to wipe off all around") and is used of the apostles, whose low estate is contrasted by PAUL with the pride and self-satisfaction of the Corinthian church (2 Cor. 4:13; NIV, "refuse"; NRSV, "dregs").

W. GERIG

**Og** og (עוֹג *H6384,* meaning unknown). King of BASHAN whose territory in TRANSJORDAN evidently included not only Bashan proper (from near Mt. HERMON in the extreme N to the River YARMUK in the S) but also part of GILEAD (from the Yarmuk to the JABBOK). The kingdom had two royal cities, EDREI and ASHTAROTH (Josh. 13:12), corresponding to the two sections, and there were sixty strongly fortified towns (Deut. 3:4). He was an AMORITE (Deut. 3:8) and was described as the last of the remnant of the REPHAITES (v. 11). Jewish tradition has interpreted this description to mean that he was a giant, a view that seems to be confirmed by the size of his iron bed, which was about 13.5 x 6 ft. (v. 11). Some have conjectured that the word for "bed" (*ʿreś H6911)* may refer to his coffin and that, if so, the term for "iron" (*barzel H1366*) could be a reference to "basalt" (see S. R. Driver, *A Critical*

*and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy,* ICC, 3rd ed. [1895], 53-54).

The account of his war with Israel, after the defeat of SIHON, is given in Num. 21:33-35 and Deut. 3:1-12. It would appear that he prepared to attack before Israel could take the initiative, but was defeated and killed near his capital, Edrei (Deut. 3:1). His territory was given to the half tribe of MANASSEH. Sihon and Og are mentioned frequently together as reminders of God's victory over the enemies of Israel (e.g., Deut. 31:4; Josh. 2:10; Neh. 9:2; Ps. 135:11).

H. L. ELLISON

**Ohad** oh'had (אֹהַד *H176,* derivation uncertain). Son of SIMEON and grandson of JACOB (Gen. 46:10; Exod. 6:15). The name is not found in the parallel lists (Num. 26:12-14; 1 Chr. 4:24-25), leading some to think that it is a corruption (or else a dittography) of ZOHAR, the name of another son of Simeon. Others think that Ohad "either died childless, or did not leave a sufficient number of children to form independent families" (KD, *Pentateuch,* 1:372).

**Ohel** oh'hel (אֹהֶל *H186,* "tent"). Son of ZERUBBA-BEL and descendant of King DAVID through SOLOMON (1 Chr. 3:20), possibly born in Palestine (see HASHUBAH).

**Oholah and Oholibah** oh-hoh'luh, oh-hoh'li-buh (אָהֳלָה H188, "her tent" [meaning possibly "she who has her own cultic tent"], and אָהֳלִיבָה *H191,* "my tent is in her"). KJV Aholah, Aholibah. Two symbolic names employed by the prophet EZEKIEL to designate idolatrous SAMARIA and JERUSALEM respectively (Ezek. 23). They are described as "daughters of the same mother. They became prostitutes in Egypt, engaging in prostitution from their youth" (vv. 2b-3a). The Lord, however, adopted them and they bore sons and daughters, but they continued their IDOLATRY, doting on the Assyrians and others. As punishment the Lord delivered her into the hands of these nations. They slew her and she became a byword among women. This allegory was yet another means used by God to bring his people to repentance and to warn them of impending judgment.

S. WOUDSTRA

**Oholiab** oh-hoh'lee-ab (אָהֳלִיאָב *H190,* possibly "[the divine] father is my tent *[i.e.,* protection]"). KJV Aholiah. Son of Ahisamach and descendant of DAN; he assisted BEZALEL in the building of the TABERNACLE and its furniture (Exod. 31:6; 35:34; 36:1-2; 38:23). The skill in craftsmanship of these men is traced to the Spirit of God.

**Oholibah.** See OHOLAH.

**Oholibamah** oh-hoh'li-bah'muh (אָהֳלִיבָמָה *H192,* possibly "my tent *[i.e.,* protection] is a high place" or "my tent is with them"). KJV Aholibamah. (1) One of the wives of ESAU (Gen. 36:2, 5, 14, 18, 25). The MT describes her as "the daughter of Anah the daughter of Zibeon the Hivite" (cf. KJV), meaning possibly that ANAH was a woman. However, the NIV translates the second instance of *bat H1426* as "granddaughter" (i.e., referring to Oholibamah rather than Anah), and this rendering leaves open the question whether Anah was Oholibama's father or mother. Others emend the word to *bēn H1201,* "son" (cf. NRSV), on the reasonable assumption that this Anah is the same as the HORITE (rather than HIVITE) mentioned elsewhere in this chapter (36:24). See also #2 below.

(2) A clan chief of EDOM (Gen. 36:41; 1 Chr. 1:52). Some believe, however, that this Oholibamah is the same as #1 above, Esau's wife. Because she had three sons who were chiefs (Gen. 36:18), she was considered a tribal mother, and it is possible that the tribe was known by her name (cf. *ABD,* 5:10).

**oil.** A liquid substance derived primarily from the OLIVE and used for many purposes in the ANE. The common Hebrew term for "oil" is *šemen H9043* (Gen. 28:18 and more than 170 times); less frequent is *yishār H3658* (Num. 18:12 and more than 20 times; cf. also Aram. *měšaḥ H10442,* only in Ezra 6:9; 7:22). The NT uses the Greek term *elaion G1778* (Matt. 25:3 et al.).

**I. History of usage.** The origin of the use of oil for illumination, food, unguents, medicines, and sacred purposes is lost in antiquity. The ancient Egyptians made use of at least twelve different vegetable oils, including olive, castor, balanos, and almond. They were skilled in the manufacture of ointments and perfumes, which required oil bases. Oil was used from early times in GREECE. The ancients used some animal fats but depended mainly on olive oil. The olive was cultivated as early as 2500 B.C. in CRETE. The modern species of olive probably is descended from the wild oleaster. Spain and Africa probably received the olive from Phoenician traders and settlers. From the E Mediterranean, cultivation of the olive and its use in cooking spread westward, reaching Rome about 580 B.C. It eventually was common in all coastal regions of the Mediterranean, spreading into N Europe. MOSES called Palestine a "land of olive trees" (Deut. 8:8 NRSV).

**II. Preparation.** The first stage was the picking of olives in the fall (Sept.-Nov.), usually by hand, in order not to spoil the olives. A good tree yielded ten to fifteen gallons of oil annually. After picking, the oil was separated from the pulp and from a bitter watery liquid which the ancients called *amurca.* It was essential to avoid crushing the kernel. This was achieved by first partly crushing the olive, removing the kernel and the liquid, and then pressing out the oil. All this usually was done quite soon after picking, though the olives were sometimes stored for a time on the floor of the press-house. They were sometimes trod by foot (Mic. 6:15) or by pounding with a pestle, the latter yielding the finer "clear oil of pressed olives" (cf. Exod. 27:20). They were sometimes crushed with a heavy stone in a shallow cavity hewn in stone.

Reproduction of a beam press at Hazor. Such devices were used to extract oil from olives.

The Romans probably were responsible for the invention of the *trapetum,* a device that could crush the olives without crushing the kernels. It consisted of a pair of stones turning around a solid column in the middle of a basin and could be adjusted to a given distance from the walls of the basin, thus crushing the olives just right without spoiling the oil. To extract the last drop of oil the remaining pulp was soaked in hot water and then subjected to a second pressing in a beam or screw press, which also was commonly used in the production of wine. This second pressing could be carried out by stages, increasing the pressure each time. Each additional pressing produced more oil but of lower quality. Usually three grades of olive oil were extracted. The unguents and cosmetics required oil of a high purity. The extracted oil was allowed to stand in a rock-hewn vat or in a jar while the impurities settled. Large commercial presses, dating from the 10th to 6th cent. B.C., have been found at Tell Beit Mirsim (previously thought to be DEBIR) and BETH SHEMESH in Judah.

**III. Uses**

***A. Food.*** Though not mentioned often for this purpose in the Bible, oil was an essential FOOD in ancient times. Olive oil was the main source of fat used in cooking (1 Ki. 17:12-16; 2 Ki. 4:2). It was mixed with flour to produce BREAD (1 Ki. 17:12). The taste of MANNA was compared to that of cakes baked with oil (Num. 11:8). Cakes made of fine flour mingled with oil, or with oil poured on them, comprised part of the grain offering (Lev. 2:1, 4-7). Though these cakes were for ritual purposes, the use of oil in them probably indicates that it was used similarly in the home. A common food of the Greeks was *maza,* a kind of porridge that contained flour, honey, and oil. Beans, beer, wine, and oil supplemented the bread diet of the Roman soldiers. Olives eaten with coarse brown bread are still the main food of many of the poor in biblical lands today.

***B. Illumination.*** LAMPS were an essential part of a well-equipped house (2 Ki. 4:10). They have been found in great numbers in all excavated cities from the Middle Bronze Age on. They were simple shallow clay bowls with pinched lips to hold the wick fast as it extended over the edge. Oil

was poured in the bowl to serve as fuel (Exod. 25:6; cf. Matt. 25:3-8, which warned that the wise person carried an adequate supply of oil for the lamp). Pure beaten oil was used for the continual light in the TABERNACLE (Exod. 27:20). Olive-fed lamps were lighted on high places to mark the beginning of the new moon. The lamp continued in its development until in the Hellenistic-Roman-Byzantine period the shallow clay bowl had become enclosed, with only a small hole on top for pouring in oil and an extension on the side with a separate hole for the wick.

***C. Medicine.*** The ancient Egyptians had "holy oils" that combined medical and magical qualities; medicine and religion were intimately associated in ancient times (see HEALING AND HEALTH). The same close relationship between MAGIC and medicine existed in MESOPOTAMIA. Oil was a common remedy for wounds (Isa. 1:6; Mk. 6:13). Sometimes wine was added to the oil and then poured on the wound (Lk. 10:34). HEROD was placed in a bath of warm oil in an attempt to cure his fatal disease (Jos. *War* 1.33.5). The elders were instructed to anoint the sick with oil (Jas. 5:14).

***D. Cosmetic.*** Oil was used widely in the ANE to ANOINT the body (see also OINTMENT). Its use was essential in the burning eastern sun to avoid desiccation of the skin (it was set aside only in time of mourning, 2 Sam. 14:2). The body usually was anointed after bathing (Ruth 3:3; 2 Sam. 12:20; Ps. 104:15), and oil was also poured on the hair (Eccl. 9:8). Olive oil still is made into fine soap by the addition of soda.

***E. Religion.*** Religious use of unguents is quite old. Oil is mentioned frequently in the Bible in connection with anointing, whether of a king (1 Sam. 10:1; 2 Ki. 9:3), a priest (Lev. 8:30), a prophet (Isa. 61:1), or even the shield of a soldier (2 Sam. 1:21; Isa. 21:5), the latter probably as an act of consecration or as a preservative. The TABERNACLE and its furnishings also were anointed (Exod. 30:22-33). Oil was used also in the lamp that burned continually in the sanctuary (27:20; Lev. 24:2), as part of the continual burnt offering (Exod. 29:40; Num. 28:5), and as part of the grain offerings (Lev. 2:4-6). See SACRIFICE AND OFFERINGS IV.B. It was included as part of the TITHES (Deut. 12:17). Oil figured prominently in a vision of Zechariah (Zech. 4:1-14). It was offered to idols (Isa. 57:9).

***F. Hospitality.*** Guests were anointed when they arrived for a banquet as a sign of honor (Ps. 23:5; Amos 6:6). To fail to anoint the guest was a mark of disrespect, as Jesus called to the attention of his host, Simon the Pharisee (Lk. 7:46). The anointing oil used was usually a perfumed ointment.

**IV. Commercial value.** The principal products of ancient Palestine were grain, wine, and olive oil, all of which were important in commercial life (Num. 18:12; Deut. 7:13; 2 Chr. 32:28; Neh. 5:11; Hos. 2:8). Olive oil was an important commodity of trade in the ancient world (Ezek. 27:17; Lk. 16:6). The wealth of the kings of Crete was based partly on the export of olive oil to Egypt and other Mediterranean countries. Beaten oil formed part of Solomon's annual payment to Hiram of Tyre (1 Ki. 5:11). Elisha advised the widow of one of the sons of the prophets to sell her oil to pay her debts (2 Ki. 4:7). Oil was kept in the royal storehouses along with gold, silver, and spices (2 Ki. 20:13; 2 Chr. 32:28). It was used in payment of tribute (Hos. 12:1). Ten pilgrims from Shechem and Samaria saved their lives by offering Ishmael their hidden stores of wheat, barley, oil, and honey (Jer. 41:8).

OSTRACA from the reign of Jeroboam II found at Samaria contain records of wine and oil deliveries from vineyards and olive groves that belonged to the king. Oil was part of the payment to the Sido-nians and Tyrians for the cedar wood they brought for construction of the second temple (Ezra 3:7). In NT times oil is mentioned as part of the cargo of Babylon, along with gold, silver, ivory, horses, spices, wine, slaves (Rev. 18:12-13). There were oil merchants from whom individuals bought their oil (Matt. 25:8).

**V. Figurative usage.** Oil was a symbol of plenty (Deut. 32:13), of luxury (Prov. 21:17; Ezek. 16:13), of joy (Ps. 45:7; Eccl. 9:8; Isa. 61:3; Heb. 1:9), and of hospitality (Ps. 23:5). Its lack was evidence of God's displeasure (Joel 1:10); its abundance was proof of God's blessing (2:24). It was used figuratively as a sign of abundance: Asher will "bathe his feet in oil" (Deut. 33:24). In his affliction JOB remembered better days when "the rock poured out for me streams of olive oil" (Job 29:6). The words of a deceitful friend and the speech of a loose woman are said to be softer or smoother than oil (Ps. 55:21; Prov. 5:3). There was a warning against love of wine and oil (21:17). Micah wondered whether "rivers of oil" would be a pleasing offering to God (Mic. 6:7).

(See further R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology,* 8 vols. [1955 – 64], 3:101 – 4; M. S. and J. L. Miller, *Encyclopedia of Bible Life* [1955], 211-12; M. Noth, *The Old Testament World* [1966], 98, 163-64; P. J. King and L. E. Stager, *Life in Biblical Israel [2001],* 95-98.)

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**oil tree.** This term occurs only once in the KJV (Isa. 41:19), but the Hebrew phrase it renders *(ʿēṣ šemen)* occurs elsewhere. In one passage (1 Ki. 6:23, 31-33) it is used of the wood used in parts of the TEMPLE, and in another one (Neh. 8:15) it is explicitly distinguished from the OLIVE tree *(zayit).* The identification of the "oil tree" is uncertain, but many believe it is the oleaster (cf. NJPS), that is, *Elaeagnus angustifolia* (cf. *FFB,* 156-58). See FLORA (under *Elaeagnaceae).*

**ointment.** Processed OIL, usually perfumed, widely used in the ANE. Sometimes the Hebrew word for "oil" (*šemen H9043)* is translated "ointment" (e.g., Eccl. 7:1 KJV, NRSV; the NIV has "perfume"). The NT word for "ointment" or "perfume" is Greek *myron G3693* (Matt. 26:7 et al.). See ANOINT; PERFUME.

**I. History of usage.** It is impossible to determine when people first began to use ointments and

COSMETICS. Even in the earliest historical periods both of these were commonly used in ancient EGYPT for hygienic and magico-religious purposes. The ancient Egyptians bathed frequently, followed by rubbing the body with oils and creams. All classes considered ointments a necessity, not a luxury; there is record of Egyptian workers going on strike because of lack of food and ointments.

HERODOTUS reported that the SCYTHIANS never bathed but plastered their bodies with a sweet smelling substance of thick consistency. The Homeric poems indicate that the Greeks used ointments early to protect the skin. PLINY the Elder credited the Persians with the earliest use of perfume; discovered by ALEXANDER THE GREAT in the spoils taken from DARIUS, it soon was accepted by all classes of Greeks. Xenophon said Persian queens squandered the tribute of entire towns on their ointments.

The Etruscans introduced oriental perfumes in Italy, though the custom met with some resistance. In 189 B.C. the censors forbade the sale of *unguenta exotica* in Rome, but by the time of SENECA perfumes were commonly used in Rome.

**II. Preparation**

***A. Ingredients.*** Pliny said the recipe for unguents required two ingredients, "The juice and the solid part, the former of which usually consists of various sorts of oils and the latter of scented substances." Olive oil was the most commonly used base of ointments in Israel. The Egyptians used balanos, radish, colocynth, sesame, bitter almond oils, and animal fats. The Babylonians used sesame oil and animal fats. Castor oil was used commonly by the poor. Fish oil, though known in Egypt and Mesopotamia, probably was not used in cosmetics. To the oil various perfumes were added, such as bitter almonds, anise, cedar, cinnamon, ginger, heliotrope, peppermint, rose, sandal, etc. (cf. the reference to the fragrance of the ointments in Cant. 1:3; 4:10).

***B. Process.*** The knowledge of the techniques employed in making ointments is incomplete. Olive oil was used commonly as the base of ointments and perfumes because it did not evaporate or thicken readily. It was extracted from the olive berries by crushing with mortar and pestle, or with stones under a wooden lever fixed to a hole in the rock at one end and weighted by heavy stones at the other. After cooking, the unguent often was shaped into balls or cones as it solidified. In Egypt and Mesopotamia the unguent cookers were separate artisans, closely associated with barbers, pharmacists, physicians, and priests. They formed a guild in the days of Nehemiah (Ndh. 3:8), and there was a special street for unguent makers in ancient Jerusalem. In the days of Christ the preparation of ointments was hereditary in the Abtinas family *(b. Yoma* 38a). Syrian and Jewish ointments probably were exported to the Greeks.

***C. Containers for storage.*** It was necessary to exercise great care in storing unguents and perfumes. They kept best in ALABASTER or lead boxes and were stored in the shade because sunshine was harmful to them. The general use of ointments gave rise to the manufacture of the many beautiful receptacles that have been found in Egypt and Palestine. Alabaster was preferred by the Greeks and Romans; the Egyptians and Mesopotamians substituted less costly small glass jars and bottles. Vases have been found in tombs with the scent still clinging to them. The lids of the jars were sealed, and the vessel, usually the neck, was broken to pour out the contents (cf. Mk. 14:3).

**III. Value.** Ointments were prized highly in ancient times. HEZEKIAH displayed them in his treasure

house to the representatives of the king of Babylon (2 Ki. 20:13). They were used for payment of tribute (Hos. 12:1). AMOS considered them evidence of luxurious living (Amos 6:6; cf. Eccl. 7:1). The manufacture of ointments and perfumes was an important industry in ancient times as well as an important commodity in foreign trade. JUDAS ISCARIOT complained that the ointment poured on Jesus' feet might have been sold for a large sum of money (Matt. 26:9).

Crushed olives being placed into a round mat. The hands are red with oil.

## IV. Uses

***A. Magic.*** In the ancient world the magico-religious use of cosmetics was prominent. Magical preparation and anointing of balsams were part of the stock in trade of Egyptian physicians. The Egyptian priests recited the proper incantations and blessed the unguents used. Traces of magico-religious use of cosmetics still are seen in the custom of primitive peoples of painting the body. See also MAGIC.

***B. Religion.*** Ritual consecration with oil was quite important in Hebrew life. JACOB consecrated the stone at BETHEL by pouring oil on it (Gen. 28:18; 35:14). Sacred oil was used to consecrate the priests, the tabernacle, and furnishings (Exod. 30:22-33). It was made according to specific instructions and could not be used for other purposes (Exod. 30:23-25, 33). ELISHA was anointed (1 Ki. 19:16), and so were the kings of Israel (1 Sam. 10:1; 2 Ki. 9:1-3). Shields were anointed, either as an act of consecration before battle or as a preservative (2 Sam. 1:21; Isa. 21:5). Empowerment by the Spirit accompanied anointing (1 Sam. 16:13).

***C. Cosmetic.*** The use of cosmetics or oils for protection of the skin against the penetrating sun was essential in the ANE. The Egyptians made extensive use of unguents, creams, pomades, rouges, powders, eye paint, and nail paint. The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus (c. 1500 B.C.) gives the formula for an ointment guaranteed to make an old person young; another requiring the fat of the hippopotamus was a dandruff remedy. Pliny and Theophrastus wrote valuable essays concerning the manufacture of cosmetics in ancient times.

***D. Medicine.*** Medicine and religion were intimately associated in ancient times. Magical anointing was practiced by physicians in Egypt. Oil was used for medicinal purposes on wounds (Isa. 1:6; Lk. 10:34). GILEAD was noted for a BALM with medicinal value (Jer. 8:22). The sick were anointed (Jas. 5:14). Ointment was applied to the eyes (Jn. 9:6; Rev. 3:18).

***E. Preparation for burial.*** Ointments were used in embalming and wrapping the body (cf. Gen. 50:2-3, 26). They were bought to anoint the body of Jesus (Mk. 16:1). Enormous sums of money were expended for perfuming the body of the deceased, a luxury condemned by Pliny.

***F. Hospitality.*** Anointing by servants at festivities and dinners was common in Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon. Pomades in the form of perfumed balls or cones were attached to the heads of guests. Clothing was sprinkled with fragrant water. Jesus rebuked Simon the Pharisee for failing to render the usual courtesy of anointing (Lk. 7:46).

**V. Symbolism.** Anointing with oil was a sign of gladness and rejoicing (Ps. 45:7; Prov. 27:9; Isa. 61:3), of hospitality (Ps. 23:5), of prosperity (Ezek. 16:19), of luxury (Prov. 21:17; Ezek. 16:13), of plenty (Deut. 32:13; 33:24). It was omitted at times of sorrow or mourning (2 Sam. 12:20-21; 14:2; Dan. 10:3) and during fasting (Matt. 6:16-17).

(See further R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology,* 8 vols. [1955-64], 3:1-49; M. S. and J. L. Miller, *Encyclopedia of Bible Life* [1955], 204-5; J. Gray, *Archaeology and the Old Testament World* [1962], 172.)

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**Okran** ok'ruhn. TNIV form of OCRAN.

**Olamus** oh'luh-muhs (Ωλαμος). One of the descendants of Mani (Bani) who agreed to put away their foreign wives (1 Esd. 9:30; called "Meshullam" in the parallel passage, Ezra 10:29).

**Old Gate.** A city gate in postexilic JERUSALEM (Neh. 3:6; 12:39; so KJV, NRSV; the NIV and NJPS read "Jeshanah Gate" [Heb. *ša(ar hayĕšānâ]).* In the first passage, which describes the rebuilding of the wall, this gate is mentioned after the FISH GATE (3:3), which was on the N wall near the NW corner, and before the BROAD WALL (3:8), which jutted out of the W wall. In the second passage, which traces the procession of the choirs at the dedication of the wall, it is mentioned between the EPHRAIM GATE, whose location is uncertain, and the Fish Gate (the choir in view marched N then turned E). The gate in question must have been either on the N wall very close to the NW corner or, more likely, on the W wall below the NW corner.

Unfortunately, the identity and even the name of this gate are in question. The Hebrew word for "gate," *ša(ar H9133,* is masculine, whereas the adjective "old," *yāšān H3824,* occurs here in the feminine form, *yĕšānâ.* Some have therefore argued that the latter word is a proper name (cf. NIV and NJPS), and that it was so named because it led to the village of JESHANAH (modern Burj el-Isaneh, c. 16 mi. N of Jerusalem). Others object that if the word were a proper name, it would not have the definite article *(hayĕšānâ).* A popular alternate suggestion is to emend the consonant*y* to *m,* yielding *hammišneh,* that is, "the Mishneh" or SECOND DISTRICT, an area W of the city that had been developed during the monarchy (2 Ki. 22:14 et al.; cf. H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra-Nehemiah,* WBC 16 [1985], 196, 204-5).

Because the Ephraim Gate is not mentioned in Neh. 3:3-8, some have argued that it is the same as the Old Gate; if so, 12:39 would have to be translated "the Gate of Ephraim, namely the Old Gate," but this proposal has found little favor. Others think the Old or Mishneh Gate may be the same as the CORNER GATE (cf. Williamson, *Ezra-Nehemiah,* 205).

**old man, old self.** See MAN, OLD.

**old prophet.** The description of an unnamed prophet in the time of JEROBOAM I, the first king of the northern kingdom of Israel (1 Ki. 13:11-32). Jeroboam had instituted the worship of golden calves at DAN (PLACE) and BETHEL, and the royal chapel was at the latter place (see CALF, GOLDEN). While the king was burning incense at the altar one day, a certain "man of God" appeared from Judah and predicted the overthrow of idolatry at Bethel. As a sign that this prophecy would take place, the altar fell to pieces, and the man of God left (vv. 1-10).

All this was reported to an old prophet of Bethel by his sons. He immediately followed the man of God and invited him to his home. When the prophet from Judah replied that he had strict orders not to eat or drink in Bethel, the old man lied to him. He said an angel of the Lord had told him to feed the Judean prophet. The deception proved fatal. As the two prophets sat at the table, a word from the Lord announced the impending death of the man of God for disobedience. Soon after he left Bethel, a lion slew him. Since Bethel was only twelve miles from Jerusalem, the divine command to return was entirely reasonable. No light is thrown on why the old prophet acted as he did.

R. EARLE

**Old Testament.** According to Christian terminology, the collection of books that constitute the Hebrew Bible. In the English versions it consists of thirty-nine books: the five books of Moses (Pentateuch), twelve historical books, five poetical books, and seventeen prophetical books. In the Hebrew Bible, the books are organized differently, and some of them are combined, so that the total number of books is twenty-four. See CANON (OT).

1. The relationship of the OT to the NT
2. The main divisions of the OT
3. A survey of the contents and message of the OT
    1. The Pentateuch
    2. The Historical Books
    3. The Poetical Books
    4. The Major Prophets
    5. The Minor Prophets
4. Conclusion

**I. The relationship of the OT to the NT.** The Christian church regards the OT as authoritative Holy Scripture because its Founder and Savior so regarded it. Jesus taught his disciples that Moses, the OT Prophets, and the Psalms all testified to himself (Lk. 24:44) as the promised Redeemer of God's people. His apostles understood the entire Hebrew Scripture to constitute a composite unity ultimately authored by God and infallibly setting forth the divine will and plan for the salvation of sinners. Christ and the NT authors assert that when the OT spoke, it was God who spoke through it, and its words could not fail because God could not fail—or be mistaken, or impart falsehood. Therefore the human authors divinely used for the composition of the OT wrote under the infallible guidance of God the Holy Spirit (Gal. 3:8; 2 Pet. 1:20) and faithfully recorded what God planned for them to write, even though they themselves did not always fully understand the import of what they wrote (cf. 1 Pet 1:10-11).

In general, the NT authors viewed the entire OT as a testimony to Jesus Christ. The Pentateuch and the Poetical Books set forth for them the perfect man who fulfilled all the law (a pattern uniquely fulfilled by Jesus of Nazareth alone). In the sacrificial and priestly provisions of the law, they saw Christ as the antitype, the Messianic Priest, and the atoning sacrifice for the sins of mankind. In the Davidic kingdom they saw a type of the perfect King, appointed forever "after the order of Melchizedek," the priest-king who once bestowed God's blessing on Abraham, the "father of the faithful." See OFFICES OF CHRIST.

Not only was Christ the Messianic Prophet, Priest, and King portrayed in symbol and type by the OT, but he was also the ultimate Judge of all mankind. Even the historical events of the OT record were invested with prophetic significance. The crossing of the RED SEA by Israel under MOSES prefigured Christian BAPTISM and all that it spiritually implies (1 Cor. 10:1-2). JOSHUA's conquest of Canaan typified the spiritual rest into which NT believers enter by faith (Heb. 3:4). The calling of Israel out of Egypt typified the return of the child Jesus from Egypt after the death of HEROD (Matt. 2:15).

The OT presented the preparation of which the NT was the fulfillment; it was the seed of which the achievement of Christ, proclaimed by the apostles, was the glorious fruit. Precisely because Jesus Christ fulfilled what the OT predicted, his life and deeds were demonstrated to be the work of God and thus invested with absolute finality. The OT demonstrated that Christ and his church were of supernatural origin and validity, and entirely set apart from man-made religion or human genius of any sort. As the OT furnished proof that Jesus was the embodiment of God's purpose, and God manifested in the flesh, so also the NT showed that the Hebrew Scriptures constituted an organic unity, focused upon a single great theme and setting forth a single, but all-comprehensive, program of redemption.

**II. The main divisions of the OT.** The books composing the authoritative OT were unquestionably the same as those transmitted in the Hebrew Scriptures. (There is no evidence whatever that the NT authors regarded any of the books in the APOCRYPHA OR PSEUDEPIGRAPHA as the authoritative Word of God, even though pseudepigraphic material is alluded to a few times.) Although the same text that Christ used and certified to be God's infallible truth is the authoritative OT used today, nevertheless there is some divergence between the order of the books in the Hebrew canon and the order adopted by the Greek SEPTUAGINT and the Latin VULGATE.

The MT follows a three-part canon, of which the *Torah* or PENTATEUCH constitutes the first unit, the *Nebiim* or Prophets the second, and the *Ketubim* or Writings the third (the first letter of these three Hebrew terms form the acronym *Tanach* or *Tanak,* which refers to the Hebrew Bible as a whole). The Prophets are subdivided into the Former Prophets (Joshua, Judges, 1-2 Samuel, 1-2 Kings) and the Latter Prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the book of the Twelve, i.e., the Minor Prophets). The Writings include the rest of the OT, but in the following order: (1) Books of poetry—Psalms, Proverbs, Job (in the Leningrad Codex the last two are reversed). (2) The *Megilloth* or rolls—Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther (according to the order of their use in the great feast days of the Hebrew religious year; the Leningrad Codex orders them as Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Esther). (3) Historical books: Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah, 1-2 Chronicles.

This Masoretic order may not have been the original, for the NT references seem to view the Psalms in a class by itself, rather than included in a larger category of "Writings." The origin of the LXX order is difficult to date, since the biblical books normally circulated in separate scrolls until the adoption of the CODEX form in early Christian times. The sequence found in LXX codices was followed in the Latin Bible (with Apocryphal additions or books interspersed among them), and this

order is reflected in the English Bible. The LXX appends 1-2 Maccabees at the very end.

Regardless of these minor variations in sequence, the organic function of each section of the OT canon in relationship to the other sections is perfectly clear. The Pentateuch contains the charter of salvation by grace, based upon God's sovereign choice of ABRAHAM and his seed, with whom he entered into special fellowship by his gracious COVENANT. This covenant relationship was later extended to Israel as a nation, delivered from bondage in Egypt, commissioned to take possession of Canaan as the inheritance promised to Abraham. Theirs was the responsibility of maintaining a holy, virtuous life, based upon obedience to the revealed will of God, and maintained by worship, sacrifice for sins, and grateful, loving communion with their divine Sovereign.

The Historical Books (Joshua through Esther) contain the record of how the nation prospered when it kept faith with God and maintained its covenant commitments, and how it suffered affliction and defeat when it forsook its trust and tried to live like the pagan world around it. The Poetical Books (Job through Canticles) give expression to the personal response of OT believers to God's truth and love, and make clear the practical implications of living to please the Lord. The Prophetical Books contain the proclamation of God's will to the Israelite nation in the light of the spiritual, political, and economic problems confronting them in the course of their history from the divided monarchy to the establishment of the second commonwealth. These PROPHETS show Yahweh's unchangeable purpose to keep his hand upon this wayward, willful people, employing whatever admonition, rebuke, or chastisement necessary to keep them a godly nation, devoted to himself. Through these prophets runs the theme of ultimate deliverance, not by the efforts of the people themselves, but by the atoning work of a divine-human MESSIAH, who is the hope of Israel.

In a very profound sense, the entire OT, in all its parts and divisions, points to Jesus Christ. The law and the books of wisdom present him as the perfect man and blameless priest who fulfills all righteousness and loves God with pure sincerity. The Historical Books set forth through DAVID, and those of his descendants who were godly, the pattern of the theocratic king who subdues and rules the earth for the glory of God. The Poetical Books (esp. the Psalms) portray Christ as the One who delights to do God's will and is ready to suffer cheerfully whatever his Father's will entails. The Prophetic Books present him as the teacher of all righteousness and truth, and the tender shepherd who devotedly cares for his flock. From this perspective, the OT not only contains individual predictions concerning the person and work of Chist, but also focuses upon him as its basic pattern, motivation, and glorious goal. It is this essentially Christocentric quality of the OT that is brought out and emphasized in the NT itself—an emphasis that its authors received from their divine Lord during his earthly ministry, both before and after his resurrection.

## III. A survey of the contents and message of the OT

### *A. The Pentateuch*

**1. Genesis.** The first book of the Bible sets forth Yahweh as the only true God, the creator of the entire universe, in sovereign control of all the forces of nature. The man and the woman were his crowning work of CREATION, for they alone were made in the IMAGE OF GOD and granted the privilege of personal fellowship with him. Though ADAM and EVE lost their privileged status through SIN by putting their own will above the will of God, they became the object of forgiveness and grace, and the broken fellowship was partially restored on the basis of the redeeming work of the future MESSIAH, "the seed of the woman" (Gen. 3:15). This heritage of faith was passed on through SETH (though

rejected by Adam's oldest son, CAIN), and reached to NOAH and his family, who alone survived the universal judgment of the flood (see FLOOD, GENESIS).

The torch of testimony passed on to ABRAHAM, the pioneer of FAITH, who was willing to leave his home and security behind him to obey God's call to the land of promise. There he was content to live as a stranger and foreigner, awaiting the fulfillment of God's promise to his descendants. His son ISAAC, whose wife was chosen for him by the Lord, handed on this heritage to JACOB, that crafty self-server who ultimately was won by hardship and danger to true submission to God. His twelve sons, despite their grievous sins and faults, maintained an awareness of belonging to Yahweh under the COVENANT of grace made with Abraham and his seed. It is preeminently in JOSEPH that true godliness again finds expression; through successive testings God prepared him for greatness and used him to deliver his family from extinction and welcome them into a refuge in EGYPT where they could grow into a great nation. See GENESIS, BOOK OF.

**2. Exodus.** The second book relates how God prepared his servant MOSES for the task of leading Israel out of oppressive bondage in Egypt. After forty years of education in the Egyptian court, he had forty more as an exile in the SINAI desert, where he was summoned at the BURNING BUSH and commissioned for his task. After the ten plagues compelled PHARAOH to let the Israelites depart (see PLAGUES OF EGYPT), Pharaoh made an attempt to recapture them, but lost his chariotry in the sea. By MANNA from heaven and water from the rock, God sustained the multitude, and he met with them as a nation for solemn covenant renewal at Mount Sinai, where he gave the Decalogue (see TEN COMMANDMENTS), the Book of the Covenant, and the specifications for the TABERNACLE and its priesthood. After the rupture caused by the apostasy of the golden calf (see CALF, GOLDEN), Moses prevailed on Yahweh to renew fellowship with a chastened Israel. God then warned against future IDOLATRY, ordained the SABBATH observances and the consecration of the tabernacle with its altars and ark, and at the dedication ceremony descended upon it with the glory cloud. See EXODUS, BOOK OF.

**3. Leviticus.** Leviticus spells out the regulations that governed the meal or grain offering and the six types of blood SACRIFICE, each of which brought out an aspect of the ATONEMENT: burnt offering (for sinfulness in general), sin offering (for individual overt transgressions), trespass offering (for offenses resulting in damages to be repaid 120 percent), and peace offerings (thank-offering, votive offering, freewill offering) that involved a communion meal with God. After AARON and his sons were solemnly consecrated for the priesthood, the two oldest (NADAB and ABIHU) died because of impiety in the tabernacle.

Lists of clean and unclean foods, and laws concerning PURIFICATION (of mothers after childbirth, of lepers who have been cured, of victims of boils or running sores) are followed by regulations for the Day of Atonement and for preserving the sanctity of sacrifices. See ATONEMENT, DAY OF. HOLINESS involved complete separation from all levels of sexual immorality, uncleanness, and idolatry. Only holy men could carry out priestly duties and supervise the holy convocations, the celebration of the Sabbath, Passover and Unleavened Bread, Pentecost, and the Feasts of Trumpets and of Tabernacles. See FEASTS. Following the warnings against desecration are the ordinances for the SABBATICAL YEAR and the JUBILEE YEAR. Leviticus 26 foretells the Babylonian captivity (although not by name) and the return to Palestine, and the final chapter deals with vows and tithes. See LEVITICUS, BOOK OF.

**4. Numbers.** The fourth book continues with the journey of Israel from SINAI to the borders of Canaan at KADESH BARNEA, and then after the chastisement of the forty years of wandering, the arrival at the Plains of MOAB and the encounter with King BALAK and the prophet BALAAM (who was hired to curse Israel but was compelled by God to bless them instead). A census is included at the beginning (Num. 3-4) and another at the end (ch. 26), each totaling a little over 600,000 men at arms. After the twelve tribes dedicated offerings to the Lord, the Levites were officially installed, and the host headed toward Kadesh. From time to time they complained and rebelled, especially after the unfavorable report of the ten spies concerning the impregnability of Canaan. Aaron and MIRIAM rebelled against Moses, as did some of the Levites under KORAH. All were subdued by miraculous judgments from God. Various laws concerning holiness


In OT times the cow was regarded as a "clean" animal and so was used by the Israelites for sacrifice, food, clothing, and labor.

are interspersed. The conquest of TRANSJORDAN was secured by the defeat of SIHON and OG, but in Moab the Israelites were temporarily ensnared by idolatry and religious prostitution, which was followed by a plague and the execution of some of the leading offenders. See NUMBERS, BOOK OF.

**5. Deuteronomy.** The fifth book contains the closing admonitions of the aged Moses on the threshold of conquest of the Promised Land. Its form follows a structure observed in 2nd-millennium Anatolian suzerainty treaties (see TREATY). These consisted of the following: (a) preamble (Deut. 1:1-5); (b) historical prologue (1:6—4:49), reciting God's gracious treatment of his people; (c) stipulations listing the special provisions of the covenant (the selective summary of the law, chs. 5-26); (d) curses for violation of the covenant, and blessings for its observance (chs. 27-30); (e) arrangements for continuing the sanctions of the covenant by public reading, and the solemn invocation of witnesses to its validity; also provisions for the custody of both copies of the covenant for each contractual party (chs. 31-33). This earnest admonition to the nation as a whole to keep true to its divine trust was in the nature of a constitution for the new theocracy to be established in conquered Canaan. See DEUTERONOMY, BOOK OF.

### *B. The Historical Books*

**1. Joshua.** The book of Joshua records the conquest of the Promised Land and thus the fulfillment of

the promises to Abraham and Moses in effecting victory over the tribes of Canaan. JOSHUA's total personal commitment to the Lord made him an irresistible weapon in God's hand as he crossed the dry bed of the JORDAN at flood tide; and after six days' march around the walls of JERICHO, he saw them toppled by God's power. The setback at AI prompted him to ferret out the offender who secreted plunder from the accursed Jericho in his tent; by ACHAN's execution Joshua insured perfect obedience among his troops from that time on. The law was publicly read and its covenant engagements solemnly accepted by the victorious army at Mount GERIZIM. In support of their unsought allies of the HIVITE League, the Israelites won a tremendous victory over a hostile coalition at the battle of GIBEON, during which great numbers of the foe were killed by huge hailstones, and the sun was retarded from setting so that the victors could catch their fugitives before nightfall. After an equally victorious campaign in the N against HAZOR, Joshua distributed the territory of Palestine by lot to the ten tribes W of the Jordan. Within them the CITIES OF REFUGE were appointed for fugitive manslayers, and also cities for the Levites to dwell in. At the close of his career Joshua challenged the nation to renew its exclusive loyalty to Yahweh. See JOSHUA, BOOK OF.

**2. Judges.** The book of Judges picks up the narrative at that point, relating how later generations failed to complete the conquest of the land, and after falling into moral laxity and idolatry became prey to six or more oppressing nations, beginning with CUSHAN-RISHATHAIM from Syrian MESOPOTAMIA, then Moab, then the North Canaanites under JABIN of HAZOR, then MIDIAN, AMMON, and the PHILISTINES. Of the twelve "judges" (national leaders) raised up to repel these oppressors, the most prominent were BARAK (who with DEBORAH crushed the army of Hazor), GIDEON (the conqueror of the Midianites), JEPHTHAH (who repelled the Ammonites), and SAMSON, who as a one-man army held the Philistines at bay until his betrayal by his mistress, DELILAH. Despite periods of repentance and revival, the general trend among the twelve tribes in this period was to do whatever was pleasing in their own eyes and ignore the Scriptures (i.e., the Pentateuch). The abduction of a local priest employed by MICAH the Ephraimite when a migrating band of Danites passed through on their way up to the northern city of LAISH presents an example of the ruthlessness of these times, but even more shocking was the murder of a Levite's concubine in GIBEAH, which ultimately led to a civil war against the whole tribe of Benjamin, and their near extinction. See JUDGES, BOOK OF.

**3. Ruth.** In contrast to these troubles, the book of Ruth narrates a tender and romantic episode during the time of the judges when a Moabitess loyally moved to BETHLEHEM with her destitute Judean mother-in-law, NAOMI, to help support her there. Attracting the favor of a wealthy bachelor named BOAZ, a cousin of Naomi, she is eventually claimed by him as her kinsman-redeemer (see GOEL), and becomes the ancestress of King DAVID. See RUTH, BOOK OF.

**4. Samuel.** First Samuel opens with the closing days of the high priest ELI, who received as his protégé little SAMUEL, whom his mother had devoted to the Lord. After the Philistines crushed Israel at SHILOH and carried off the ARK OF THE COVENANT as spoil, they were compelled by a plague to return it to the Hebrews. Samuel eventually led a successful revolt against Philistia, and was guided to crown SAUL as the first king of Israel (in response to Israel's demand to become a monarchy like her neighbors). Saul valiantly delivered JABESH GILEAD from the besieging Ammonites, and sparked by a daring raid on the part of his son JONATHAN, he routed the Philistines as well. But the challenge of the Philistine giant, GOLIATH, could be met only by the daring young DAVID, who vaulted into prominence by felling him with a slingstone. Saul's sin in sparing some of the Amalekites he had been

ordered to exterminate (see AMALEK) led to his rejection by God, who had directed Samuel previously to anoint David as king. Despite David's services as a harpist and his new status as son-in-law through the marriage of MICHAL, Saul became insanely jealous of David and pursued him as a fugitive outlaw, a pursuit he continued until he was forced to fight the Philistines at Mount GILBOA, where he and his sons fell in battle.

Second Samuel opens with David's lament over this disaster and follows through his entire reign, first as king of JUDAH alone, and then, after the assassination of ISH-BOSHETH, Saul's son, of the entire twelve tribes. David's desire to build a temple for Yahweh was denied, but his son was to have that privilege (2 Sam. 7), which included a promise of everlasting rule to David's messianic descendant. He finally conquered all the territory from Egypt to the Euphrates, as God had promised Abraham (Gen. 15:18). David's adultery with BATHSHEBA and the contrived murder of her husband, URIAH, brought the curse of strife into David's home. His eldest son, AMNON, after raping his half-sister TAMAR, was finally assassinated by ABSALOM in revenge; and ultimately Absalom rebelled against David, his father, and sent him fleeing across the Jordan. Absalom finally met defeat at the hands of JOAB, David's commander, who personally slew him in the forest. David was restored to supreme power, a saddened man, and had to deal with a major famine and further wars with the Philistines (all of whose giants were slain). His psalm of praise is recorded in 2 Sam. 22 (cf. Ps. 18), which was followed by a list of his thirty battle champions. His national census was punished by a plague, which stopped only when he offered sacrifice on the site of the future temple, purchased from ARAUNAH the Jebusite. See SAMUEL, BOOKS OF.

**5. Kings.** This narrative continues the history of the Hebrew monarchy to its end. In David's dotage, his oldest surviving son, ADONIJAH, laid claim to the succession, until Bathsheba reminded David

A view of the Elah Valley, where David challenged Goliath (1 Sam. 17).

of his promise to SOLOMON, who was thereupon installed as king. Solomon's request for wisdom to

govern well was granted by God, along with wealth and victory. After marrying Pharaoh's daughter (a match that brought on toleration of idol-worship), Solomon built a magnificent TEMPLE to God and solemnly dedicated it with prayer and lavish sacrifices. His wealth and glory amazed the QUEEN OF SHEBA, and science and literature flourished under his encouragement. But his gross polygamy and toleration of the cults of his foreign wives led the nation to spiritual decline and political unrest. After Solomon's death in 931 B.C., a permanent separation occurred between Judah and the ten tribes when the latter chose JEROBOAM I as ruler over the northern kingdom (now usually referred to as Israel) rather than remain under Solomon's

Main cities of the northern kingdom of Israel.

tyrannical son, REHOBOAM. Intermittent warfare between the two kingdoms was matched by religious schism, for Jeroboam established new temples for calf worship at BETHEL and DAN (PLACE). Pharaoh SHISHAK stormed Jerusalem and plundered the temple; the Edomites revolted from Judah.

When King BAASHA of Israel threatened Judah by building a new fortress at RAMAH, ASA (though a godly king) resorted to bribing DAMASCUS to fall upon the northern tribes. Later, the capital of the northern kingdom was transferred to SAMARIA by OMRI, whose son AHAB was married to BAAL-worshiping JEZEBEL of TYRE. ELIJAH called down three years of drought upon Ahab's realm until the contest with the priests of Baal on Mount Carmel, after which the rains returned. To escape Jezebel's wrath, Elijah fled to Mount Sinai, where he received new directions from God. After Ahab's judicial murder of NABOTH, the king's doom was foretold by Elijah, and Ahab finally met his end at RAMOTH GILEAD, shot by an Aramean archer.

Second Kings relates the early death of Ahab's son, as Elijah had foretold. ELISHA was anointed by Elijah and stayed with him until the latter's departure heavenward by the Jordan. Judah, under King JEHOSHAPHAT (who had been Ahab's ally), assisted JEHORAM son of Ahab against the revolting

Moabites. Elisha assisted Jehoram against Aramean invaders, after healing NAAMAN of his leprosy during a time of peace with Damascus. JEHU, commander of the Israelite army, was secretly anointed king by a messenger of Elisha. Jehu then secured the support of the army and slew Jehoram at Jezreel, and shortly afterward the defiant Jezebel also. Though he massacred all the Israelite Baal-worshipers, he did not abolish the calf cult, and both he and his successors suffered defeats from the Arameans until JOASH defeated them in accordance with Elisha's dying prophecy. His son, Jeroboam II, regained the former boundaries of N Israel and subdued Damascus, but anarchy and a series of weak kings ensued after his death until the final collapse of Samaria to Assyrian besiegers in 722 B.C.

UZZIAH of Judah, a godly king, restored the borders of the southern kingdom and prospered economically until his arrogance in the temple led to leprosy and the shift of power to his good son, JOTHAM (751 B.C.). Jotham's wicked son AHAZ led Judah to disaster, despite his alliance with Assyria, and only the restoration under godly HEZEKIAH deferred Judah's doom and made deliverance possible from Sennacherib's irresistible army (701). His display of wealth to Babylonian envoys resulted in Isaiah's prediction of the captivity 125 years later. The idolatry and depravity of MANASSEH, Hezekiah's son, ensured this downfall, although it was deferred until after the death of his godly grandson JOSIAH, who prompted Judah's final revival. Josiah's incompetent sons unsuccessfully played off Egypt against Babylon, and NEBUCHADNEZZAR burned Jerusalem and the temple to the ground. After GEDALIAH, the Babylonian-appointed governor of Judah, was murdered by a guerrilla leader named ISHMAEL, the last remnants of Jewish population took refuge in Egypt. See KINGS, BOOKS OF.

**6. Chronicles.** In these books is reviewed Israel's history from the perspective of the nation's covenant relationship to God as a worshiping community, following the prescribed forms of divine service as administered by the divinely ordained priesthood and under the rule of the divinely authorized dynasty of David. The northern kingdom is treated only incidentally, since it represented political and religious schism. Emphasis is laid upon Israel's rich spiritual heritage going back to the time of the patriarchs (hence the prominence given to genealogical lists), and also upon the distinctive institutions of worship added to the cultus by David and Solomon. The high moments of faith and trust in the lives of kings like Rehoboam, Asa, and Jehoshaphat, which are not recorded in 1-2 Kings, reflect this interest of the historian (who may well have been Ezra himself). On the other hand, some of the tragic lapses of faith, like David's sin with Bathsheba and Solomon's gross polygamy and permissiveness toward idolatry, are passed over in silence. The narrative continues until the fall of Babylon and the release from captivity by CYRUS of Persia. See CHRONICLES, BOOKS OF.

**7. Ezra.** This book relates how the first group of 42,000 Jews migrated from Babylonia to Palestine (537 B.C.) and founded the "second commonwealth," laying the foundations of the temple and resuming sacrificial worship at the restored altar. Pressure from hostile neighboring states hindered further work on the temple until Haggai and Zechariah stirred up the people to complete the sanctuary even without a building permit (519). Some decades later, EZRA came from Babylon with the emperor's blessing to aid in the spiritual restoration of the discouraged little province of Judah (457). He persuaded them to obey the Torah by separating themselves from their pagan wives and to abandon the permissive attitude toward paganism, which then prevailed. See EZRA, BOOK OF.

**8. Nehemiah.** NEHEMIAH, the emperor's cupbearer, tells how he was authorized to serve as governor

in Judah (beginning in 446 B.C.) until he could have the city walls of Jerusalem rebuilt and his countrymen restored to a posture of defense and self-respect in the face of their hostile neighbors. The SAMARITANS and their allies at first ridiculed, then threatened, and then sought to entice Nehemiah from the work by threat of slander to the court. Not only did he organize them for successful defense; but he also led them to revival at the Feast of Tabernacles under Ezra's Scripture-teaching campaign (Neh. 8). As the nation renewed its covenant with God, the most pressing reforms were carried through, that is, the settling of a sufficient population in Jerusalem to insure its proper defense (ch. 11) and the restoration of mortgaged farms to their owners, foregoing usury (ch. 5). During Nehemiah's second term as governor (433), Ezra also enforced the exclusion of foreigners from the temple precinct (which the high priest had neglected) and insisted on the payment of tithes for support of the clergy. He also forbade all business and labor on the Sabbath and compelled those who had married foreign wives to put them away (ch. 13). See NEHEMIAH, BOOK OF.

**9. Esther.** This is a thrilling account of the deliverance of the Jewish nation from genocide. The threat of extinction came by order of the emperor's prime minister, HAMAN, who hated the race of the Jew MORDECAI because he refused to do obeisance to him. Unbeknown to him, however, the beautiful young queen of XERXES (Ahasuerus) was Mordecai's niece, ESTHER, and she was willing to risk her life to save her people. Though she entered the throne room without invitation, the king saved her from the death penalty by extending his scepter, and she put into effect a plan to expose Haman as plotting against her life. In a rage, Xerxes ordered him to be hanged on the very gallows he had erected for Mordecai, and a counter decree was issued empowering the Jews throughout the empire to slay their enemies on the day appointed for the extermination of the Jews. This was commemorated by the Feast of PURIM ever after. See ESTHER, BOOK OF.

### *C. The Poetical Books*

**1. Job.** The story narrated in this book apparently took place in N ARABIA, probably before the Mosaic period, and it is composed in the form of a poetic dialogue, a species of WISDOM Literature. The prose prologue discloses God's reason for permitting SATAN to subject Job to the loss of his wealth, his children, and his health: namely, to prove to Satan that a sincere believer can love God even apart from the blessings he bestows. After Job was reviled by his own wife, three of his friends, ELIPHAZ, BILDAD, and ZOPHAR, came to comfort him, but they wanted to ferret out some secret sin to account for this apparently undeserved calamity. Job stoutly maintained that there was no such secret sin to confess, and alternated between humble trust in the Lord and bitter complaint that he could not plead his cause before him—a vehemence that ELIHU rebuked, even as he rebuked the dogmatism of the other three in assuming Job's culpability. Yahweh spoke to Job through the whirlwind, challenging him to explain the mighty forces of nature, if he ventured to question his wisdom and justice. After Job expressed abject repentance for his presumptuousness, God rebuked the three "comforters" and restored Job to fame, fortune, and the joys of parenthood on an even higher level than before. See JOB, BOOK OF.

**2. Psalms.** These are for the most part prayers of praise and petition to God offered by believers passing through experiences of peril, sorrow, or joy. Seventy-three of the poems have titles naming David as author, but doubtless many of the "anonymous" psalms were composed by him as well (Acts 4:25 states that Ps. 2 is Davidic). Some of these are didactic, such as Ps. 1 (contrasting the attitude,

life, and destiny of the godly with those of the ungodly) and Ps. 37 (which affirms the eventual judgment of even the most prosperous evildoer). Others celebrate the glory and power of God revealed through nature and the Scriptures (Ps. 8; 19) and through his providential deliverance of believers who trust in him (Ps. 46). Some express an ardent longing and love for Jehovah (Ps. 18; 42), others plead for his compassion and forgiveness (Ps. 51) or praise him for its bestowal (Ps. 32).

Of special importance are the messianic psalms, which foretell the character, sufferings, and triumph of Christ—especially Ps. 2 (cf. Acts 13:33; Heb. 1:5; 5:5); Ps. 16 (Acts 2:25-28); Ps. 110 (Matt. 22:44); and Ps. 22 (which Jesus quoted on the cross). Ten psalms are attributed to descendants of KORAH (Ps. 42; 44-49; 84; 87-88); twelve to ASAPH (Ps. 50; 73-83); Ps. 90 to Moses (hence the earliest of them all); Ps. 127 to Solomon; Ps. 83 to HEMAN; and Ps. 89 to ETHAN. Of the anonymous psalms, several are of greatest sublimity in their praise of God (e.g., Ps. 103-104) and of his revealed Word (Ps. 119). Although they were undoubtedly used in the public worship of God in the temple, there is no good reason to suppose (as some scholars suggest) that they express the sentiments of the so-called CORPORATE PERSONALITY of Israel rather than the personal emotions of the individual psalmist. See PSALMS, BOOK OF.

**3. Proverbs.** This collection contains several groups of maxims and warnings concerning the laws that govern life and human relations, with a view to instructing young people in the art of successful living. Most of these were compiled by Solomon based on a long-practiced genre in the ANE, but were adapted to a high moral standard arising from strict monotheistic convictions. Respect for parents, faithfulness to marriage vows and contract commitments, the contrasting behavior of the wise man and the fool, the tragic end of the wicked and the presumptuous, and the eventual success and satisfaction of the prudent, the godly, and the industrious—all of these are recurrent themes in this book. The most earnest and extended warnings are directed against fornication and adultery, and the seductions of the "strange woman," in an age when moral relativism was on the rise. The dangers of intoxication and alcoholism also are frequently referred to. All these moral choices are so presented to the reader as to compel him to a clear-cut decision, rather than resorting to compromise or vacillation. See PROVERBS, BOOK OF.

**4. Ecclesiastes.** This solemn testimony, traditionally also ascribed to Solomon, concerns the emptiness and futility of all human endeavor that is directed toward this-worldly goals; "all is vanity" apart from a thankful acceptance of God's providences and sincere obedience to his will. Although unlimited wealth and power make possible the obtaining of every material object of desire, yet they all turn to dust and ashes, and leave the soul altogether empty, unless that soul is bent on pleasing God. See ECCLESIASTES, BOOK OF.

**5. Song of Solomon.** This book consists of a dialogue, of which the principal speakers are King Solomon and the beautiful SHULAMMITE country girl with whom he falls in love. They express their admiration for each other in the most glowing terms, and despite temporary separation or misunderstanding they are completely reconciled and come together again. The "chorus" of this love drama is the HAREM in Jerusalem, and there are scenes of regal splendor in the palace grounds; but the covenant of love is ultimately ratified in her rural home in a pastoral setting. By her radiant loveliness and ardent devotion the Shulammite taught Solomon the meaning of a single, all-absorbing love—even though he personally did not remain true to

Gold earrings from Phoenicia. In the Song of Solomon, the beloved promises his partner earrings of gold (Cant. 1:11).

this insight. Interpreted typically, these two lovers have been seen to represent the warm devotion that binds Christ to his bride, the CHURCH. See SONG OF SOLOMON.

### *D. The Major Prophets*

**1. Isaiah.** These sixty-six chapters contain more teaching concerning Christ than is to be found anywhere in the OT, leading some to refer to this book as "the Gospel according to Isaiah." Isaiah's ministry extended from 739 B.C. ("the year that King Uzziah died"—Isa. 6:1), until the late 680s (the death of SENNACHERIB). He lived through the degenerate age of Ahaz, the revival under Hezekiah, and the hopeless apostasy of the reign of Manasseh. His central theme was salvation bestowed only by the grace and power of God, "the Holy One of Israel"; it could not be won or deserved by human effort or by the good works of human flesh. Yahweh of hosts could not tolerate unholiness in his covenant people, and would therefore purge them and bring them back to repentance and usefulness in fulfilling their missionary role to the heathen nations. They were to look to him for deliverance from their human foes, rather than to Egypt or Assyria, and their ultimate salvation would come to them through a God-man, the virgin-born IMMANUEL, their Messianic King. After the agony of the Babylonian captivity, the guilty nation would be restored to the Promised Land to resume their mission of testimony to the one true God before the idol-worshiping Gentiles, and their final Deliverer would be the SERVANT OF THE LORD, who was to offer up his life as an atonement for their sin—a sacrifice by which he would win complete victory and supreme glory as the Savior of God's remnant of true believers. See ISAIAH, BOOK OF.

**2. Jeremiah.** The prophecy spans the career of Jeremiah, from his youth in the reign of Josiah (c. 626 B.C.), to the fall of Jerusalem to the Babylonians (586) with the migration of the survivors to Egypt a few years later. God commissioned him to denounce the idolatry, immorality, and self-complacency that had such a strong hold on his countrymen, and to assure them that their nation would go down to utter ruin if they did not repent. Politically they were advised to submit to the rule of NEBUCHADNEZZAR, God's instrument for their discipline, and not to hope for deliverance through alliance with Egypt. Every class of Hebrew society, including the priests and prophets, were guilty before God for flagrant violation of Scripture, and their doom was inevitable. After seventy years of captivity, they would be restored to the land of promise and ultimately be delivered by the Messiah, a descendant of David (the "Righteous Branch"). All of the heathen nations around who opposed and defied the Lord would fall into irrevocable doom. By nature tender and compassionate, Jeremiah was

nevertheless compelled by God to proclaim a stern message of irreversible doom and thus to endure the slander of treason and the hatred of all his countrymen, including his closest kinsmen. See JEREMIAH, BOOK OF.

**3. Lamentations.** Here, Jeremiah eloquently expressed his anguish over the utter depravity of his people and their tragic loss of honor, liberty, and all material possessions. Yet he found comfort in the untarnished holiness and love of God: "Great is thy faithfulness." See LAMENTATIONS, BOOK OF.

**4. Ezekiel.** The first of this prophecy begins with the vision of God's glory in 592 B.C.; the last dated prophecy is 570, but Ezekiel may have continued for some years thereafter ministering to the captive Jews in Babylonia. The first twenty-four chapters contain warnings of the approaching fall of Jerusalem to the Babylonians, rendered inevitable by the flagrant idolatry and depravity of the Jews back in Judah, for they had followed the shameful example of adulterous Samaria. Ezekiel 25-32 contain prophecies against Phoenicia, Egypt, and the other neighboring countries. Chapters 33-39 foretell the restoration and spiritual renewal of captive Israel, governed by the true Shepherd, and ultimately vanquishing the latter-day world powers (such as GOG and MAGOG). Most striking is the vision of the resurrection of the dry bones in the desolate valley, so as to become a mighty army for the Lord. Chapters 40-48 describe the temple to be erected during the MILLENNIUM—its ordinances of worship, its new distribution of land to the tribes, and its river of blessing flowing from it to the Dead Sea, which will teem with new life. See EZEKIEL, BOOK OF.

**5. Daniel.** As in Ezekiel, the setting is among the captivity of Judah during the exile. Young DANIEL and his three godly friends excelled all others in the royal academy and were promoted to high office in the government. Danger of execution for charlatanry was averted when Daniel by revelation recalled Nebuchadnezzar's prophetic dream of the four empires (Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome), which would succeed each other in God's plan for the ages. The three Hebrew friends of Daniel were later miraculously delivered from harm in the fiery furnace into which they were cast for refusing to worship the golden image of the king (who himself was later punished by seven years of insanity for his overweening pride). Years later, Daniel interpreted to King BELSHAZZAR the grim message of judgment miraculously inscribed on the wall of the banquet hall. Subsequently (Dan. 6), Daniel escaped death from the lions to which he was cast for his piety in continuing to pray to God during a thirty-day ban upon all prayer to any other besides King DARIUS. The last six chapters contain visions concerning the future empires, and especially the coming crisis of the persecution of the Jewish faith by ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes (in 168 B.C.), who in turn would serve as a type of the last world dictator (the "Beast") during the Great Tribulation. See DANIEL, BOOK OF.

### *E. The Minor Prophets*

**1. Hosea.** Hosea was a citizen of the northern kingdom who prophesied there between 755 B.C. and sometime prior to the fall of Samaria in 722 . The adultery of Hosea's wife, GOMER, corresponded to Israel's unfaithfulness to Yahweh, and his three children by her were given prophetic names. The name JEZREEL predicted the destruction of the dynasty of Jehu; LO-RUHAMAH signified that there would be no national restoration of the ten tribes after SAR-GON took them off into slavery; LO-AMMI (Hos. 1:9) implied a warning that they would never as a nation be restored to covenant status with God. The idolatrous shrines were denounced, and the sins of prevalent adultery, of cruelty to the

poor, and of drunkenness and corruption sealed the sentence of bondage and exile. Yet the love of Yahweh was not to be permanently thwarted, and there was yet to be a remnant of true believers to inherit his promises of grace. See HOSEA, BOOK OF.

**2. Joel.** This was probably composed c. 830 B.C., when King Joash was still a minor and a regency was in charge of the government. Judah's enemies were still the Phoenicians, the Philistines, the Edomites, and the Egyptians (Joel 3:4, 19). A terrible LOCUST plague had blighted the land as a warning of a more terrible invasion by human foes (the Assyrians and Babylonians) that could be averted only by wholehearted repentance on the part of every class of society. God some day would destroy their foes and shower an outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon all—men, women, and children (2:28-32), as at PENTECOST (Acts 2:17-21). Judgment was predicted for Phoenicia and Philistia, and for the future SELEUCID oppressors (Joel 3:4-16), and ultimate triumph and peace is promised for the millennial Jerusalem. See JOEL, BOOK OF.

**3. Amos.** This prophet was a layman from Judah who was sent to warn the northern kingdom c. 760-755 B.C. After declaring God's purpose to punish the neighboring nations (such as Damascus, Gaza, Tyre, and Edom) for their crimes against humanity, he announced judgment upon Judah for turning from the Scriptures to false teachers. He denounced Israel for their heartless exploitation of the poor and persecution of true believers, their crass immorality and neglect of God. Their pursuit of carnal pleasure and their empty formalism in worship spelled their doom. Though destructive forces of locust plague and fiery drought might be restrained, the cities would be leveled and their idolatrous temple utterly destroyed (Hos. 9:1-10). But eventually the new age will come, followed by the millennial consummation (7:10-17 records a colorful clash between Amos and the priest of the royal sanctuary at Bethel, Amaziah). See AMOS, BOOK OF.

**4. Obadiah.** The whole book consists of just a single chapter; it seems to have been composed earliest of all, in the reign of Jehoram (848-841 B.C.), when the invading Philistines and Arabs were apparently assisted by the Edomites in their pillaging of Jerusalem (Obad. 11). God however, warned Edom that its capital city would be captured and destroyed because of their pride and bitter hatred of God's people—unless they heeded the warning of v. 13 ("You should not march through the gates of my people in the day of their disaster"). See OBADIAH, BOOK OF.

**5. Jonah.** Jonah, the disobedient prophet from GATH HEPHER in ZEBULUN, refused to go to NINEVEH and warn of coming judgment, but chose rather to take a ship for TARSHISH, in the W Mediterranean. A terrible storm threatened to sink the ship, and at Jonah's own insistence the sailors saved their lives by throwing Jonah overboard. He was rescued by a great fish, who kept him safe in its belly. After three days Jonah was ejected on the shore. Obedient at last, Jonah preached to the Ninevites so earnestly that the entire population repented and mourned before the Lord. Piqued because this dangerous foe of Israel was spared, Jonah sulked and grieved until God taught him a lesson in compassion by means of a quickly withering gourd plant, which had afforded him some welcome shade. See JONAH, BOOK OF.

**6. Micah.** This prophet was a contemporary of Isaiah in the 8th cent., sent to announce God's judgment upon both kingdoms because of their idolatry and violation of Scripture. After foretelling the inexorable advance of the Assyrian invaders, he denounced the rich for exploiting the poor, the

government for devouring its citizens, and the corrupt clergy for abandoning their duties toward God. But after their suffering, exile, and restoration to Palestine, there would be judgment upon their heathen foes as well. The divine-human Messiah, born in BETHLEHEM, would defend his flock and subdue the world, triumphing in the new age and in the millennium. First, however, Israel must learn that valid worship must be accompanied by holy living and a sincere trust in God's mercy and grace. See MICAH, BOOK OF.

**7. Nahum.** Living sometime between 650 and 625 B.C., Nahum proclaimed God's vengeance upon the brutally oppressive city of Nineveh, capital of the Assyrian empire. Foretelling the manner of its capture, he described the coming siege and destruction of the city (as later carried out by the Babylonians and Medes). For God's covenant people there will be restoration to favor and blessing upon those who repent. See NAHUM, BOOK OF.

**8. Habakkuk.** Habakkuk gave his message about 607 B.C., in the interval between the Battle of MEGIDDO (609) and that of CARCHEMISH (605). It consists of a dialogue between him and God concerning his providential dealings with Israel in the light of divine justice. Each anguished question was answered by God: the oppressive ruling classes of Judah would be punished by the Babylonians; the proud Babylonians in turn would be crushed because of their ruthless cruelty. "But the righteous will live by his faith" (Hab. 2:4), and regardless of circumstances he will rejoice in the Lord, even though all material blessings are stripped away from him. See HABAKKUK, BOOK OF.

**9. Zephaniah.** The message of Zephaniah, delivered early in the reign of Josiah (c. 625 B.C.), concerned the coming DAY OF THE LORD. The recent invasion of the SCYTHIANS (who overran the ANE c. 630) warned of God's coming judgment upon sinful Judah, Jerusalem, and all the nations surrounding Palestine. As surely as the humble, sincere believers sought the Lord and maintained a godly life (Zeph. 2:3), so God's blessed kingdom would come, and a godly remnant of true believers would inherit the earth in peace and plenty, and all surviving Gentiles would learn the same language of faith (3:9-10). Se ZEPHANIAH, BOOK OF.

**10. Haggai.** Haggai was perhaps the only completely successful prophet whose message has been preserved in the OT. After the return from Babylonian captivity, at a time when discouragements had arrested the rebuilding of the temple, Haggai roused his countrymen to resume this holy project, even though they lacked an up-to-date building permit and were hampered by straitened finances. Though less pretentious, this second temple would become more glorious than the first, for the Messiah (the "Desire of Nations") would some day enter it. Therefore Jews were to abjure all unholiness and selfishness (which thus far had led to crop failure and recession) and complete their center of worship to the glory of God. Within three years (i.e., 516 B.C.), the new temple was solemnly dedicated. See HAGGAI, BOOK OF.

**11. Zechariah.** A younger prophet, Zechariah aided Haggai in this effort (beginning in 519 B.C.), and related a series of eight encouraging visions the Lord had given him foretelling God's intervention on behalf of Israel and the successive destruction of their oppressors (Assyria, Babylon, Greece, and Rome). Half-desolate Jerusalem was to become large and populous, while Israel would be forgiven and purged of sin and serve as a lampstand of witness to the Gentiles. As a symbol of the coming Priest-King, the high priest Joshua (JESHUA) was solemnly crowned. The Palm Sunday entrance of

Christ into Jerusalem (Zech. 9:9-10) would usher in his program of redemption, even though he would at first be rejected as Israel's Good Shepherd in favor of the foolish shepherd (the false leaders of Judah). In the last days, Israel will be converted to faith in the Christ whom their forefathers "pierced" (12:10), as their heathen attackers go down in defeat before the miraculous strength of God's people. Idolatry shall forever be removed from Israel, and false prophets will be silenced. In the midst of their storming of Jerusalem, the godless invaders will suddenly be overwhelmed by divine intervention, and the millennial kingdom will be ushered in to dominate the entire world. See ZECHARIAH, BOOK OF.

**12. Malachi.** The last of the writing prophets, Malachi was sent to Judah c. 435 B.C. to summon the nation back to sincere piety and a loving response to the grace of God. The careless priests were no longer to permit blemished sacrifices on God's altar or to teach the law corruptly. Marriage with unbelievers was to be abjured and men were to return to their first wives. All tithes were to be rendered faithfully to the Lord (as a necessary prerequisite for his blessing on their crops), and the godly would be vindicated against the sneers of the cynical. After the ministry of Christ's forerunner (JOHN THE BAPTIST), the Lord himself would come and execute judgment upon all the ungodly in perfect justice.

**IV. Conclusion.** The above summarizes the contents and message of each of the thirty-nine books of the OT. Through the thousand years of its composition, the OT books revolved about the same redemptive theme—from the first promise to Eve (Gen. 3:15) to the final announcement (Mal. 3:1-3) of the coming of Christ—to bring to pass the covenant promises of God to believing Israel. The same exalted concept of one, true, sovereign God is maintained throughout, and in a very profound sense the OT contains the portrait of the Son of God. Its many predictions of future events subsequently fulfilled demonstrate its divine origin and authority and prepared the way for the NT ministry of Christ and his church. To Jesus and the apostles, it represented the infallible voice of God, and no word of the Hebrew Scripture could ever be broken. See also OLD TESTAMENT THEOLOGY and separate articles on individual books. G. L. ARCHER

**Old Testament canon.** See CANON (OT).

**Old Testament language.** See ARAMAIC LANGUAGE; HEBREW LANGUAGE.

**Old Testament text.** See TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (OT).

**Old Testament theology.** The knowledge of God as historically displayed in the Hebrew Scriptures. See also BIBLICAL THEOLOGY; NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY.

1. The discipline of OT theology
    1. Definition
    2. Relation to other disciplines
    3. History of OT theology
2. Basic concepts of OT theology
    1. God
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3. God's presence
4. King

## I. The discipline of OT theology

***A. Definition.*** Many modern scholars maintain a skepticism toward the theological consistency and validity of Scripture; correspondingly, they confess to their inability to agree upon a definition of biblical theology, other than as a description of what the differing biblical authors and redactors may have *thought* to have constituted theological truth (cf *IDB,* 1:418-19). Among evangelicals, however, it may be defined as study of the truthful biblical history of actual divine redemption.

**1. Historical.** Biblical theology deals with objective affairs and ideas, through a succession of time periods; for example, the divinely chosen nation of Israel was first raised up (Hos. 11:3) and then punished (v. 6). Chronology therefore constituted the organizing factor of biblical theology. The ever-present and basic question is, "When does a given event or concept appear?" Such points of occurrence may precede the composition of the biblical books in which the event is related; for example, the content of Gen. 3:15 dates to the time of ADAM, not to the time of MOSES who recorded it. Yet the interpretation of an occurrence may appear with its writing rather than with the event described; for example, the awareness of SATAN as indicated in 1 Chr. 21:1 dates to the author who recorded it (possibly EZRA), not to DAVID who held the census. Biblical theology is thus constructed on a time framework.

**2. Divine.** The basic commitment of biblical theology is to the reality of the biblical God, who actively communicates his will in history (Exod. 20:1; 1 Ki. 18:24, 39). It was because he had actually freed the Hebrews from Egypt, and because he had answered ELIJAH with real fire, that Israel knew that "Yahweh *[active presence],* he is God." Cf. G. Oehler's insistence upon biblical religion as a fact, not simply doctrinal belief *(Theology of the Old Testament* [1883], 6, 9-10, 13).

Arising from the divine character of biblical theology are four corollaries. (1) Biblical theology relates primarily to God. The Sinaitic COVENANT, for example, was fundamentally God's binding himself to save Israel (Exod. 6:7; 19:4), though the fact that he confronted Israel with his law assumes certain effects that relate secondarily to the people. (2) Since God both acts and thinks, biblical theology is concerned with both the doings of God, active revelation (revealing), and then as a result his truths, static revelation (knowledge revealed). The term REVELATION, however, implies in both instances manward effects as well. For example, God's covenant on Sinai resulted actively in things done for people: on earth Israel was granted possession of Canaan, and in eternity true Israelites inherit heaven's bliss. It also resulted statically in certain truths being revealed to human beings: the necessity of shedding life-blood (Christ's) for reconciliation with God, or the illegitimacy of false witnesses. E. J. Young rightly insists that without genuinely divine revelations one is not studying theology (*The Study of Old Testament Theology Today* [1958], 29-31). (3) Since there is but one God, it follows that biblical theology is an internally consistent unity, recorded under the guidance of one Spirit. (4) God has, however, spoken at different times in different ways (Heb. 1:1). As a result, biblical theology exhibits variety. It portrays a cumulative knowledge of the many facets of the living God. But because of the unity of biblical theology, this variation never means theological replacement, correction, or self-contradiction (1 Pet. 1:10-11). Instead, it means variety, supplementation, and clarification. See GOD, BIBLICAL DOCTRINE OF.

**3. Redemptive.** Biblical theology assumes the sinner's lost condition; but God is concerned about mankind's desperate plight: "How can I give you up?" (Hos. 11:8). His purpose in history is to bring sinners back to himself through Jesus Christ (2 Cor. 5:19); and, historically, God's revelation has appeared only in conjunction with God's REDEMPTION.

To this, another four corollaries appear. (1) Since redemption at all times has been in Christ (Jn. 14:6), Scripture presents but one plan of SALVATION. This is the most important single feature of the general unity of biblical theology. (2) Since God's redemptive acts were progressive, preparing the way for Christ who should come in the fullness of time (Gal. 4:4), the accompanying truths that were revealed show in most cases a progressive development. That is, God graciously unfolded both his redemption and his revelation in ways corresponding to man's capacities to receive them (cf. Acts 17:30). The variety of biblical theology is therefore that of an organic interrelationship, which results in a growing appreciation of God's redemptive plan. (3) Since redemption reaches its climax in Christ (Heb. 1:2), it is Christ who becomes the focal point of both the OT and NT (Acts 10:43). Thus, when Judaism seeks to make the OT an end in itself, it misses Christ who is its center, and therefore fails to grasp its true meaning (2 Cor. 3:14-16; cf. *IDB,* 1:423). (4) Since people today need this same redemption that God has revealed in Scripture, biblical theology constitutes an eminently practical guide to a God-blessed life of faith and practice.

**4. Biblical.** Biblical theology claims but one source of information for its knowledge of the will of God, namely, the sixty-six canonical books of the OT and NT. As the prophet Daniel put it, "I… perceived in the books" (Dan. 9:2 NRSV). Much of the APOCRYPHA, the PSEUDEPIGRAPHA, and the writings of the Qumran community (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS) arose, indeed, in the historical period between the Testaments. Because of their noninspired character, they cannot serve as sources for true biblical theology. Among writers who consider this discipline as nothing more than a description of Israel's beliefs during the biblical period, "the canon can have no crucial significance" (*IDB,* 1:428; see CANON OF THE OT). Evangelicals, however, equate the two concepts of SCRIPTURE and of special revelation. It is true that God historically used various means of special revelation—the Bible was itself one of these means. But the Bible is now the only extant record of the others. Biblical theology is therefore equivalent to the history of special revelation (G. Vos, *Biblical Theology: Old and New Testaments* [1948], 23).

***B. Relation to other disciplines.*** Theological study as a whole divides itself into the four major theological disciplines: *exegetical theology* (the study of the Bible); *historical theology* (church history, missions); *systematic theology* (dogmatics, philosophy of religion); and *practical theology* (homiletics, Christian education, etc.). According to this division, OT theology is part of exegetical theology.

**1. Exegetical theology.** This general discipline may be analyzed as follows: (1) *Backgrounds,* involving the historical appreciation of the Bible and including biblical geography, ANE history, biblical archaeology, and ANE religions. (2) *Content,* or the linguistic appreciation of the Bible, which includes the biblical languages (Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek), related languages, hermeneutics, and exegesis. (3) *Criticism,* or the literary appreciation of the Bible, a topic covered in both general introduction (lower or textual criticism) and special introduction (higher criticism). (4) *Truth,* or revelational appreciation of the Bible, treated in biblical apologetics and biblical theology.

Each of the other exegetical subdivisions provides prerequisites that are necessary for the construction of a valid biblical theology. The background studies make meaningful the life situations in which God revealed himself to his people; history was the medium of divine revelation. Furthermore, it is historical knowledge of the religions of the pagans who surrounded Israel that serves to explain certain terms or forms that God chose to use in his own true religion. The very name of God in biblical Hebrew, which is a Canaanite language, illustrates this point (see GOD, NAMES OF). Again, the errors of the pagan religions serve both to underline the contrasting excellencies of the faith of the saints (G. E. Wright, *The Old Testament against Its Environment* [1950]) and to explain why similar superstitions came to arise among the apostate in Israel (cf. 1 Ki. 18:26-28).

Concerning biblical content, it is only after a careful exegesis of the text of Scripture, in its original language and by sound hermeneutical principles, that the reformulation of its teachings may be undertaken in biblical theology. This, in turn, assumes the practice of sound textual criticism, to reconstruct as closely as possible the readings of the original, inspired MSS. It also presupposes the determination of the canon, designating which books are the ones from God.

Biblical theology also is dependent upon higher criticism, for it is the date critically assigned to a given biblical writing that helps determine the chronological position of its ideas, though the reverse is true as well: it is the theology that constitutes the prime factor in determining the placement of undated books, such as JOB. This connection with criticism is what vitiates much of the modern writing in biblical theology for those committed to Scripture. If, for example, Leviticus be dated, not to the time of Moses (as Lev. 1:1 and Rom. 10:5 indicate), but centuries or even a millennium later, as skeptical criticism proposes, then the chronology of revelation is thrown into chaos; in fact, the certainty and very existence of revelation as a historical reality is brought into question. This in turn illustrates the significance of biblical apologetics, upon the success of which a true biblical theology depends. Built as it is, then, upon these prerequisite studies, biblical theology stands as a crown to the discipline of exegetical theology.

Regarded otherwise, biblical theology exists as the mid-point in a series of three theological studies that deal with the nature of religion; but it must be carefully distinguished from both of the others.

**2. The history of religion.** Israel's faith is a subject of study, along with that of the other religions of the ANE. As a discipline, it asks, "What did Israel believe?" It concerns human ideas. But although some of Israel's leaders were truly taught of God, even the best failed to grasp all that God had revealed (Dan. 12:8; 1 Pet. 1:10-11); and the common people could become worse than the surrounding heathen (Jer. 2:11). Biblical theology, belonging by contrast to the revelational division of exegetical theology, asks, "What did God reveal?" At given points in Israel's history this may have been largely identical with the religious beliefs of the nation's contemporaneous spiritual leaders, but there are still significant differences. Considered as the sum total of God's thoughts that had been revealed up to a certain time, biblical theology thus excludes all false human concepts (1 Jn. 1:5). It also adds truths, some of which may have been undiscoverable (Gen. 1) or even incomprehensible to the contemporary human insight (Jn. 11:49-52). For messages may be verbally revealed and recorded before being fully appreciated; "revelation" must not be confused with a person's perhaps delayed understanding.

**3. Systematic theology.** This last subject-area builds upon exegetical theology, but it exists as a separate theological discipline. Systematic theology concerns timeless knowledge, without direct

reference to the circumstances of its communication. It asks, "What is true of God?" It contains the same facts as biblical theology (provided one assumes true doctrine to be necessarily biblical); but it arranges them in a topical synthesis, rather than in the order of their revelation as does biblical theology.

As an illustration for the approaches of the three methods, when Ps. 2:7 states, "He [Yahweh] said to me, 'You are my son, today I have begotten you'" (NRSV), the history of religions recalls ANE beliefs in the adoption of kings by gods, or even in the outright deity of kings. This same interpretation is therefore assigned to Scripture. Antisupernaturalistic history of religion indeed rules out any revelatory possibility. For example, one scholar comments, "In Ps. 2, probably the coronation ode of a king of Judah, the ruler is hailed as having just become God's son:…the 'begetting' must mean adoption.…This presupposes that these psalms were not originally meant to refer to the future Messiah" (M. Burrows, *An Outline of Biblical Theology* [1946], 99). Such an approach refuses to consider the repeated word (Acts 13:33; Heb. 1:5; 5:5) that God inspired David to describe Christ, the Messiah. It "presupposes" that what was "originally meant" must be limited to the mind of the human author, or, more exactly, to an antisupernaturalistic reconstruction of what might have been in the mind of the human author.

True biblical theology, by contrast, accepts Ps. 2:7 at face value as a description revealed by God himself. "The words, 'You are my son,' occur nowhere in the OT in the sense of adoption. Only in Ps. 2:7 do we find the expression that God begot, or gave birth to a specific person. The Messiah (the very word appears in v. 2) accordingly is the Son of God in a most unique way" (P. Heinisch, *Theology of the Old Testament* [1940], 347). Systematic theology then proceeds to assert the doctrines of the TRINITY and of the nature and states of Christ, not simply as what is true of God, but also as the explanation for the form of Ps. 2, in combination with such a passage as Jn. 1:18 (cf. L. Berkhof, *Textual Aid to Systematic Theology* [1942], 72). Both methods must be employed with proper understanding: systematics must be on guard against using the Davidic verse without the Johannine text in accompaniment, while biblical theology must guard itself against reading back into the Davidic revelation more than God had actually revealed at that time (e.g., Christ's preexistence).

***C. History of OT theology.*** The OT was appreciated by its contemporaries as a revelatory source book (Ps. 78; Jer. 26:18; Ezra 7:10; Neh. 8:1-8). Jesus Christ considered it descriptive of his own teaching and work (Matt. 5:17; Lk. 4:17-21; 24:27), and his apostles used it to define both God's previous acts in history (Acts 7; 13:16-41) and his continuing message to the NT church (Acts 2:16, 25; Matt. 1:22); but biblical theology was not yet an organized study.

**1. Preparations.** The early patristic church, with its sense of the historical accomplishment of salvation, prepared the way for the discipline of biblical theology. The church's first great thinker, IRENAEUS (c. A.D. 180), wrote as an essentially biblical theologian emphasizing that the unity of God's progressive revelation is one of extension and of fulfillment *(Against Heresies* 4.13.1; 4.32.1; cf. AUGUSTINE's analysis of OT revelation on the basis of five historical periods, *City of God* 15-17). But the patristic church had also inherited from Alexandrian Judaism an allegorical method of interpreting the OT that divorced it from the literal history of Israel. Then, with the replacement of biblical authority by that of ecclesiastical tradition under medieval Roman Catholicism, biblical theology was condemned to abeyance for over one thousand years.

The Protestant Reformation in the 16th cent. reestablished two principles that were prerequisites to the development of biblical theology: "the analogy of Scripture" recognized that the Bible is its

own best interpreter, and "the literal sense" made possible a revival of interest in the truly historical development of revelation. Later, John Cocceius (1603-69) organized his "federal theology," around God's successively revealed covenants—of works, with Adam in his innocency, and of grace, concerning God's redemptive activity with fallen man—and thus grasped Scripture's own key to the progress of divine revelation. Johann Bengel then related his practical piety to the progressive stages of historical revelation in his *Ordo temporum* (1741); but the conflict with Roman sacerdotalism restricted the reformers into an understandable emphasis upon the final results of theology, rather than upon the unfolding of its earlier, OT stages.

**2. Nineteenth century.** The birth of biblical theology may be dated to John Philip Gabler's oration of 1787, "Concerning the Correct Distinction between Biblical and Dogmatic Theology" in which he described the former as "the religious ideas of Scripture, so as to distinguish the different times and subjects, and so also the different stages in the development of these ideas." This required the separation of OT and NT theology, and the first theology of the OT was that of L. Bauer in 1796. Since Gabler tended to distinguish biblical theology from dogmatic theology by his rationalistic approach to the former, Bible-believing scholars were slow to recognize the possibilities that lay in the employment of progressive revelation to confirm rather than to explain away the supernatural. It was E. W. Hengstenberg who first demonstrated the value of OT theology in his monumental *Christology of the Old Testament* (1829-35). Other significant works were J. H. Kurtz's *History of the Old Covenant* (1853-58); K. A. Auberlen's *Divine Revelation: An Essay in Defence of the Faith* (1867); and the major work of H. Schultz, *Old Testament Theology* (1869). G. Oehler's *Old Testament Theology* (1883) is still one of the most adequate complete treatments of the subject. A. B. Davidson's *The Theology of the Old Testament* (1904) has had probably the most influence among English books and was only partially affected by the author's final acceptance of destructive higher criticism of the OT.

**3. Historicism.** L. Bauer's initial OT theology in 1796 had freely dismissed certain aspects of OT thought as but "the weaker philosophy of the Hebrews"; and the "historicists" who succeeded him went on to assume that God did not really communicate his will, that only what could be explained upon a theory of religious evolution might be considered historical, and that biblical truths must stand trial before the bar of human rationalism. Assuming dominance in Germany, its advocates included DeWette (1813); Von Cölln (1836); Kue-nen (1869); Hitzig (1880); Reuss (1886); Smend (1893); Budde (1900); Marti (1907); and Kautzsch (1911). Later works, in English, were H. Wheeler Robinson's *The Religious Ideas of the Old Testament* (1913); H. P. Smith's *The Religion of Israel* (1914); and W. O. E. Oesterley and T. H. Robinson's *Hebrew Religion: Its Origin and Development* (1937). There were a host of others, the very titles to which indicate the historicism of their contents. Later, and more extreme, were T. J. Meek, *Hebrew Origins* (1950), and R. H. Pfeiffer's posthumous *Religion in the Old Testament* (1961).

In reaction against rationalistic historicism, there arose in 19th-cent. Europe two different movements: one in Germany known for its emphasis on *Heilsgeschichte* (salvation history) and one in Britain known as *dispensationalism.* For the former, J. C. K. Hoffmann's treatise "Sacred History" emphasized the truth of God's redemptive activity in history, though to the detriment of written revelation. The OT scholar Franz Delitzsch (d. 1890) is considered a product of *Heilsgeschichte* theology; and, while it ceased in 1931 as a distinct school at Erlangen, its effects appear in the *God in History* of O. Piper (1939); *God Who Acts* of G. E. Wright (1944); and the OT theology of O.

Procksch (1956).

As for dispensationalism, the withdrawal of J. N. Darby (d. 1882) from the liberal Church of England led to the Plymouth Brethren rejection of the whole concept of church organization as apostate. The true NT church (subsequent to Palm Sunday) was thus sharply distinguished from organized Israel, either of the OT, or of the future earthly kingdom. Brethren dispensationalism has been widely popularized by the notes of the *Scofield Reference Bible* of 1917 (rev. 1967). Meanwhile, the dark night of historicism settled over the church: for almost half a century, following the posthumous appearance of Oehler's work in 1873, Protestant Germany failed to produce a single biblical theology.

**4. Neoorthodoxy.** The insufficiency, however, of the man-made religion with which historicism left its devotees was made all too clear by the disillusionment that followed upon Germany's defeat in World War I. Desperate people were seeking a clearer note of authority than hypotheses of evolutionary naturalism, and were beginning to ask of the biblical scholars not simply, "What *did* it mean?" but also, "What *does* it mean?" Instead of a consistent biblical Christianity, the movement that has arisen to fill the gap is variously identified as "neoorthodoxy" or "Crisis theology," and sometimes as "Barthianism" because of its initial dependence upon the writings of Karl Barth *(Epistle to the Romans* [1919]) and his insistence that while the Bible *was not* the Word of God it could *become* the Word of God, namely, the medium for an existential encounter of the living God with a person. The year 1922 then witnessed the publishing of a theology of the OT by E. König, more systematic than historical; and 1926, that of O. Eissfeldt, which categorically denied the possibility of any real activity of God in history, just as had the historicists, but at the same time sought to maintain a theology that was "real" in the existential sense: subjective and distinct from history.

In the next ten years there appeared in Germany three major works of OT theology: none was willing to accept the whole OT as God's truth, but each did find within it certain teachings that were considered divinely significant. Most important was W. Eichrodt's three-volume *Theology of the Old Testament* (1933-39; English, 1961-67), centering about the reality of God's covenant with Israel. E. Sellin's two-volume work (1933) commenced as a history of religion but then accepted as true theology such teachings as Sellin found to be fulfilled in the gospel, especially the holiness of God. L. Köhler's *Old Testament Theology* (1936; English, 1957) sought to bring unity out of the variety of the OT by focusing on the thought of God as Lord. The effect of these three was revolutionary.

T. C. Vriezen of Holland *(An Outline of Old Testament Theology,* 1949; English, 1958) and E. Jacob of France *(Theology of the Old Testament,* 1955; English, 1958) maintain that the OT is to be understood from its fulfillment in Jesus Christ. The study of Barth's disciple, W. Vischer, *The Witness of the Old Testament to Christ* (1949), appears almost as the work of a conservative Bible believer. Others, such as G. von Rad's *Old Testament Theology* (1957-60; English, 1962-66), are limited to reinterpretations of much-varying strata of Israelitish traditions. All continue to cling to the destructive higher criticism of the OT associated with Wellhausen and demand abandonment of the Reformation principle of "the analogy of Scripture" if one is to construct "Biblical theology in the modern sense" (R. Dentan, *Preface to Old Testament Theology,* rev. ed. [1946], 6).

Yet, however unstable and inconsistent this combination of intellectual self-determinism with a biblical gospel may seem to be, neoorthodoxy has swept the theological scene. In Scandinavia the stress has been upon God's working through ancient Hebrew sociology and upon the cultic origin of much of the OT; note J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture* (1926-40). In Israel, Y. Kaufmann's *Religion of Israel* (1960) views the OT as dominated by a popular monotheism instituted by Moses.

In England the leading neoorthodox spirit has been H. H. Rowley (e.g., *The Relevance of the Bible* [1941] and *The Faith of Israel* [1956]), with a host of specialized studies by A. G. Hebert, C. B. North, W. J. T. Phythian-Adams, and N. H. Snaith, among others. American neoorthodoxy has produced G. E. Wright, *The Challenge of Israel's Faith* (1944), the more liberal theologies of M. Burrows (1946) and O. Baab (1949), and G. A. F. Knight's *A Christian Theology of the Old Testament* (1959); various works by J. Bright, R. C. Dentan, P. Minear, and others; articles in the journal *Interpretation,* devoted to neoorthodox biblical theology, and the dozens of monographs in the *Studies in Biblical Theology* series, edited by G. E. Wright and H. H. Rowley.

**5. Twentieth-century conservatism.** Though scarcely acknowledged by the historicists and neoorthodox, Bible believers are becoming increasingly articulate in the realm of biblical theology. Early 20th-cent. England produced, confessedly, few conservative works (though cf. R. B. Girdlestone's *Old Testament Theology and Modern Ideas* [1909]); but the center of gravity had shifted across the Atlantic. For thirty years the stronghold of orthodoxy lay in Princeton Theological Seminary in New Jersey. There the standard for consecrated OT study that had been set by the publications of W. H. Green in the 1890s was maintained by men such as J. D. Davis, G. Vos, B. B. Warfield, and R. D. Wilson. The *Princeton Theological Review* served as a chief outlet for major articles and reviews until its discontinuance at the more liberal reorganization of the seminary in 1929. At neighboring New Brunswick, J. H. Raven published *The History of the Religion of Israel* (1933), commencing with the revelations God granted to Adam, but extending only to the reign of Manasseh, in which Raven placed the book of Job. Outstanding is G. Vos's *Biblical Theology,* compiled in 1948 after his retirement.

The Princeton position has been perpetuated at Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, of whose OT representatives O. T. Allis has been the guiding genius: *Prophecy and the Church* (1945); *God Spake By Moses* (1951). Until his death in 1968, Westminster's E. J. Young was perhaps America's leading evangelical OT scholar; his theological publications include *My Servants the Prophets* (1952) and *The Study of Old Testament Theology Today* (1958). The acute Bible-centered reasoning of his colleague John Murray is represented in *The Covenant of Grace* (1953) and *Principles of Conduct* (1957). In addition, the *Westminster Theological Journal* publishes significant OT articles.

The years since 1950 have been marked by a revival of American evangelical scholarship in other independent and small-denominational conservative institutions. Gordon Divinity School (now Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary) in Massachusetts led in the founding in 1949 of the Evangelical Theological Society. By holding firmly to the inerrancy of the biblical autographs, this organization (through its quarterly journal and other publications) has proved a rallying point for Bible-believing theologians. J. B. Payne of the Wheaton College Graduate School of Theology produced the comprehensive *Theology of the Older Testament* (1962). Dispensationalism has received scholarly leadership from Dallas Theological Seminary via its journal, *Bibliotheca Sacra;* witness also M. F. Unger, *Biblical Demonology* (1952); J. D. Pentecost, *Things to Come* (1958); and C. C. Ryrie, *Dispensationalism Today* (1965). Baptist conservatism, though on the wane, has produced W. Watts' two-volume work, *A Survey of Old Testament Teaching* (1947). In England a similar evangelical revival is represented by the Tyndale Fellowship with its annual *Tyndale Bulletin,* and with an Australian branch organized in 1956.

On the continent, neoorthodoxy did all but destroy what historicism may have left of believing scholarship; yet note the stress on verbal plenary inspiration in W. and H. Möller's OT theology

(1938), and the outline studies of E. Sauer. Roman Catholicism, prior to its capitulation to negative higher criticism as documented at Vatican Council II, also produced M. Hetzenauer's OT theology (1908); and P. Heinisch's *Theology of the Old Testament* (1940; English, 1955) towers far above the contemporary works of Protestant neoorthodoxy.

(Since the initial publication of the present encyclopedia, "Biblical Theology"—if defined as a movement usually associated with neoorthodoxy—has declined partly as a result of scholarly criticism, an influential example being J. Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* [1961]. Numerous publications, however, have continued to investigate the theological contents of the Hebrew Scriptures. Many of these works deal with specific themes. The following titles, however, seek to synthesize OT teaching as a whole or to provide historical surveys and methodological evaluations, and they represent a wide variety of viewpoints. J. L. McKenzie, A *Theology of the Old Testament* [1974];W. Zimmerli, *Old Testament Theology in Outline* [1978]; W. C. Kaiser, *Toward an Old Testament Theology* [1978]; R. E. Clements, *Old Testament Theology: A Fresh Approach* [1978]; C. Westermann, *Elements of Old Testament Theology* [1982]; H. G. Reventlow, *Problems of Old Testament Theology in the Twentieth Century* [1985]; J. H. Hayes, *Old Testament Theology: Its History and Development* [1985]; B. S. Childs, *Old Testament Theology in a Canonical Context* [1986]; G. F. Hasel, *Old Testament Theology: Basic Issues in the Current Debate,* 4th ed. [1991]; R. L. Smith, *Old Testament Theology: Its History, Method and Message* [1993]; L. G. Perdue, *The Collapse of History: Reconstructing Old Testament Theology* [1994]; J. H. Sailhamer, *Introduction to Old Testament Theology: A Canonical Approach* [1995]; H. D. Preuss, *Old Testament Theology, 2* vols. [1995-96]; R. P. Knierim, *The Task of Old Testament Theology* [1995]; W. Brueggemann, *Theology of the Old Testament: Testimony, Dispute, Advocacy* [1997]; E. A. Martens, *God's Design: A Focus on Old Testament Theology,* 3rd ed. [1998]; P. R. House, *Old Testament Theology* [1998]; J. Barr, *The Concept of Biblical Theology: An Old Testament Perspective* [1999]; B. W. Anderson, *Contours of Old Testament Theology* [1999]; E. S. Gersten-berger, *Theologies in the Old Testament* [2002]; S. G. Dempster, *Dominion and Dynasty: A Biblical Theology of the Hebrew Bible* [2003]; J. Goldingay, *Old Testament Theology,* 3 vols. [2003-]; B. C. Ollen-burger, ed., *Old Testament Theology: Flowering and Future,* 2nd ed. [2004]; E. H. Merrill, *Everlasting Dominion: A Theology of the Old Testament* [2006]; B. K. Waltke, An *Old Testament Theology* [2007].)

J. B. PAYNE

## II. Basic concepts of OT theology

### *A. God*

**1. Existence of God.** The OT never argues for the existence of God (unless the book of Job is regarded as an exception) but assumes it as self-evident truth, necessary to all subsequent rational thought. None but a fool denies it (Ps. 14:1). It is no accident that the Bible begins with God (Gen. 1:1); and it is characteristic of OT thought that this is assumed as self-evident rather than proved, and introduced in a concrete situation, rather than in the abstract. This, however, is not a question-begging assumption; it corresponds to the modern insight that, if God is anywhere, he is everywhere, and that, since he is the basis of all proof, he is as incapable of proof as proof itself. Thus, as surely as the author of Hebrews, the author of Genesis knows that, to establish any effective communication with God, belief in his existence is a prerequisite (Heb. 11:6). Nor is this an OT belief that becomes outmoded as culture gradually comes of age.

**2. Activity of God.** The Hebrew was not interested in proving the existence of God, because bare existence, without responsiveness, was meaningless to him (again there is a parallel with the thought of Heb. 11:6). To the Hebrew, it was the active presence of God that was all-important; indeed, his saving activity followed from his very nature. So to say that Yahweh "had visited his people" (Ruth 1:6 KJV) is typical of OT thought. When the OT wishes to deny the reality of other gods, it does so by mocking their inability to act in any given situation (1 Ki. 18:27). By contrast, the favorite and most binding Hebrew oath was by the life of Yahweh (v. 15) because, to them, his life and activity were the most stable elements of the whole universe. Characteristically, God is not described in abstract terms as dynamic or active, but he is shown as such from the dawn of time, in the creation of the world (Gen. 1-2). Nothing could be further from the so-called "death of God" theology than this buoyant faith of the OT in the God who is eternally living and active.

**3. Personality of God.** It could be argued that this type of saving presence and purposive activity implies from the start at least what among humans is called personality. To attribute this to God is not to limit him, but simply to describe him in the highest categories known to human beings, while at the same time recognizing their inadequacy, as the Hebrew certainly did (Isa. 55:9). The personality of God is brought out in the OT in several ways. The first is to be found in simple ANTHROPOMORPHISMS, as in Gen. 1:3-4 (God said, God saw, God separated, God called, etc.). These express, in an unsophisticated way, a deep theological truth—that God is active in every area of being. Israel's faith knew not so much an anthropomorphic God as theomorphic men, at least in their unfallen state (v. 26). A second way in which the personality of God is stressed is by the continual use of divine names in the OT; of these the great Mosaic title of Yahweh is the best known (Exod. 3:15), whether used alone or in combination. To the Hebrew, NAME is much the same as the modern concept of personality; the modern view that a name is merely accidental noise by which a particular object is signified was foreign to their thought. That is why, in the TEN COMMANDMENTS, to take Yahweh's name in vain (i.e., to swear falsely by him) is such a serious crime (Exod. 20:7). See also GOD, NAMES OF.

**4. Revelation of God.** In our day, God is often described as "the God who acts," and the theology of the OT is seen as a recital of the saving acts of God, often by cultic prophets and in the liturgical context of the temple worship. Thus, every act of God from creation onward is also a REVELATION.

Historically, this is a reaction against excessively intellectual views of revelation, and is true as far as it goes, since it insists that God wants to reveal himself, and also has the power to make that communication. Indeed this emphasis on God's revelation as being through his *ways* or *acts* is biblical (Ps. 103:7). The recital of the saving acts of Yahweh is not only envisaged, but also exemplified in DEBORAH's Song (Jdg. 5:11). The God of the OT is from the beginning the God who speaks as well as the God who acts (Gen. 1:3); indeed it is often through his word that he acts, as in Genesis (cf. Isa. 55:11 and Ps. 33:6). Further, it is by God's words that the meaning of God's acts is made plain (e.g. Gen. 1:26 explains v. 27) and thus only are they given a moral content. It is typical of the OT to describe prophetic interpretation of God's acts as "the word of Yahweh came to" so and so (Hos. 1:1), or "thus says Yahweh" (Amos 1:3). Act plus interpretation equals revelation that can be understood by human beings; for act is explained by word, and word is made sure by act.

**5. Nature of God.** God's nature is intimately connected with his revelation, for he shows himself to be *spiritual* and *moral*. While the Bible is clear that human beings have been created in the IMAGE OF

GOD (Gen. 1:26) and that God wants to communicate with them (3:9), it never identifies God with part or the whole of the universe that he made; still less does it identify him either with us or with any of our ultimate concerns. God is apart from human beings, utterly distinct from them, and far transcending them (Isa. 55:9).

To use the terminology of Genesis, taken up in many parts of the OT, God is SPIRIT, and man is FLESH (Gen. 6:3). Flesh implies limitation, weakness, and transience; because man is a fallen creature, this implies a tendency to SIN, although the OT nowhere sees flesh in itself (man considered as a natural creature) as sinful. Spirit is the opposite of all these; but again it is typical of the OT that, great as the gulf is, God can and does span it. God's spirit can live in a human being (Gen. 6:3) or come upon him (Jdg. 11:29). Because of this belief, it was a natural outcome that, at least from the time of Moses, the WORSHIP of Israel was aniconic (Exod. 20:4); no material form or shape could be a symbol of such a God.

Even in the Genesis story, moreover, God's activity is not arbitrary, but morally directed; if Adam and Eve are expelled from paradise, it is as a punishment for sin (Gen. 3:23). Blessing and curse are alike morally motivated, for God is morally predictable, unlike the Baals of Canaan (Mal. 3:6). This alone makes the continuous process of revelation in the OT possible; otherwise, there would be only a series of disconnected events. With the revelation at Sinai, this becomes even clearer; the Ten Commandments (to the Hebrew the *ten words* of revelation) are a definition of God in terms of moral concepts, worked out in a pattern of relationships (Exod. 20:1 – 7). The whole of the rest of the OT is a struggle to maintain this principle, in the face of the nonmoral concepts of God held by the pagan nations around Israel.

***B. Covenant.*** The Hebrews traced the theme of COVENANT in the OT as far back as NOAH (Gen. 9:8), or implicitly as far back as ADAM (1:27-29). Insofar as the very act of CREATION constituted an indissoluble bond between God and humanity, they were doubtless correct; nevertheless the concept takes on a new importance in the case of ABRAHAM (15:7-21). The material elements of Abraham's covenant are both common and contemporary, to judge from the evidence of the AMORITE documents from MARI, and from the so-called "suzerainty treaties" made by HITTITE kings with their subjects (see TREATY); but as far as is known, the religious interpretation is peculiarly Israelite. This is the more important since "covenant" is the basic Hebrew category to describe the relationship of God with his people, or of a person with other human beings.

For instance, to the Jew, even physical relationships (Amos 1:9) are regarded as natural bonds or covenants, whose breach will call down God's anger. Distinct from these are what might be called artificial covenants, made by human beings; but no Hebrew would have regarded them as artificial, for they were expected to lead to a relationship just as potent and lasting as that of blood. Perhaps the covenant of MARRIAGE (Mal. 2:14) is one of these; certainly the various contacts and agreements of daily life in OT days would come under this heading. It is in this context that God's covenant with Abraham should be seen; and certainly, like all such covenants, it was sealed by a sacrifice involving bloodshed (Gen. 15:9-10). This point is even clearer in connection with the covenant at Sinai, where the blood is scattered over the people, as well as dashed on the altar of Yahweh (Exod. 24:6-8). Henceforth, Israel is Yahweh's child (Deut. 14:1 with Exod. 4:22).

**1. Signs of the covenant.** All such early covenants had some external material symbol associated with them, as visible guarantee of the accompanying promises. The simplest and most general was common salt (2 Chr. 13:5) which therefore figures largely in Israel's sacrificial worship (Lev. 2:13).

See COVENANT OF SALT. The symbol of Abraham's covenant was CIRCUMCISION, binding on all his descendants if they wished to consider themselves in this relationship to Yahweh (Gen. 17:9-14). It is probable that the older prohibition of the eating of blood (9:4) was likewise embodied in this new covenant; certainly both were retained as signs of the great Sinai covenant, which so far overshadows the others in Hebrew minds that to them it is "the covenant." In later days, the written deed of contract would be the sign (Jer. 32:9-14). Even in earlier days, the law—or more likely, a portion of it—may have had the same significance (Exod. 24:7, "the Book of the Covenant").

**2. Response to the covenant.** Such covenants, if commercial contracts, might be between equals. The covenant made by Yahweh with Abraham, however, was no more a covenant between equals than when a Hittite overlord graciously accepted under his protection some subject people. Yahweh was the initiator; all the promises were his (Gen. 12:2-3), for Abraham was not asked to promise anything in return (contrast the Sinai covenant). All that Yahweh demanded from men and women was trust, and the obedience that expressed it (v. 4). Indeed, so important was this "faith-obedience" that, on the basis of it, Yahweh freely accepted sinners with all their imperfections (15:6). This acceptance was to become the root of the great biblical doctrine of JUSTIFICATION by FAITH. True, Abraham is told to walk before Yahweh and to be blameless (Gen. 17:1); but this probably refers more to single-minded faith than to moral perfection.

**3. The covenant as revelation.** In early days, such a covenant was often marked by the use of a new name for God (Gen. 17:1, EL SHADDAI; Exod. 20:2, Yahweh) and sometimes also a new name for the individual concerned (Gen. 17:5, Abraham; 32:28, Jacob). Presumably this corresponds to the new revelation of God brought by such a covenant, and the transforming effect in the individual produced by the new relationship with such a God. Therefore subsequent generations of Israelites can and will appeal to God on the grounds of the revelation to Abraham (24:12). The OT does not talk in the abstract of the immutability of God (although see Mal. 3:6), but such a doctrine is a necessary corollary. God's unfailing attitude to those within this covenant-bond is *ḥesed H2876* ("steadfast love"; Gen. 24:12 and Exod. 20:6).

**4. The terms of the covenant.** The covenant with Abraham is not so much abrogated as absorbed by the better-known covenant of Sinai; Yahweh is still the God of Abraham (Exod. 3:15), but he is now also the One who brought Israel out of Egyptian slavery (20:2). It is not until the last days of Israel's history, when the nation is small and without hope, that the people turn again to Abraham's covenant (Isa. 51:2). It had been an unconditional covenant, dependent only on a person's willingness to accept it and to receive the sign of circumcision which marked it. But in the case of the covenant made at Sinai, there were more searching demands, not as the price of the covenant, but as the price of maintenance of the new relationship into which the covenant introduced the nation.

The Ten Commandments (Exod. 20:1-17) stand at the heart of the Sinai covenant, not only as defining the nature of the God of the covenant, but also as defining the duties of the covenant people, both toward that God and toward one another. In fact, they (or similar commandments) are explicitly the terms upon which the covenant was made (Exod. 24:7 and 34:27). This sort of stipulation was not unknown in the ancient world, even outside the religious sphere. For instance, the Hittite king might forbid his subjects to enter into treaty relations with other possible overlords as a condition of his acceptance of them. Apart from this general presentation, the clearest definition both of the nature of God's moral demands, and the reason for them, is contained in Lev. 19:2, "Be holy because I, the

LORD [Yahweh] your God, am holy." Put more briefly, the theological reason for any moral demand may be phrased simply as "I am the LORD your God" (v. 3).

**5. Choice and the covenant.** While God's choice of Israel is clear, there is also a sense in which human beings are called to make a definite choice in response. This is true even in the case of the patriarchs; it is abundantly true in the case of Israel, where a definite affirmation of choice is demanded (Exod. 24:7). This is reiterated at the various later renewals of the covenant (e.g., Josh. 24:24) and therefore seems to be an essential part of it. The one difference is that human choice is fickle and erratic, as realized even by OT leaders (Josh. 24:19-20), while God's is eternal and immutable (Isa. 49:15).

**6. Later covenants.** In the OT, though the Sinai covenant was the greatest, it was not the last. Associated with it, for example, was the Levitical covenant, governing the constitution of the priesthood in Israel (Num. 25:13). Growing from the history of the covenant people came the Davidic covenant (2 Sam. 7), which governed the nature of kingship. Even in the darkest days of her history, the knowledge of God's covenant never left Israel; but there came a deepening of her own consciousness of failure to keep the covenant. Out of this was born the richest concept of the OT. Jeremiah proclaims the coming of the "new covenant," this time inward, not merely outward, and carrying within itself the power to fulfill itself in the hearts of men (Jer. 31:31). See COVENANT, THE NEW.

**7. Sacrifice and the covenant.** Covenants in Israel were initiated by SACRIFICE; this is clearest in the case of Abraham (Gen. 15:9) and Moses (Exod. 24:5). Indeed, the peculiarity of Israel lay not so much in her sacrificial system as in the relation of sacrifice to covenant. All Israel's sacrifices could be explained as introducing the covenant, or maintaining the covenant (e.g., sin-offerings), or enjoying the benefits of the covenant and expressing consequent gratitude (whole burnt-offerings, peace offerings, etc).

***C. God's presence.*** Another important area for the understanding of the OT theology is the manner in which God was thought of as living among men. There is no evidence in the biblical texts for any fixed place of worship in patriarchal days; there is not even evidence for a portable shrine as used during the days of the exodus. Certainly the patriarchs erected altars in any place where a vision, dream, or theophany had convinced them that God was peculiarly present. The reaction of JACOB at Luz is typical (Gen. 28:17), when he realizes with awe God's presence and activity. The standing pillar of stone (later forbidden to Israel, because of its association with BAAL worship; Exod. 34:13) symbolized God's presence, and even his dwelling place, as the name BETHEL ("God's house") suggests, and as Jacob's own words indicate (Gen. 28:22). In early days before the law, this primitive view was innocent enough.

**1. Symbols of God's presence.** If God's presence and saving activity among his people was symbolized by a stone pillar in Jacob's day, it was symbolized by a tent in the days of the exodus, and by a TEMPLE from the time of Solomon onward. Admittedly, in detail the plan of the later temple differs from that of the earlier TABERNACLE; the point at issue is, however, not the elaborateness and extent of the symbolism but its existence. It is also true that there were less static and more dynamic symbols of the divine presence in such phenomena as the column of the cloud (Exod. 33:9), lightning,

thunder, storm, darkness, wind, earthquake, bushfire, etc. These, although less exposed to the dangers attendant on static symbols, were at best temporary, not permanent. Even the mysterious manifestation referred to in the OT as Yahweh's GLORY (Exod. 16:10), or in later days as the SHEKINAH, the visible sign of God's presence, seems to have come under this heading.

**2. Reason for these symbols.** The reason for the choice of these symbols is not hard to see. In fully pastoral-nomadic days, the symbol must be a natural object to mark a spot, so that it can be recognized again when the NOMADS return. As against this, when the semisettled Israelites left Egypt, they used a portable shrine (as other desert people have been known to do) that resembled the tents that they lived in themselves. The inner division of the tabernacle seems to correspond to the two familiar divisions of the nomad's tent, and possibly the outer perimeter corresponds to some kind of stock enclosure. God was thus in either case using a symbol of his presence familiar to daily life. The same could be said of the temple; when people had lived in tents, God had used the symbol of a holy tent. Now that they lived in houses, God would use the symbol of a holy house (or, more prob., the symbolism of a king's palace), for this is the true meaning of Hebrew *hêkāl H2121* (from Sumer. *ē-gal,* "great house").

**3. Increasing remoteness of symbolism.** All such symbolism was valuable, expressing the purpose of man's creation as being fellowship with God. That there were difficulties involved from the start, arising from human fallen nature, was clear; this was symbolized by the "bipartite" construction of both tent and temple, denying easy access to God's presence. It is also well-symbolized by the early Mosaic tradition that Yahweh's meeting tent had been pitched in the middle of Israel's camp. After the great desert revolt, the tent was pitched away from the main camp (Exod. 33:7), so that the approach to God was no longer easy for the ordinary Israelite.

The same process is probably to be seen in the development of the professional priesthood. See PRIESTS AND LEVITES. In patriarchal days, there was no such group in Israel; even as late as Sinai, Exod. 24:5 tells of young men sacrificing animals. Later, however, the holiness of God and the sinfulness of the people were both underlined not only by the institution of a professional priesthood, but also by a complex ritual of approach to God, even by these men. God could no longer be considered as living in the midst of his people. While Solomon's temple was unquestionably more beautiful than all that had gone before, and the ritual more complex, Yahweh must now have seemed too lofty to be near the humble Israelite (in spite of prophetic protests, Isa. 57:15), just as Solomon was distant from the people in a way which David his father had not been. In the theological realm, this accompanied an increased sense of the majesty and transcendence of God in later Jewish thought (e.g., Ezekiel and Ezra).

**4. Dangers inherent.** In all such symbolism, there are inherent dangers from which Israel was certainly not free. The first was that of excessive localization of God's presence, as though, because God was pleased to show his presence particularly in tent or temple, he was therefore restricted to that place. But this was popular theology rather than biblical teaching (see 1 Sam. 26:19 for an example on the lips of David himself) and did little damage, the more so as it was balanced, from very early days, by the complementary truth of the vast gulf between God and his creatures (Gen. 6:3).

More serious was the danger of the static symbol becoming a dead symbol. People began to assume that, if the ARK OF THE COVENANT was with them as a physical presence, then Yahweh himself

was of necessity with them. The disaster at APHEK should have taught them wisdom (1 Sam. 4:11), but Israel was slow to learn. SHILOH too must fall before they could realize that even Yahweh's tabernacle did not give an automatic guarantee of his presence, despite the sin of his people. The fall of Shiloh was long remembered (Ps. 78:60; Jer. 7:12), but the prophets had to bring the same teaching with reference to the temple of Solomon at Jerusalem (Mic. 3:12). Had this form of symbolism then outrun its usefulness? Not only had it been abused; people realized more and more its inadequacy (1 Ki. 8:27). How could Yahweh, the great creator-God, live in a house made by human workmen? But, if this be abandoned, how could God's saving presence among his people be symbolized?

**5. The new symbolism.** When God created the unfallen man and woman, he created them in his own image; Adam and Even themselves were then the visible sign of God's presence in the universe that God had made, and they could freely enjoy fellowship with God. Even when this image was marred, the new type of kingship at least gave some human analogy by which certain aspects of God's being could be understood. In view of the promises associated with the line of David (2 Sam. 7:11-16), this was even more true. At the time it was recognized that Yahweh could not be restricted to a building, and at the moment when the abuses of the static symbol were at their worst, Isa. 7:14 contains the promise that a child will yet be born, a descendant of David, whose name will be IMMANUEL—God in the very midst. Now at last the cycle is complete. At the first, God had shown his likeness to men in unfallen man; at the last, God would live among men by becoming a man. No wonder that when he did, tent and temple passed away forever.

### *D. King*

**1. Kingship of Yahweh.** Like all other biblical concepts, kingship is not to be studied in the abstract, but as actualized in various kings. See KING, KINGSHIP. Similarly, in early days, the rule of God is not so much stated as exemplified and actualized. God creates man "in his own image" and therefore to share in his dominion (Gen. 1:26). The Bible shows recognition of the rule of God (EL ELYON) both by Jebusite MELCHIZEDEK and by Hebrew Abraham (Gen. 14:18-22). No doubt the concept of divine kingship was widespread if not universal, as shown by the various names of gods in the small Semitic nations round about (e.g., MILCOM, MOLECH; 1 Ki. 11:5-7) that are variants of the word for "king" (Heb. *melek H4889).* This kingship of God, implicit in patriarchal days, became explicit with the formation of Israel as a nation. The 13th-cent. oracles of BALAAM presuppose this (Num. 23:21 and 24:7). Deuteronomy 33:5 describes the Mosaic covenant as "He was king over Jeshurun" (this occurs in an archaic poem, the Blessing of Moses). This also is the origin of the oft-repeated refrain in the Psalter, "Yahweh is king" (Ps. 10:16 et al.). The thought of human kingship (Jdg. 8:23) brought horror to the pious Israelite. All kingship in the OT is ultimately to be understood in terms of, and in relation to, the ultimate kingship of God.

**2. Human kingship.** The nomadic ancestors of Israel knew no kingship except this divine kingship; they seem to have been loosely ruled by patriarchal chiefs. Under the conditions of Egyptian oppression there was neither opportunity nor desire for kingship. What is remarkable is that neither in the days of the desert wandering, nor during the occupation of Canaan, did they use the title "king" of an earthly ruler, so exclusively was it felt to belong to God. Instead, they either used the Canaanite title *šōpēṬ* (ptc. *of šāpaṬ H9149)* "judge," or the neutral title *nāšīʾ H5954,* "chief, prince." Even when, under Philistine pressure, Israel demanded an earthly king, conservatives like SAMUEL were

thoroughly shocked by a demand that chiseled away the uniqueness of Yahweh's position (1 Sam. 8:7).

As often in the OT, however, God took something that sprang from sinful human nature and made it an integral part of his design. After SAUL was chosen king, Israel never looked back; even when the northern kingdom revolted against the tyranny of REHOBOAM, it seemed self-evident that they must still have a king (1 Ki. 12:20). It is however noteworthy that, though the office had been accepted, Israelites were still reluctant to use the old divine title *melek,* "king," to describe a mortal man. Such a king usually was described in early days as Yahweh's anointed one or as *nāgīd H5592,* "leader" (1 Sam. 9:16, where the two concepts appear side by side).

**3. Nature of kingship.** Kingship in Israel was a religious office, as can be seen by the definition of a king above, in terms of his anointing by Yahweh. See ANOINT. This explains David's reluctance to kill Saul, on the grounds that he was Yahweh's anointed (1 Sam. 26:9). Similar religious scruples usually protected the lives of the priests and prophets in Israel. It might even be said that the king was a quasi-priestly figure; David danced before Yahweh's ark in sacred procession wearing only the white linen kilt of the priest (2 Sam. 6:14). He even blessed the worshipers in Yahweh's name, as a priest might have done, and shared with them the peace offering (vv. 18-19). In spite of the wording of 2 Sam. 6:13, it is unlikely that he actually offered sacrifice himself, in view of what the OT says of Saul (1 Sam. 13:8-15).

No doubt the king had a place in WORSHIP—this seems clear from the Psalter—but it seems to have been a limited place. Certainly Israel's kingship was not "sacral kingship," as known elsewhere in the ANE, for the king was never felt to be divine himself. The sometimes hyperbolic language of the Psalter has other explanations. If the king was not divine, he was still Yahweh's representative, exercising God's prerogative of rule and dominion, as Adam and Eve had done before the fall (Gen. 1:28). It was his task to punish the wicked and save the helpless as Yahweh did (Ps. 72:1-4). In particular, it was his duty to maintain the covenant between Yahweh and his people, in a sort of triangular relationship. It is certain that on the accession of some (possibly all) of the kings of Judah there was a solemn temple service at which the covenant was renewed (e.g., 2 Ki. 11:17, with which may be compared far earlier renewals in Deut. 29:1 and Josh. 24:25). This concept was the more natural in that kingship was a type of God's kingship, and the king a visible type of Yahweh.

**4. Failure of kingship.** Saul was not this ideal king; the type had failed. David came nearer to it. He could be described as a man whose heart was like Yahweh's (1 Sam. 13:14), but even David's later days were clouded with failure. There was always the hope that a descendant of David would succeed where he had failed. This was reinforced by God's promise (2 Sam. 7:12-16). When David's brilliant son Solomon ascended the throne, it must have seemed to many that the ideal type of kingship had come, especially in view of Solomon's association with the temple at Jerusalem, and the part that he took in the worship there. Perhaps it was therefore at this time that Israel's poets began to speak of the earthly king with language that was really only appropriate to the divine king, of whom he was a type (e.g., Ps. 72). But soon the people were disillusioned, and the kingdom divided. In the southern kingdom of Judah, as king succeeded king (always of David's line), such hopes were again and again disappointed, although not completely dashed. It was not to be; and in intertestamental days, kingship passed altogether from David's house.

**5. Fulfillment of kingship.** Yet this failure of earthly kingship to realize the ideal, as shown in the

OT, was fruitful theologically. Israel was forced to turn from the literal fulfillment to the hope of a spiritual one, though still associated with the name and family of David. What is sometimes called the messianic hope is nothing more than the mutation of this theme; and since in the Psalter this ideal Davidic king was also called SON OF GOD (Ps. 2:7), the roots of NT CHRISTOLOGY are plainly visible. There was yet another level at which kingship was to find a spiritual fulfillment, and that was the area of priesthood. The connection of Israel's king with covenant and temple has been noted. If justification for his quasi-priestly status was to be sought, it was found in the figure of the old Jebusite priest-king, Melchizedek (Gen. 14:18 and Ps. 110:4). In Christian thought, this too was fulfilled in the eternal high-priesthood of Christ, the theme of Hebrews. (For bibliography, see the end of section I above.)

R. A. COLE

**olive, olive tree.** A Mediterranean evergreen tree (*Olea europaea);* its fruit is an important FOOD and source of OIL. Either the tree or the olive berry can be referred to by the Hebrew word *zayit H2339* and by the Greek word *elaia G1777* (note also the compounds *kallielaios G2814,* "beautiful *[i.e.,* cultivated] olive tree," and *agrielaios G66,* "wild olive tree," Rom. 11:17, 24).

The first mention is in Gen. 8:11, which states that the dove NOAH sent out brought back an olive leaf in its beak. The olive was one of the "blessings" of the Promised Land. The trees there grow on the mountain side where there is not much soil. Heavy crops are produced, and the oil from the fruits is used in cooking. The ripe fruits are, of course, eaten as a relish before or with a meal, while pickles often are made. It was olive oil that was used to anoint kings (2 Ki. 9:6) and it was probably the fuel used for lamps (Num. 4:16).

The timber of the trees is finely grained and has a rich amber color. This may be the reason why this pleasant colored wood was chosen to make the doors and posts of the TEMPLE as well as for the carving of the CHERUBIM. There is nothing particularly beautiful about an olive tree, yet Hos. 14:6 (NRSV) says, "his beauty [NIV, splendor] shall be like the olive tree." The beauty does not lie in the gray-twisting trunk, or in the small dark green leaves with white undersides, or even in the fruits. However, to the person who is going to pick a heavy crop and so get an abundance of oil, the tree is indeed beautiful.

The olive tree is found all over Palestine, and particularly so around BETHLEHEM and HEBRON. The oil used by the apostles in Mk. 6:13 was undoubtedly olive oil, and the instructions given in Jas. 5:14 about anointing the sick surely refer to olive oil also. This oil was used to treat wounds, and the Good Samaritan

An olive tree in Israel.

used it effectively (Lk. 10:34). The olive grows well by the seaside, and it is said to like the salty air and mists. The Bible suggests that olive trees should be planted around the coasts (cf. Deut. 28:40).

The golden oil produced from the olive (Zech. 4:12) is full of goodness. Thus the tree and its fruit can be used in a figurative sense, "The LORD called you a thriving olive tree with fruit beautiful in form" (Jer. 11:16; cf. Rom. 11:17). David uses the same idea when he refers to himself as "an olive tree flourishing in the house of God" (Ps. 52:8). Westerners cannot see the olive as beautiful, but in the E, where it is difficult to grow evergreens, the olive-gray of the foliage is attractive.

An olive will grow where no other trees can. Further, the olive will yield heavily with the minimum of care and culture. It is possible to produce twenty gallons of oil from one olive tree. When harvesting, the branches are shaken or beaten. The farmers were told to leave a few olives on the topmost boughs for the fatherless, widows, and strangers (Deut. 24:20; Isa. 17:6). Only one olive flower in every hundred produces fruit. It looks like a snowstorm when the petals fall. This is referred to in Job 15:33, where thousands of petals are thrown off as useless by the olive tree. (See further *FFB,* 156-57.)

The Israelites were pictured as olive trees, for they were to yield "fruits" where other trees could not grow. They were to have a spiritual role in a world that was merely crying out for kings and pomp (Jer. 11:16; Hos. 14:6). See also FLORA (under *Oleaceae);* OIL TREE.
W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

**Olives, Mount of.** See MOUNT OF OLIVES.

**Olivet, Mount.** Alternate designation of the MOUNT OF OLIVES.

**Olivet Discourse.** Name given to Jesus' eschatological discourse, addressed to the disciples on the MOUNT OF OLIVES (Matt. 24-25; Mk. 13; Lk. 21). See ESCHATOLOGY; TEACHINGS OF JESUS.

**Olympas** oh-lim'puhs (Ὀλυμπᾶς *G3912*). A Roman Christian to whom PAUL sent greetings (Rom. 16:15). The name, which is not common, is probably a shortened form (cf. Olympianus, Olympiodorus, etc.).

**Olympian Zeus, temple of** oh-lim'pee-uhn *zoos.* KJV Jupiter Olympius. The name given by ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes to the TEMPLE of Jerusalem when he dedicated it to ZEUS (Jupiter) Olympius in 168 B.C. (2 Macc. 6:2). Olympus was a mountain in Thessaly in Greece on the summit of which Zeus presided over the gods.

**Omaerus** oh-mee'ruhs. KJV Apoc. variant of AMRAM (1 Esd. 9:34).

**Omar** oh'mahr (אֹמָר *H223,* possibly "[God] has spoken"). Son of ELIPHAZ, grandson of ESAU, and head of an Edomite clan (Gen. 36:11, 15; 1 Chr. 1:36).

**omega** oh-meg'uh. The last letter of the Greek ALPHABET. See ALPHA AND OMEGA.

**omen.** See DIVINATION.

**omer** oh'muhr. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES III.B.

**omnipotence.** The quality of having all power. This English noun is not found in the Bible, nor is there any noun corresponding to it in the original Greek or Hebrew. The Greek adjective *pantokratōr G4120* ("omnipotent," usually rendered "Almighty") occurs only once in Paul (2 Cor. 6:18) and several times in Revelation (Rev. 1:8; 4:8; 11:17; 15:3; 16:7, 14; 19:6, 15; 21:22). The concept, however, is a necessary implication from God's mighty acts, which show no limits in prestige (over other gods, for example), power, or extent.

That the Bible does not use the abstract term is simply characteristic of biblical language and thought forms, for in the "mighty acts" themselves is explicitly evident, for all who accept such acts as "revelatory," what might be more calmly or academically expressed in a word like *omnipotence.* God is described as performing natural MIRACLES (Gen. 1:1-3; Isa. 44:24; Heb. 1:3) and spiritual wonders (2 Cor. 4:6; Eph. 1:9; 3:20). He even has the power to create new things after his first creation (Matt. 3:9; Rom. 4:17), according to his pleasure, and nothing is impossible to him (Gen. 18:14).

One may observe, therefore, the definition of omnipotence by its manifestations. It is known in concrete acts, acts indeed of overreaching and overpowering inclusiveness: in CREATION, NATURE, HISTORY, PROVIDENCE, and REDEMPTION. In God resides the power to produce and control everything that comes to pass. Nothing evades God's omnipotence (Dan. 4:35; Amos 9:2-3), and even the most minute things, such as the falling sparrow or the hairs of our head, are under his personal control (Matt. 10:30; Lk. 12:7). There is nothing accidental or incidental, and the thought of "omnipotence" merges easily into OMNIPRESENCE (being present everywhere at all times) and OMNISCIENCE (knowing all things).

It is well to observe that omnipotence in God does not imply the power to do those things which in no way can be thought of as objects of power. There is no nonsense in the omnipotence as there is no nonsense in God: he cannot do that which is self-contradictory or contradictory to his own nature, because his omnipotence is of his own essence, and he is the all-Being out of which all existence must arise. Intellectual tricks, raising questions as to whether God can draw a line that is shorter than a straight line between two points or make a weight so heavy that he himself cannot lift it, do not belong in any serious discussion of omnipotence. More to the point, and more personally, he can in no way contradict his own nature by sinning or dying. He cannot make wrong right. He cannot pretend that what has happened has not happened. The question as to how sin entered into the world is not a question of his omnipotence as much as it is a means of illustrating how an all-powerful God can create a system in which sin is possible and at the same time, because of his omnipotence, make the wrath of his creatures to serve him.

The power of God implies the power of self-limitation. God suffers no internal or external compulsion. One cannot hold that he exercises all of his power all the time and in every place. God has power over his power, which is always under his wise and holy will. It may never be said that he is a slave of his own omnipotence: human beings live in a personal, not a deterministic, system, and therefore they have freedom to act as individuals because he has restraint. God's omnipotence is in no sense a pantheistic attribute; omnipotence is not automatic but willful. Although it is true, as Christ said, that God is able to "raise up children for Abraham" out of the stones of the street (Matt. 3:9 and parallels), he has not done so. On the basis that God's omnipotence is controlled by LOVE, his almighty power becomes a ground for confident trust. The Calvinistic term "irresistible grace" may emphasize "irresistible" only when one understands "grace," which is the constant expression of the

love of God toward his creatures. The omnipotence of God is a fearful thing and an awful thing in the strict sense of such words; at the same time it is the ground of blessing and salvation.

Some have found help to the understanding of omnipotence in the names of God, especially those used in the OT (see GOD, NAMES OF). The name EL (cf. ELOAH, ELOHIM) suggests the fullness of power in God; EL SHADDAI too possibly outlines the might of God; he is the *)ābīr H51* or "Mighty One" of Jacob/Israel (Gen. 49:24; Isa. 1:24; et al.). The repeated title LORD OF HOSTS (NIV, "LORD Almighty") meant supremacy of power to the Hebrew. When God is referred to as SPIRIT, it is modern usage to think of his invisibility, but to those who associated spirit with wind (Heb. *rûaḥ H8120;* cf. Gk. *pneuma G4460* in Jn. 3:8), there was a sense of a penetrating, overpowering force, more like the use of the term "energy" in our day. One may also consider the other attributes of God (HOLINESS, for example) that by their very nature are of the essence of God and therefore necessarily exhibit a positive thrust and negative inviolability, which can be neither resisted nor overcome.

In conclusion, one may note in modern theism a shift from the anthropomorphic manifestations that characterize the biblical record of omnipotence to an understanding of the living God as an ever-present Energy. Some grasp of modern physics by the modern mind makes it easier for a number of theologians to understand God's immanence (cf. the *élan vital* of Bergson, the "ground of being" in Tillich, and the heretical overemphasis of the "God is Dead" theologians, e.g., Altizer and Hamilton). Thus God is the ground of existence, the ground and cause of all creation, and his actions always and everywhere sustain and inbreathe the whole world of things. In spite of the neglect of Almighty God "up there," there is a true emphasis in modern theology on the God within. See also GOD, BIBLICAL DOCTRINE OF.

A. H. LEITCH

**omnipresence.** The state of being in all places at all times. Neither this noun nor the adjective *omnipresent* occurs anywhere in Scripture, but the idea is a scriptural necessity: God's presence everywhere not only is assumed in Scripture, but is frequently explicitly formulated. "Where can I go from your Spirit? / Where can I flee from your presence?" (Ps. 139:7). "'Can anyone hide in secret places / so that I cannot see him?' / declares the LORD. / 'Do not I fill heaven and earth?'" (Jer. 23:24).

It follows from the above that the omnipresence of God is of his very essence, truly an attribute. As a spiritual rather than a material being, he is able to penetrate and fill the universe in all its parts. Part of the miracle of CREATION is that God's omnipresence does not exclude the existence of persons and things, but rather is the "ground of being" (Tillich) that makes all other existence possible because of his Being. Although the idea of omnipresence seems inconceivable to finite minds, the fact of it must be steadily maintained. It opposes the earlier Socinian view and the later Deistic view or any other approach that would put God in his heaven running the universe by setting it in motion and then removing himself from it.

By the same token, it must be steadily maintained that God is not by his omnipresence bound by the universe that he has brought into existence. Although he penetrates and fills all its parts, he is not a part of it. He "inbreathes" it and "inspires" it, but his spiritual presence is not bound but free. He wills to uphold the existence of all things, and by the same token he could will not to uphold all things, and existence would end. Not so with his own Being, for this is of the essence. What one observes as the uniformity of nature and the reign of law are nothing but the steady will of the omnipresent God. This leaves the door open to MIRACLES, for he is in and through all things as he wills to be.

Against all finite logic it must be held also that at every point in the universe it is God's whole presence that is present. All of him is everywhere because his omnipresence is of his essence. There can be no parts at work here and there. His nature cannot be multiplied at various points where it is operating, nor is his nature diffused. This is the intellectual problem of, and the theological support for, the full DEITY OF CHRIST, who in Palestine was fully God while at the same time God who filled and governed the universe. In the same way or, better, for the same reason, Christ may be fully united to each believer as if that single believer were the only one to receive his presence. Thus the Christian does walk with God, not with a part of God.

Philosophically, the difficulty implicit in the description of omnipresence arises out of the fact that whereas the creature is limited by space, God is not. In order to grasp the idea of omnipresence, one must imagine from our finite viewpoint at least the possibility of an entirely different order where the human forms of space and time are in no way necessary. "Everywhere" and "presence," both of which ideas are bound up in the single term *omnipresence,* are spatial and therefore human concepts, and are thus inadequate as descriptive of God. This is why the Bible record, which is more anthropomorphic than abstract, describes God's omnipresence in action rather than in definition.

The closest definition is God's self-identification when he appeared to MOSES at the BURNING BUSH. In response to Moses' request for God's name, the Lord responded, "I AM WHO I AM,'" which is simply another way of describing the ever-present tense of the verb "to be," or another way of saying that God is eternal "is-ness" or "Being." Significantly, God immediately describes himself as "the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob." He is not only Being, but a person who enters into covenant relationships with people.

The repeated coming and going of God (esp. in the OT) is not an argument against his omnipresence, but is rather descriptive of theophanies where the Spirit who is everywhere present condescends to appear in ways that are grasped by men and women who are limited by space and time forms (cf. Kant) and sets no such limits on the presence and operation of God.

Omnipresence is closely related to OMNIPOTENCE and OMNISCIENCE, that is, God who is everywhere is able to act everywhere, and he acts in infinite wisdom at every point because he knows all things. He has access to all places and all secrets. The omnipresence of God, therefore, is a source of comfort and strength to the believer.

In the 20th cent. and, in particular, early in the second half of the 20th cent., the omnipresence of God has been emphasized primarily in terms of his immanence rather than his transcendence. Instead of the sharp opposition between God and nature, God and the world, God and man, God and history, there is the acceptance of what is surely true, that he sustains and informs nature and the world and human beings and history. The so-called "new theology" of the latter half of the 20th cent. has rejoiced in tracing God in the things of this world to the point where it even can be said that God is found primarily and basically where "cross the crowded ways of life." The "social gospel" becomes an easy corollary of this emphasis.

The true theist, however, and specifically the monotheist, holds to a transcendent as well as an immanent God, and insists that God's being can be, as it certainly was before the universe, a total, personal experience in himself. God's resources and acts are not dependent upon, nor in any way acted upon, by the ongoing existence of the universe. One must not slight the distinction between the infinite God of being and the finite universe of existence. One evades, therefore, the deism that would banish God from the universe and at the same time any form of pantheism that would imprison him in it.

A fitting word on the "new theology" of the 20th cent. is this: "If the Eternal Spirit only 'realizes

himself' in finite spirits, and the Absolute only 'comes to consciousness' in the facts of history, the essential meaning of the word 'God,' the significance of evil, and the nature of religion are alike completely altered" (W. T. Dawson in *ERE,* 6:268, to whom I am indebted for material in the closing paragraphs above). See also GOD, BIBLICAL DOCTRINE OF.

A.H.LEITCH

**omniscience.** The quality of knowing all things. Neither this noun nor the adjective *omniscient* appears in Scripture. Nevertheless, the "all-knowing" God is an inescapable teaching of the Scriptures. Support for this concept is on almost every page, as any systematic theology attests. A. H. Strong *(Systematic Theology,* 3 vols. [1907-09], 1:282) is illustrative: "God knows his inanimate creation (Ps. 147:4); he has knowledge of brute creation (Matt. 10:29); of men and their wills (Ps. 33:13-15); of hearts of men and their thoughts (Acts 15:8; Ps. 139:2); of our wants (Matt. 7:8); of the least things (10:30); of the past (Mal. 3:16); of the future (Isa. 46:9-10); of men's future acts (Isa. 44:28); of men's future evil acts (Acts 2:23); of the ideally possible (1 Sam. 23:12); from eternity (Acts 15:18)." To which may be added that all such knowledge is incomprehensible (Ps. 139:6; Rom. 11:33; Eph. 3:10), and is incomprehensible to human beings because at one and the same time it embraces past, present, and future (Job 14:17; Ps. 56:8; Isa. 41:22-24; 44:6-8; Jer. 1:5; Hos. 13:12; Mal. 3:16).

On the basis of Scripture the omniscience of God may be argued from other attributes of his being. Because he is truth and has truth, because his self-knowledge is complete, and because all things rest on him, his knowledge of such things must be complete. In the same way, for example, one could argue his omniscience from his OMNIPRESENCE. In his fullness he is everywhere always, and therefore his awareness is complete. Arguments also are brought forward from prophecy and the fulfillment of prophecy.

Although God's nature is ineffable, one must still affirm certain things to be true about him that cannot be grasped fully. His omniscience is at once immediate and eternal. He knows things immediately as they really are without sense experience or imagination, so that all things which human beings think about in the time sequence are known by him as an "eternal now." See ETERNITY. Without the observation of successive events and without steps of logical reasoning, all things—past, present, and future—are known to him simultaneously. He grasps, in ways which we cannot define or explain, those necessary acts that follow in the logic of events, and, at the same time, he knows the outworkings of the free acts of his creatures. He not only foreknows how certain events will lead to other events in the total complexity of reality, but he directly knows how the complex motives of multitudes of people will work themselves out in multitudes of personal acts.

When the nature and extent of omniscience are stated in every way possible, there arise two difficult problems, neither of which allows a final answer within the limitations of human thinking. First, how God by his omniscience knows the future as he knows the present and the past; and second, whether the knowledge of the future in any way predetermines the acts of his free creatures.

With regard to the first question, how God can know the future as he knows the present and the past, there are no analogies in human experience to help. The only answer scholars have suggested comes under the useful expression of "one eternal now," which means, in brief, that what the finite mind sees in sequence under the human form of time is seen by God immediately in its totality. God's nature is not subject to the law of time. God is not involved in time sequence. Whatever *logical* succession there may be in God's thoughts there is no *chronological succession.* It has been suggested that God sees the future as easily as we see the past, that God looks through time as he

looks through space. These analogies may be helpful but are in no way explanatory.

The philosophers get at the problem this way: there is a reality called "Succession." Otherwise one would not know events to be "successive." It is only when people observe a stream from above it or from the outside that they see its flow. That which connects and concludes succeeding events (if one is willing to accept "Succession" as a reality) must itself stand above the flow and stream of events. The ability to understand, in some measure, that this could be true is a transcendental quality that is a part of the IMAGE OF GOD (human beings can in some measure observe the move of events in the past and present and grasp some picture of the future). People are faced with an order of being and categories of thought that contain the finite and human, but cannot be contained by the finite and human.

Something of the same problem arises in the second question of the relationship between God's foreknowledge and the free acts of human beings. Since his foreknowledge is completely true in every detail, does such a foreknowledge necessitate what comes to pass in our free acts? Is prescience in God merely an observation or is it, because it is God's prescience, deterministic? A quotation from Geer-hardus Vos shows the narrow edge of the thinking required in facing this problem:

"Since scripture includes in the objects of the Divine knowledge also the issue of the exercise of free will on the part of man, the problem arises how the contingent character of such decisions and the certainty of the Divine knowledge can coexist. It is true that the knowledge of God, and the purposing will of God are distinct, and not the former but the latter determines the certainty of the outcome…At the same time, precisely because omniscience presupposes certainty, it appears to exclude every conception of contingency in the free acts of man, such as would render the latter in their very essence undetermined. The knowledge of the issue must have a fixed point of certainty to terminate upon, if it is to be knowledge at all…The appeal of God's eternity as bringing him equally near to the future as to the present and enabling him to see the future decisions of man's free will as though they were present cannot remove this difficulty, for when once the observation and knowledge of God are made dependent on any temporal issue, the Divine eternity itself is thereby virtually denied. Nothing remains but to recognize that God's eternal knowledge of the outcome of the free will choices of man implies that there enters into these choices, notwithstanding their free character, an element of predetermination, to which the knowledge of God can attach itself" *(ISBE* [1929], 4:2191 – 92; see now S. C. Roy, *How Much Does God Foreknow? A Comprehensive Biblical Study* [2006]).

Both questions that arise out of the acceptance of God's omniscience have no final answer for human understanding. That God knows all things must be maintained; how he knows all things cannot be understood. See also GOD, BIBLICAL DOCTRINE OF.

A. H. LEITCH

**Omri** om'ri (עָמְרִי *H6687,* perhaps the AMORITE name Ḥ*amru* with the Heb. divine name, "pilgrim of Yahweh"; see discussion in *HALOT,* 2:850). (1) An early king of Israel and founder of an important dynasty (1 Ki. 16:16-28). See further below.

(2) Son of BEKER and grandson of BENJAMIN (1 Chr. 7:8).

(3) Son of Imri and descendant of JUDAH; listed among the first to resettle in Jerusalem after the EXILE (1 Chr. 9:4; cf. v. 2).

(4) Son of Michael and a chief officer over the tribe of ISSACHAR during the reign of DAVID (1 Chr. 27:18).

The rest of this article is devoted to Omri king of Israel.

**I. Chronology.** Omri's reign began with some years of civil war, or at least civil dissension, ended by the death of the rival claimant to the throne, TIBNI son of Ginath (1 Ki. 16:22). Consequently, Omri's accession is dated (following the note of Tibni's death) in the thirty-first year of ASA king of Judah, but his length of reign is given as twelve years (v. 23). Evidently the period of his rule is calculated from the time of the rebellion led by ZIMRI, which took place in the twenty-seventh year of Asa (v. 15), to the accession of AHAB, in the thirty-eighth (v. 29). Thus Tibni, being the loser in the contest, was not officially reckoned as king.

Not counting accession years (because the synchronisms come from an Israelite source), E. R. Thiele dates the first year of Asa's reign in 910 B.C., Zimri's seven-day reign in the year 885, Omri's total rule 885-874 (from 885 to 880 the kingdom was divided with Tibni), and AHAB's reign 874–853 (*The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings,* 3rd ed. [1983], 83, 88, 94). Many scholars agree with this system (cf. J. Finegan, *Handbook of Biblical Chronology,* rev. ed. [1998], 261), but some prefer slightly later dates (e.g., 882-871 for Omri; see *ABD,* 1:1010, s.v. "Chronology"). See further CHRONOLOGY (OT).

**II. Antecedents.** Since Omri's father is not named, and his own name apparently is not Hebrew, it has been concluded that he was a foreigner; however, his immediate election as king by a citizen army implies that he was popular with them and already a commander of some standing—perhaps com mander-in-chief. J. Gray (*I and II Kings: A Commentary,* 2nd ed. [1970], 364) suggests that he was an absorbed Canaanite, and that this helps to explain the trend toward a Phoenician style of kingship and a pro-Phoenician policy. Noting the rise of JEZREEL as a secondary capital, Gray thinks Omri may have been from ISSACHAR, like BAASHA (so also Y. Aha-roni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], 334; cf. 1 Chr. 27:18).

**III. Accession.** Omri was made king by the army near GIBBETHON, when news reached them that Zimri had assassinated ELAH. The account in 1 Ki. 16:16 reads: "the troops who were encamped heard…therefore all Israel made Omri…king" (NRSV). Since Omri did not in fact command the immediate support even of a large majority in the nation, "all Israel" evidently reflects the authority for corporate action in the name of all the tribes, formerly possessed by the assembly of fighting men (Jdg. 20:7; 21:1; 1 Sam. 11:12-15); perhaps this was the last occasion on which it was exercised. It contrasts with the enthronement of Zimri, doubtless equally official, dependent on his possession of the capital and access to the apparatus of government.

After retaking TIRZAH, Omri found his authority disputed by Tibni ben Ginath with equally strong popular support. It was four years before the opposition was overcome (deduced from the synchronism in 1 Ki. 16:23); there must have been prolonged maneuvering and perhaps intrigue, for the nation was not greatly impoverished or weakened in a military sense, to judge by its rapid progress in the next few years.

**IV. The new capital**. Within two years of gaining control over the whole kingdom, Omri purchased from a certain SHEMER a site for a new capital, which he called, after its previous owner, SAMARIA (Heb. *šōmĕrôn H9076,* 1 Ki. 16:24). If, as seems probable, Tirzah was the site at Tell el-Far(ah now excavated by the École Biblique, the move may well be evoked by a large building that was begun on top of a layer of burnt debris (Zimri's last act?) but never finished. Omri may have found Tirzah too small for his ambitions; but Samaria also offered him two more significant advantages: (1) it became wholly royal property, as (by conquest) Jerusalem had belonged to David (Gray, *Kings,* 364), so that

he was fully master of his own capital; and (2) it had an outlook westward to the coastal plain and NW to PHOENICIA, while controlling also the main W–E pass to SHECHEM, so that it was a very defensible position. Israel would now play a part again internationally.

J. W. Crowfoot's expedition (see *Samaria-Sebaste,* 3 vols. [1942-57]) considered that virtually no settlement had existed on the hill crest since Bronze times; G. E. Wright disagrees *(BA* 22 [1959]: 67-78; *BASOR* 155 [Oct. 1959]: 155). SHEMER may have been a community rather than an individual (cf. Gray). Moreover, in 1 Ki. 16:24, the word for "owner," *)ăḏōnê,* is formally a plural construct form (from *)ādôn H123),* which BDB takes as plural of rank; however, the word does not


An aerial view of ancient Tirzah (Tell el-Far(ah), Omri's second capital city. (View to the S.)

elsewhere mean "landowner," and God himself is called *)ăḏôn kol-hā)āreṣ,* "Lord of all the earth" (e.g., Josh. 3:13). Note that one of Issachar's sons was named SHIMRON (Gen. 46:13; 1 Chr. 7:1); and among the descendants of ASHER were Shomer and Shemer (1 Chr. 7: 32, 34).

Omri's original work seems to have been a kind of castle on the narrow crest at the W end, but soon a "royal quarter" was developed (K. M. Kenyon, *Archaeology of the Holy Land* [1960], 263, 319), and there is evidence of administrative headquarters as well as of a luxurious palace (Crowfoot, *Samaria-Sebaste,* vol. 3). The ivories show Egyptian rather than Assyrian influence, and betray Phoenician technique; finds of unfinished objects and unworked ivory indicate that carvers were resident (Crowfoot, vol. 2). It is also likely that Phoenician masons were brought in.

**V. Achievement.** Omri set Israel on a new path politically, as a monarchical state like its northern neighbors and ready to be involved in their destiny. Later Assyrian records often refer to Israel as *Bit Humri,* or "land of Omri," and SHALMANESER calls JEHU "son of Omri." The effect was perhaps not immediately apparent; the author of Kings specifies only that Omri continued the religious policy of JEROBOAM, though he adds that he went further than his predecessors in defying the law of God. Micah perhaps hints at innovation (Mic. 6:16). Certainly Omri set a trend that was later followed by Ahab: (1) internally, asserting the royal power as dynastic, not charismatic, and no longer to be dependent either on approval by the tribes or on the gift and favor of the Lord; (2) externally, in

setting out to increase the power of the state of Israel.

To these ends, he made peace with Judah, cemented by marriage; subjugated MOAB and annexed the MEDEBA district (as declared on the MOABITE STONE); and promoted cultural relations with PHOENICIA, sealed by the marriage of Ahab to JEZEBEL, daughter of ETHBAAL king of SIDON. Trade flowed through Israel rather than E of HERMON, and the wealth of the state rapidly increased. It appears from 1 Ki. 20:34 that this provoked an attack by SYRIA, whereby Omri lost some territory and was forced to grant commercial concessions. The reference may be to territory lost by Baasha; nevertheless it is clear that at the beginning of his reign Ahab had to acknowledge BEN-HADAD as at least nominally his overlord (1 Ki. 20:4).

(In addition to the titles mentioned in the body of the article, see A.T. Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria* [1931], 369ff.; G. E. Wright, *Biblical Archaeology* [1957], 151-56; S.Timm, *Die Dynastie Omri: Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Israels im 9. Jahrhundert vor Christus* [1982]; *SacBr,* 197-99.) See also ISRAEL, HISTORY OF VII.

J. LILLEY

**On (person)** on (אוֹן *H227,* "strong"). Son of PELETH and descendant of REUBEN; he and two other Reubenite leaders—DATHAN and ABIRAM, sons of Eliab—joined KORAH in his rebellion against MOSES (Num. 16:1). Dathan and Abiram are mentioned again in the actual account of the rebellion (vv. 12-27; cf. also 26:9; Deut. 11:6; et al.), but On is not. For that reason, some scholars omit the name or otherwise emend the text.

**On (place)** on (אוֹן *H228,* from Egyp. *yunu* [ʾIwnw], "pillar city"; cf. also אָוֶן *H225).* The city where POTIPHERA (JOSEPH's father-in-law) served as priest (Gen. 41:45, 50; 46:20). The name "On" is also used by the NRSV to render AVEN (only Ezek. 30:17). In all these passages, the reference is to HELIOPOLIS.

**onager.** See WILD ASS.

**Onam** oh'nuhm (אוֹנָם *H231,* "strong"). Son of SHOBAL and grandson of SEIR the HORITE (Gen. 36:23; 1 Chr. 1:40); he was a chieftain living in EDOM (Gen. 36:21).

(2) Son of JERAHMEEL (by his second wife Atarah) and descendant of JUDAH through PEREZ and HEZRON (1 Chr. 2:26, 28).

**Onan** oh'nuhn (אוֹנָן *H232,* "strong"). The second son born to JUDAH by his Canaanite wife, the daughter of SHUA (Gen. 38:4; 46:12; Num. 26:19; 1 Chr. 2:3). After the death of his older brother ER, whom the Lord slew for his wickedness, Onan was commanded by his father Judah to enter into a LEVIRATE marriage with his brother's wife TAMAR, but he refused to produce offspring for his brother. For this sin the Lord punished him with death (Gen. 38:8-10).

S. WOUDSTRA

**Onesimus** oh-nes'uh-muhs (Ὀνήσιμος *G3946,* "profitable"). A slave on whose behalf PAUL wrote his letter to PHILEMON (Phlm. 10). The name, which means "profitable, useful" (cf. the play on the words *achrēstos G947,* "useless," and *euchrēston G2378,* "useful," in v. 11) was a common one in

NT times, especially for a slave. From Paul's letter it appears that Onesimus had run away from his master, possibly taking money from him as he left. In the place of Paul's imprisonment (ROME or possibly EPHESUS), Onesimus was brought in touch with the apostle and was converted to Christ. Paul wrote to Philemon, sending Onesimus "no longer as a slave, but better than a slave, as a dear brother" (v. 16; cf. also v. 12, "who is my very heart"). (See the discussion by J. D. G. Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon: A Commentary on the Greek Text,* NIGTC [1996], 301-7.)

Nowhere in the letter does Paul indicate that Onesimus should be released from slavery (although many have thought that the idea is indirectly suggested). The letter, in fact, illustrates the early Christian way of dealing with slavery. It was not condemned as an institution; if it had been, there would have been danger of Christianity touching off a vast servile revolt, and in the process encouraging social revolution, rather than proclaiming a message of spiritual salvation, a gospel of reconciliation of sinners to God. Slaves were told to serve well and so glorify Christ (Eph. 6:5-8; Col. 3:22-25; 1 Tim. 6:1, 2; Tit. 2:9-14; 1 Pet. 2:18-25); masters were told to remember in all their dealings with slaves that they have a Master in heaven to whom they must give account (Eph. 6:9; Col. 4:1). By realizing that they had spiritual freedom in Christ (1 Cor. 7:22), slaves had the sting taken from their bondage. When masters were told to love their slaves, the principle was provided that inevitably would lead to the abolition of slavery. See further SLAVE, SLAVERY.

When writing to the COLOSSIANS, Paul refers to Onesimus "our faithful and dear brother, who is one of you" (Col. 4:9). These words, and the reference to ARCHIPPUS (Col. 4:17), connect Philemon with Colossians, and also provide evidence that Onesimus was a man of COLOSSE. Contrary to the generally accepted view of the relationships between Onesimus and Philemon and of their residence at Colosse, J. Knox (in his book *Philemon among the Letters of Paul* [1960]) has set forth a carefully

Acropolis of Colosse (looking S), home city of Onesimus.

sustained argument to the effect that Archippus was the master of Onesimus. Knox believes that Paul's special concern was that Archippus should set Onesimus free for the work of God. He finds reference to this commission in Col. 4:17, and with regard to the previous verse understands Philemon as the

letter that the Colossians were to receive from LAODICEA.

Knox suggests that Philemon, who had been a fellow-laborer with Paul, was now the overseer of the church in the great center of Laodicea. Onesimus was sent back via Philemon at Laodicea for him to see that Archippus in nearby Colosse fulfilled this duty in respect of his former slave. Knox's case is brilliantly argued, but greater probability would seem to lie in seeing Philemon as the key person in the letter in which he is first named, in understanding the "ministry" (Col. 4:17 KJV) as a more general one in the life of the church, and in doubting whether the letter to Philemon should be read among the Christians in general in Colosse (v. 16).

Finally, it may be noted that IGNATIUS (in *Eph.* 1.3; cf. 2.1; 6.2) some fifty years later spoke of an Onesimus as bishop of Ephesus. There is no certain indication that this was the same man, though some think that the language of Ignatius (esp. in 1.3) suggests it (cf. Knox, *Philemon,* 89ff.). Both Knox and E.J. Goodspeed (e.g., *The Key to Ephesians* [1956]) argue that this identification would account for the preservation of the little letter to Philemon. Goodspeed in particular makes much of the suggestion that Onesimus was the author of Ephesians, and the key figure in the collection and publication of the corpus of Pauline writings. Against this are what many feel to be the weighty arguments for the authenticity of EPHESIANS, and alternative views of the way in which the Pauline letters came to be gathered together. At best the theory can be regarded only as an interesting speculation.

F. FOULKES

**Onesiphorus** on'uh-sif'uh-ruhs (Ὀνησίφορος *G3947,* "bringer of profit *[or* of usefulness]"). An Ephesian believer whose fearless ministry to PAUL during his second Roman imprisonment was held up as a model of Christian kindness (2 Tim. 1:16-18; 4:19). His courageous conduct stands in contrast to the desertion of PHYGELUS and HER-MOGENES (1:15). Whether Onesiphorus was asked to come or went on personal business, as soon as he arrived in ROME he began a diligent and successful search for Paul. He repeatedly "refreshed" Paul in his dungeon, apparently by his means as well as by his unashamed friendship. His conduct was in keeping with his previous well-known services at EPHESUS.

That Paul did not greet Onesiphorus personally but rather sent greetings to his household (2 Tim. 4:19) and uttered a prayer for the household (1:16) has led some commentators to conclude that he was no longer alive (e.g., J. N. D. Kelly, *The Pastoral Epistles, HNTC* [1963], 169-71). If so, 1:18 might be a NT instance of prayer for the dead (2 Macc. 12:43-45 is cited as Jewish precedent for such a practice). But others insist that the assumption of his death is unnecessary (e.g., E. K. Simpson, *The Pastoral Epistles* [1954]; D. Guthrie, *The Pastoral Epistles,* TNTC [1957]). Onesiphorus may have been absent from home. That Paul should think of his family is natural, since they too were involved in the risk he took. Paul would never be able to repay Onesiphorus for the "mercy" he had shown him, so he prayed God's "mercy" upon him "on that day" (2 Tim. 1:18). Paul expressed such an eschatological wish for people still alive (1 Thess. 5:23). In any case, since "that day" refers to the judgment day, Paul's words offer no support for prayer for the deliverance of souls from purgatory. Moreover, as G. W. Knight comments, "Paul's wish is not addressed directly to God, as prayer is, but is rather a statement of what Paul hopes will be the case for Onesiphorus" *(The Pastoral Epistles: A Commentary on the Greek Text,* NIGTC [1992], 386).

D.E. HIEBERT

**Onias** oh-ni'uhs (Ονιας, prob. short form of יְהוֹחָנָן *H3380,* "Yahweh is *[or* has been] gracious" [cf. Sir. 50:1 LXX and Heb.]; note also the later Heb. forms חניה, חוניו [see *EncBib,* 3:3503], and חוני [e.g., *b. Ber.* 19a]). The name of three persons who were high priests in the intertestamental period (see MACCABEE), and of a fourth who, though not becoming high priest, was the builder of the temple of Leontopolis.

(1) Onias I, son of Jaddua, was high priest c. 320-290 B.C. and a contemporary of the Spartan King Arius (309-265). This king at one time, according to 1 Macc. 12:1-23, sent a letter to Onias embodying a declaration of alliance and friendship, and stating, among other things, that the Spartans and Jews were brethren. (See J. C. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas: High Priests after the Exile* [2004], 124-37.) Thed "the Just" by JOSEPHUS, *Ant.* 11.8.7; 12.4.1), who succeeded him in office. See SIMON ##10-11.

(2) Onias II, son of Simon I, assumed the high priesthood after Eleazar and Manasseh. For several years he failed to remit to PTOLEMY III Euergetes the annual tribute of twenty talents. At last Ptolemy, the king of Egypt, threatened to take military action. The impending disaster was averted by Onias's nephew Joseph, who, having friendly relations with the Egyptian court, managed to conciliate Ptolemy (Jos. *Ant.* 2.4.1ff.). His son Simon II assumed the high priestly office after the death of his father. (See VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas,* 168-81.)

(3) Onias III, son of Simon II, ranks as the most important of the high priests bearing this name. Having assumed office c. 198 B.C., he was high priest mainly during the reign of the Syrian King SELEUCUS IV (187-175). He was noted for his piety and hatred of wickedness and commanded the respect of Seleucus to such a degree that the king from his own revenues defrayed all the expenses connected with the service of the sacrifices (2 Macc. 3:1-3). A dispute between him and a man named Simon, a captain of the temple, led to a break between Onias and the king. Simon, via Apollonius of Tarsus, governor of COELESYRIA and TARSUS, informed the king of the existence of a temple treasury, apparently greatly exaggerating the amount. Seleucus commissioned HELIODORUS to confiscate this treasury. With the strong backing of his people Onias refused to yield. According to the account in 2 Macc. 3:8, Heliodorus was supernaturally repulsed. After the assassination of Seleucus, to whom Onias had gone to plead his cause, ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes deposed him and put his brother Jason in his place. Onias later was murdered (2 Macc. 4:33-38). (See further S.Tedesche and S. Zeitlin, *The Second Book of Maccabees* [1954], 1–15; V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* [1959], passim; *HJP,* rev. ed. [1973-87], 1:139n., 148-50; VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas,* 188–97.)

(4) Onias IV, son of Onias III and his rightful successor. Because of the dreadful circumstances in Jerusalem, he fled to Egypt, where he was welcomed by Ptolemy Philometor.The latter gave him an unused temple in Leontopolis in the NILE delta. Onias proceeded to rebuild it into a rival temple of the one at Jerusalem and as a religious center of Hellenistic Judaism (Jos. *Ant.* 12.9.7; 13.3.1-3; 20.10.1; cf. S. A. Hirsch, "The Temple of Onias," *Jews' College Jubilee Volume* [1925], 39-80; *HJP,* rev. ed. [1973-87], 3:47-48, 145-47).

S. WOUDSTRA

**onion.** This vegetable (*Allium cepa,* belonging to the lily family) is mentioned only once in the Bible as one of the pleasant food varieties from EGYPT that the Israelites longed for in the wilderness (*bāṣāl H1294,* Num. 11:5). It was probably similar to the Egyptian onion grown today, only much smaller. Onions were grown near the NILE, and still are today. The flavor was pungent, good, and

sweet. The onions were eaten raw, boiled, roasted, and fried, and were also made into soup. (See *FFB,* 159-60.)

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

**only begotten**. The word *monogenēs G3666* (with its variations *mounogeneia* and *mounogonos)* occurs early in Greek literature, as well as in the writings of Herodotus, Plato, and others. While often signifying "sole descent" or "the only child of one's parents," in Hesiod ( *Work and Days* 374; *Theogony* 426, 448; cf. also the *Orphic Hymns* 29.2; 32.1; 40.16) it means "peerless, matchless, of singular excellence, unique, the only one of his/her kind," expressions denoting quality more than descent.

In the SEPTUAGINT and the Jewish writings in Greek, *monogenēs* admits of more than one interpretation: (1) "the only one," as of JEPHTHAH's daughter (Jdg. 11:34; *Ps.-Philo* 39.11; cf. also Raguel's daughter Sarah in Tob. 3:15; 6:10; 8:16; and TOBIT's son Tobias in Tob. 6:14; 8:16); (2) "desolate, solitary, lonely" (Ps. 25:16; 68:6); (3) "a priceless and irreplaceable possession" (with reference to the writer's soul in Ps. 22:20; 35:17); and (4) "favored, preferred above others, chosen, unique," of ABRAHAM's son ISAAC (Gen. 22:2, 12, 16; *Jub.* 18.2, 11,15; Jos. *Ant.* 1.13.1 §222; cf. also ib. 20.2.1 §20; Wisd. 7:22; Bar. 4:16). The term can be used in conjunction with *prōtotokos G4758* (2 Esd. 6:58; *Pss. Sol.* 18:4) and even as its synonym *(Ps.-Philo* 39.11), thus indicating an overlapping of meaning. And since the LXX renders Hebrew *yāḥīd H3495* ("only") by both *monogenēs* and *agapētos G28,* "beloved" (Gen. 22:2, 12, 16; Prov. 4:3; Jer. 6:26; Amos 8:10; Zech. 12:10), there is the suggestion that *monogenēs* may also connote the idea of "loved" or "best-loved."

The NT employs *monogenēs* nine times, and only by three writers. In Luke, it denotes an only son or daughter (Lk. 7:12; 8:42; 9:38). In Hebrews, it is used as in the LXX, *Jubilees,* and Josephus, with reference to Abraham's "favored, chosen, unique" son (Heb. 11:17). And this qualitative idea is uppermost in John's use of the term in regard to Jesus (Jn. 1:14, 18; 3:16, 18; 1 Jn. 4:9). Jesus is not only God's Son, which connotes derivation, relationship, and loving obedience, but the Father's "unique" Son, which is John's way of expressing the Lord's qualitatively superior sonship. In Jn. 1:18, there is early MS attestation for the ascription *monogenēs theos* ("the unique God" or "a unique one, who is God"), though the Old Syriac, the Latin fathers from TERTULLIAN, and the Greek texts from the 4th cent. read *monogenēs huios* ("only son").

Writing about the same time as John, Clement of Rome spoke of the Phoenix, that mysterious bird of the E reputed to live 500 years, as *monogenēs,* "the only one of its kind" *(1 Clem.* 25.2)—which is how the term is employed of Jesus in the fourth gospel. In the words at the baptism and transfiguration (Mk. 1:11; 9:7; 2 Pet. 1:17), and on our Lord's lips (Mk. 12:6), Jesus' unique relation to the Father is signaled in the word *agapētos,* "beloved"; while Paul employed *prōtotokos* in similar fashion (Rom. 8:29; Col. 1:15, 18; cf. Heb. 1:6; Rev. 1:5). (See F. Kattenbusch in *DCG,* 2:281 – 82; P. Winter in *ZRGG* 5 [1953]: 335-65; D. Moody *in JBL* 72 [1953]: 213-19; F. Büchsel in *TDNT,* 4:737-41; G. Pendrick in *NTS* 41 [1995]: 587-600.) See also BEGOTTEN; SON OF GOD.

R. N. LONGENECKER

**Ono** oh'noh (אוֹנוֹ *H229,* "strong"). A town built (or rebuilt) by a descendant of BENJAMIN named Shemed son of Elpaal (1 Chr. 8:12); the area around it could be referred to as "the plain of Ono" (Neh. 6:2). To Ono, and also to neighboring LOD and HADID, hundreds of exiles returned from the Babylonian captivity (Ezra 2:33; Neh. 7:37; 1 Esd. 5:22). These towns were located in or near the Valley of the Craftsmen (Neh. 11:35), which possibly should be identified with "the plain of Ono"

(cf. J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament* [1959], 390; see also GE HARASHIM). In the Karnak list of THUTMOSE III, Ono appears as ʾUnu *(ʾynw).* In the MISHNAH, Ono is included in a list of cities that "have been compassed by a wall since the days of Joshua the son of Nun" *(ʿArak.* 9:6). The town is identified with modern Kafr ʿAna, 7.5 mi. ESE of JOPPA. (See further *ABD,* 5:24-25.)

S. WOUDSTRA

**Onus** oh'nuhs. KJV Apoc. form of ONO (1 Esd. 5:22).

**Onycha.** This term is found in most English Bible versions as the rendering of Hebrew *šĕḥēlet H8829,* which occurs only once in a list of SPICES used to make INCENSE (Exod. 30:34; here the LXX has *onycha,* acc. of *onyx,* meaning "nail, claw," or "something in the shape of a nail"; the Vulg. transliterated *onycha,* which was chosen in English perhaps to avoid confusion with the precious stone ONYX). The word probably refers to the *operculum,* that is, the horn-shaped plate that closes the shell of many marine mollusks. When burnt, the operculum produces a penetrating aroma (thus NEB, "aromatic shell," also in Sir. 24:15). It is usually thought that the mollusk in view is one of several species in the Strombus family. The RED SEA, an isolated warm water pocket of the Indian Ocean, is noted for its peculiar subspecies of mollusks, including the liniated conch (*Strombus fasciatus* Born). (For a full discussion, see McClintock-Strong, *Cyclopaedia,* 7:380-81;cf.also *EncBib, 3:35* 11-12; *FFB,* 60.)

D. R. BOWES

**onyx.** A semiprecious to precious stone with parallel layers of different colors. Onyx (from Gk. *onyx,* "nail," but also used of many things that are like a claw or a nail, including veined gems) is a variety of CHALCEDONY, a very fine-grained silica (silicon dioxide) and related to CARNELIAN. The English term is used to render Hebrew *šōham H8732* (Gen. 2:12 et al.; the NJPS, however, renders this word LAPIS LAZULI). Like AGATE, onyx consists of bands of different colors, in this case white and black, but the layers are even planes and the banding straight. It has been used largely in the making of cameos, as the design and background can be cut out so as to occur in differently colored layers. The chief localities are India and South America. Where the bands are white or bluish-white and red or brownish-red (cf. SARDIUS), the stone is referred to as SARDONYX (Rev. 21:20, where NRSV has "onyx").

The term *onyx* was applied by the Romans to a banded variety of marble—onyx marble. This consisted of concentric zones of calcite or aragonite (both calcium carbonate). Generally the bands are cream, yellow, buff, brown, or red, due to impurities of iron oxide, but when pure it is white or translucent. This onyx marble was used for making ointment jars (Matt. 26:7; Mk. 14:3), and the banded variety of marble known as Algerian onyx was used in buildings of Carthage and Rome. Onyx marble can be scratched by a knife and is less precious than true onyx, which is much harder. (See H. H. Read, *Rutley's Elements of Mineralogy,* 26th ed. [1970], 274, 442-43.)

D.R. BOWES

**Ophel** oh'fel (עֹפֶל *H6755,* "swelling, mound"). A projecting area in the original SE hill of JERUSALEM (2 Chr. 27:3; 33:14; Neh. 3:26-27; 11:21; the word, however, is also used more generally in the sense of "hill" or "citadel," 2 Ki. 5:24; Isa. 32:14; Mic. 4:8). While precise identification for

the Ophel at Jerusalem remains uncertain, it appears to be that narrower part of the city's E ridge that expands NE from DAVID's initial town (the original Mt. ZION) toward the TEMPLE on Mount MORIAH (see M. Ben-Dov, *Historical Atlas of Jerusalem* [2002], 12; cf. JOSEPHUS's apparent placement of *ho Ophlas* as adjoining the temple area on the S, *War* 5.4.2; 5.6.1).

King MESHA of MOAB spoke of the *ophel* or citadel of Transjordanian Kerak in his famous 9th-cent. inscription *(ANET,* 320, line 22). The walls of Jerusalem's Ophel were strengthened by JOTHAM (2 Chr. 27:3) and MANASSEH (33:14) in the 8th and 7th centuries respectively, but Isaiah predicted the subsequent destruction of this "citadel" (Isa. 32:14; NRSV, "hill"). In Nehemiah's day the temple servants (NETHINIM) resided in Ophel and restored its walls (Neh. 3:26; 11:21). Micah visualized the messianic era as one in which God's eternal kingdom would be established on the "stronghold *[ʿōpel]* of the Daughter of Zion" (Mic. 4:8).

J. B. PAYNE

Looking NW toward the Ophel in Jerusalem. The southern wall of the temple mount is visible to the right.

**Ophir** oh'fuhr (אוֹפִיר *H234,* meaning unknown). (1) Son of JOKTAN and descendant of SHEM, mentioned in the Table of NATIONS (Gen. 10:26-29; 1 Chr. 1:23). Ophir was presumably the eponymous ancestor of a S Arabian tribe, and his name may be the origin of #2 below.

(2) A region, probably a maritime nation in the Arabian peninsula, known for its export of fine woods, precious stones, and especially GOLD (1 Ki. 9:28; 10:11), although it is not clear whether these products originated in Ophir itself. The expression "gold of Ophir" appears to be less a reference to the origin of the metal than a way of indicating its high quality (*the word ʾôpīr* by itself means "Ophir gold" in Job 22:24).

Many theories concerning the actual location of the place have been proposed over the centuries. Most of them, based upon etymological constructions of modern Arabic place names such as Yemenite *Maʿāfir* or Central Arabian *Uʿayfirah,* have been rejected on philological as well as geographical grounds. Special confusion has been introduced by the SEPTUAGINT spelling of the name with initial sigma (e.g., *Sōpēra* in 1 Ki. 9:28 et al.; but *Ōphir* in Job 22:24; 28:16), which led to the view that the place in question was in India (cf. Jos. *Ant*. 8.6.4 §164; note also the Vulg. paraphrase

of Job 28:16, *tinctis Indiae coloribus,* "wet colors of India"), specifically Supara, a city in the area of modern Bombay. This notion of the trade of SOLOMON with India greatly influenced medieval and Renaissance artistic representations of the Solomonic court.

The only nonbiblical citation of the term extant occurs on an offering tally inscribed on an ostracon excavated from the area of Tel Aviv and written no later than the 8th cent. B.C. It simply states, "Gold of Ophir to Beth Horon, shekels thirty" (see B. Maisler in *JNES* 10 [1951]: 265-67). This does not necessarily imply, however, that the weight of gold was actually mined in Ophir; it may well be that a type or alloy of metal with gold mixed in was associated with this place, in the same way as tin and copper ores appear as "Eilat stone."The confusion over the actual founding of the mines at Timna, near the Gulf of AQABAH, has affected the proposals of Ophir's location. The time honored association of the Timna site with Solomon has been shown recently to be erroneous, and its origins must be set back in the Egyptian Middle Kingdom a full millennium before the house of David. A location in the RED SEA area still has much to commend it, and it has been pointed out that the port known to the Egyptian scribes as "Punt" (on the African coast) vaguely resembles the description of goods coming from Ophir.

Of special interest is the association of the QUEEN OF SHEBA with Ophir (1 Ki. 10:10-12). This connection might be made even more certain if indeed she ruled over the SABEANS, as is usually supposed. The fact is that little consistent archaeological work has been expended upon the coastlands of the southern Red Sea basin, and almost no records of the E African peoples of antiquity have survived. Undoubtedly the riches of the Solomonic kingdom were immense, and goods were imported from far places and notable peoples.

Many authorities have suggested emending the MT reading of Jer. 10:9, *)ûpāz H233,* "Uphaz," to the more common "Ophir," but the former term also occurs in Dan. 10:5 and may, in fact, be another location. The earliest mention of the location Ophir is Job 22:24; 28:16. It is next noted as the origin of David's gifts to the temple (1 Chr. 29:4) and the destination of Solomon's expedition (1 Ki. 9:28; 10:11; 2 Chr. 8:18; 9:10). It is used in poetic passages by Isaiah and the psalmist (Isa. 13:12; Ps 45:9). An expedition to Ophir sent by JEHOSHAPHAT was wrecked near EZION GEBER in the Gulf of AQABAH (1 Ki. 22:48). Ophir probably was overrun by the late Semitic dynasties that arose after the collapse of Egyptian influence and the rise of the Neo-Assyrian empire, all traces of which were swept into oblivion by the domination of Greco-Roman civilization. (See further G. Ryckmans in *DBSup* 6 [1960], cols. 744-51; V. Christidès in *RB* 77 [ 1970]: 240-47; *ABD*, 5:26-27.)

W.WHITE, JR.

**Ophni** of'ni (עָפְנִי *H6756,* derivation uncertain). A town within the tribal territory of BENJAMIN (Josh. 18:24). Ophni was apparently near GEBA, but the precise site is unknown. It has been suggested that the place is the same as Gophna, a town referred to by JOSEPHUS (e.g., *War* 3.3.5 §55), usually identified with modern Jifna, about 3 mi. NW of BETHEL.

S.WOUDSTRA

**Ophrah (person)** of'ruh (עָפְרָה *H6763,* "fawn"). Son of Meonothai, grandson of OTHNIEL, and descendant of JUDAH (1 Chr. 4:14).

**Ophrah (place)** of'ruh (עָפְרָה *H6764,* possibly "[place of] dust" or "fawn"). (1) A town within the tribal territory of BENJAMIN (Josh. 18:23). It must have been in the area of MICMASH, for from there

one of three raiding parties of PHILISTINES, prior to battle with SAUL, headed toward Ophrah (1 Sam. 13:17). Since the other two parties went W and E respectively (v. 18), and Saul was S at GIBEAH, it is likely that Ophrah lay to the N. Ophrah is commonly identified with EPHRON, which in turn is associated with BETHEL (2 Chr. 13:19). Moreover, EUSEBIUS (*Onom. 20, s.v. Aphra)* identifies Ophrah with the NT city of EPHRAIM (Jn. 11:54) and places it 5 Rom. mi. E of Bethel. These data point to modern eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh, a conical hill some 4 mi. NE of Beitin (Bethel), 6 mi. NNE of Mukhmas (Micmash), and 13 mi. NNE of JERUSALEM. (The Arabic name Ṭaiyibeh, "favor," is sometimes used as a euphemistic replacement for Hebrew names that have the root *ʿpr,* because Arab. *ʿifrit* means "demon"; see Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], 122.) Some argue, however, that this site is too far N to have been included in Benjamite territory.

(2) A town within the tribal territory of MANASSEH, the home of GIDEON son of Joash, of the family of ABIEZER (Jdg. 6:11 et al.). Here God called Gideon to lead in war against annually invading Midianites; at God's command, he destroyed a local BAAL high-place (6:25-27). Gideon first assembled his own Abiezrite family in Ophrah for his army before requesting aid from others (6:34-35). Later, unwisely, he made a gold EPHOD from the spoils of victory over MIDIAN and placed it in Ophrah (8:27); here he died and was buried in the grave of his father (8:32). In Ophrah, ABIM-ELECH son of Gideon slew seventy of his brothers, possible rivals to his claim of kingship (9:5).

The location of this Ophrah is uncertain, and quite a few proposals have been made. A place named of eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh (different from #1 above), located 8 mi. NW of BETH SHAN, commends itself, for it is in the vicinity of the well of HAROD and the hill of MOREH, between which Gideon defeated the enemy (Jdg. 7:1); this site, however, lies within the tribal territory of ISSACHAR rather than Manasseh. Still another place named Khirbet Taiyibeh, 5 mi. S of MEGIDDO, is possible. Others prefer ʿAffuleh, 6 mi. ENE of Megiddo (cf. Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], 263).

L.J.WOOD

**oracle.** This English term, in the sense of a message or answer given by the deity or by a wise man, is used in the NIV and other Bible versions to render such Hebrew terms as *māšāl H5442,* "saying, proverb" (in connection with BALAAM's prophecies, Num. 23:7 et al.), *nĕʾum H5536,* "utterance, declaration" (2 Sam. 23:1), and especially *maśśāʾ H5363* (Isa. 13:1; KJV, "burden," which is the meaning of the homonym *maśśāʾ H5362).* In the NT, the term is used sometimes by the KJV and other versions to render Greek *logion G3359,* "saying, announcement" (Acts 7:38 et al.). See PROPHETS AND PROPHECY.

Because the English word can refer to the shrine where divine messages are given, the KJV uses it also to render the Hebrew *dĕbīr H1808,* referring to the "inner sanctuary" of the TEMPLE, that is, the Holy of Holies (1 Ki. 6:5 et al.).

**oral law.** See MISHNAH.

**oral tradition.** See GOSPELS II.

**orator.** This English term, referring to a skillful public speaker, is used by the KJV twice. In Isa. 3:3, the expression "eloquent orator" renders a Hebrew phrase that means literally "intelligent in whispering," referring to someone who has expertise in the use of charms (cf. NIV, "clever

enchanter"). In Acts 24:1, "orator" renders Greek *rhētōr G4842,* which does indeed mean "public speaker," but often, as here, with specific reference to someone who uses his skills to plead a case, so that the translation "advocate, attorney, lawyer," is preferred. See TERTULLUS.

**ordain.** This English verb, in its several meanings, is used variously in Bible versions to render a large number of Hebrew and Greek terms. In the KJV, for example, it occurs over forty times, including passages where a translation such as "arrange," "prepare," or "set up" would be more appropriate today (Ps. 132:17; Heb. 9:6). The sense "appoint, institute, establish" is not uncommon, and includes passages referring to God's authoritative command or determined will (Num. 28:6; 1 Ki. 12:32; Isa. 26:12; Mk. 3:14; Acts 13:48).

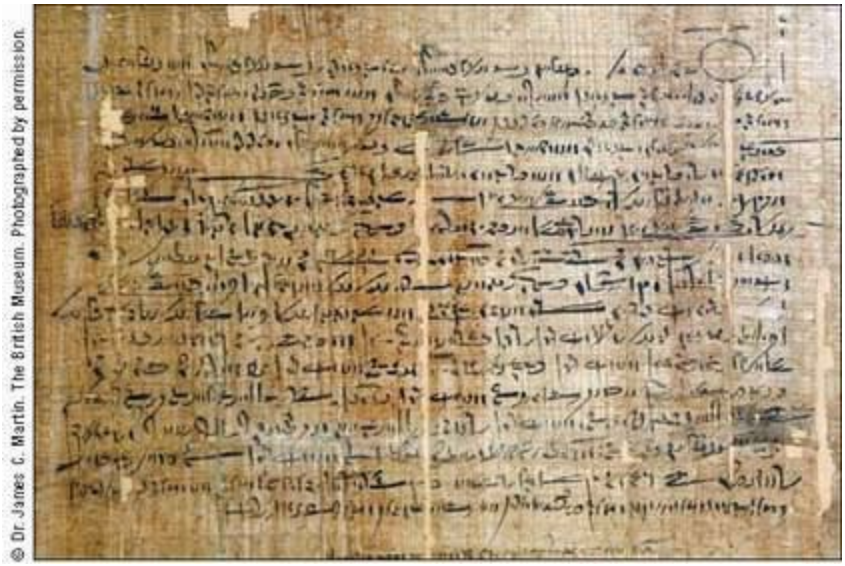
In modern times, however, the verb *ordain* is more frequently used in the special religious sense, "to invest officially with ministerial or priestly authority," that is, installing or elevating a special officer of the congregation. In the OT, the peculiar Hebrew phrase fill *the hands* is applied to such an installation of priests, and so modern versions translate this idiom with "ordain" (Exod. 28:41 et al.). It should be noted that in some NT passages where the KJV translates "ordain," but where modern versions appropriately prefer "appoint" (or the like), the meaning begins to approach the specialized ecclesiastical sense (e.g., Mk. 3:14; Acts 14:23; the latter verse uses Gk. *cheirotoneō G5936,* lit., "to stretch the hand [for voting]," thus "to vote, elect, appoint, install"). The rendering "ordain" would certainly be appropriate for *kathistāmi G2770* in Tit. 1:5 (cf. NIV mg.) and for the phrase "lay hands" in 1 Tim. 5:22 (cf. NRSV; see HANDS, LAYING ON OF). (See further M. Warkentin, *Ordination: A Biblical-Historical View* [1982]; *ABD,* 5:37-38.)

**order of salvation.** See SALVATION IV.

**ordinance.** This English term, meaning "authoritative decree," is used variously in Bible versions to render a number of Hebrew words (in the NT the term is used a few times by the KJV [Lk. 1:6 et al.], but rarely if at all by modern versions). For example, the PASSOVER is described as a "lasting ordinance" (Exod. 12:14 et al.), where the Hebrew word is *ḥuqqâ H2978,* "statute, decree" (cf. also *ḥōq H2976,* Exod. 30:21 et al.; see *TDOT,* 5:139-47). The KJV sometimes uses "ordinance" to render the word *mišmeret H5466,* "that which is to be kept, preserved" (e.g., Gen. 26:5; NIV, "requirement"; NRSV, "charge" [note the Hebrew synonyms used in this verse and elsewhere, esp. 1 Ki. 2:3]).

Of special interest is the noun *mišpāṭ H5477,* an unusually rich term that merits more detailed analysis. According to *HALOT* (2:65; cf. *HAL,* 615), the semantic development of the word was from "ruling" (decision by arbitration) to "legal decision" to "legal case" (or "lawsuit"), and thence "claim, right, demand" (legal or more general), "justice," "what is due someone in a case," and more generally "what is fitting, proper" (cf. also O. Booth in *JBL* 61 [1942]: 105-10). In the Book of the Covenant (Exod. 20:22—23:33) the term "judgments" or "ordinances" denotes civil, as contrasted with ritual, enactments. The word is used also to introduce these ordinances (Exod. 21:1); thus, here it refers to "the fundamental commands of the civil law" (W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament* [1961], 1:77).

Actually, Israel's laws are of two general types, casuistic (case-laws) and apodictic (absolute). In the OT the former is characterized by the stereotyped formula, "If…then," as in the Code of HAMMURABI. Examples of this type are the civil laws in




Egyptian legal document written in demotic (124 B.C.), listing the details of an inheritance agreement. Among the ordinances of the OT were directions related to inheritance.

the Book of the Covenant. Apodictic law, which is wholly religious and moral in character, is best illustrated in the Decalogue and in Deut. 27:15 –26 (see TEN COMMANDMENTS). In Deuteronomy "the ordinances are grounded in the vital command of God (Deut. 4:5, 14; 5:31ff.; 6:1, 2, 24, 25) based upon his gracious activity (Deut. 4:32-40; 6:20; 7:6-8 [cf. 9:4-29]; 29:2-9), and therefore may not be understood in terms of mere legalism" (J. A. Wharton in *IDB,* 3:607). Indeed, all law can be epitomized in the commandment to "love the LORD your God" (Deut. 6:5). The law is "God's claim to lordship" (L. Köhler, *Old Testament Theology* [1953], 202; see also *NIDOTTE,* 2:1142-44). All of the above terms and references confront us with the fact that "to the men of the Old Testament God was a God of law, and a very great deal in their religion cannot be understood if this is lost sight of" (L. Morris, *The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross* [1965], 253). "Among the heathen the deity was thought of as above all law, with nothing but his own desires to limit him. Accordingly his behavior was completely unpredictable, and while he made demands on his worshipers for obedience and service, there were few if any ethical implications of this service and none of a logically necessary kind. Far otherwise was it with the God of the Hebrews…Yahweh was thought of as essentially righteous in his nature, as incorporating the law of righteousness within his essential Being. Accordingly he works by a method which may be called law—he inevitably punishes evil-doing and rewards righteousness" (ibid., 258). The ordinances are included in the detailed particularization of that law. See further LAW (OT).

In Christian theology, the term *ordinance* also has a specialized meaning referring to BAPTISM and the LORD's SUPPER. See SACRAMENTS.

K. L. BARKER

**ordination.** See ORDAIN.

**ordo salutis.** See SALVATION IV.

**Ore.** See METALS AND METALLURGY.

**Oreb and Zeeb** or'eb, zee'uhb (עֹרֵב *H6855,* "raven," and זְאֵב *H2270,* "wolf"; both names are well

attested in Arabian sources). Two Midianite leaders (see MIDIAN) active in battle against GIDEON and killed by Ephraimites (Jdg. 7:25; 8:3). The main battle had occurred in the valley of JEZ-REEL, between the spring of HAROD and the hill of MOREH (7:1), where Gideon's valiant 300 routed 135,000 Midianites. Gideon had quickly sent messengers to the Ephraimites to cut off the retreat of the foe, who likely had to move slowly with flocks and herds, by taking "the waters of the Jordan as far as Beth Barah" (7:24).

The Ephraimites responded, and Oreb was slain at "the rock of Oreb" and Zeeb at "the winepress of Zeeb" (both places likely named as a result of this occasion). These two sites are unknown but probably were located W of the JORDAN (possibly as far S as ABEL MEHOLAH), since Ephraim's task was to keep the enemy from crossing. If so, Gideon had crossed already, for the heads of both slain leaders were brought to him *mē(ēber layyardēn,* "beyond the Jordan" (Jdg. 7:25 NRSV; most versions translate in similar fashion). This rendering seems to contradict the subsequent statement, "Then Gideon came to the Jordan and crossed over" (8:4 NRSV). The NIV solves the problem by rendering the phrase in 7:25, "by the Jordan," which is defensible (see discussion under ABEL MIZRAIM). Alternatively, if Gideon indeed had already crossed the river, 8:4 could be made to agree by translating it, "Now Gideon *had come* to the Jordan…").

Subsequent references use the occasion as illustrative of a time of great destruction (Ps. 83:11 and Isa. 10:26) and thus suggest that a major slaughter of Midianites took place.

L.J.WOOD

**Oren** or'en (אֹרֶן *H816,* possibly "fir"). Son of JERAHMEEL and descendant of JUDAH through PEREZ and HEZRON (1 Chr. 2:25).

**organ.** This English term is used by the KJV to render Hebrew *(ûgāb H6385,* which is better translated "flute" or "pipe" (Gen. 4:21 et al.). See MUSIC, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IV.C.

**Origen** or'uh-juhn (Ὠριγένης). An early Christian theologian, widely regarded as the greatest biblical scholar of the ancient church. Origen was born into a Christian family in ALEXANDRIA around A.D. 185. He received a strong education in Greek literature and philosophy, studying under a Platonist philosopher and probably also under CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA. In the midst of persecution he chose the teaching vocation and eventually became well known and highly respected even by non-Christians throughout the Mediterranean world. Around the year 231 he moved to CAESAREA, but some twenty years later he was imprisoned and tortured for his faith. He died soon after, probably in 254. (Most of our information comes from EUSEBIUS, *Eccl. Hist.* 6.1-39.)

Origen was a prolific author who made very important contributions to biblical studies. One of his works, entitled *Peri Archōn* (English trans. by G. W. Butterworth, *Origen on First Principles* [1936]), is a wide-ranging theological dissertation that includes an influential treatment regarding biblical INTERPRETATION. He also wrote extensive commentaries on various OT and NT books, as well as numerous homilies. His most ambitious project, however, was the *Hexapla,* a work that included the biblical text in six columns: the first two had the Hebrew text (one in Heb. characters and the other in Gk. transliteration—Origen was one of the very few church fathers who knew some Hebrew and appreciated its importance); the rest of the columns had four Greek translations, although the actual number of columns differed in some biblical books (see SEPTUAGINT V. A).

Origen was a strong opponent of GNOSTICISM, but his own thinking was affected by this movement. Some aspects of his theology, such as his emphasis on allegorical interpretation (see ALLEGORY) and certain speculative ideas, became very controversial. Later developments, as well as distortions, of his views led to a theological-philosophical movement known as "Origenism," which was officially condemned by a church council in the year 400. Nevertheless, Origen's life and work continued to exert a powerful influence in the Christian church. (See J. Daniélou, *Origen* [1955]; P. Nautin, *Origène: sa vie et son oeuvre* [1977]; H. Crouzel, *Origen* [1989]; J. W.Trigg, *Origen* [1998]; J. A. McGuckin, ed., *The Westminster Handbook to Origen* [2004].)

**Origin of the World, On the.** Modern title given to an important Gnostic work included in the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY (NHC II, 5; also XIII, 2 in fragmentary form). The work begins with a refutation of the view that nothing existed prior to Chaos, then proceeds to give a relatively full COSMOGONY. This treatise, preserved only in Coptic, appears to combine certain myths characteristic of GNOSTICISM and other cosmological speculations. It was probably composed in Egypt around A.D. 300. (English trans. in *NHL,* 170-89.)

**Orion** oh-rz'uhn. See ASTRONOMY III.

**ornaments.** Excavations in Palestine have revealed a variety of personal ornaments from ancient times. The Bible mentions the use of RINGS, BRACELETS, and necklaces (see CHAIN) during the days of the patriarchs (Gen. 24:22, 47; 41:42). When the Israelites left Egypt, they took JEWELS of gold and silver with them (Exod. 12:35), some of which were used in making the golden calf (32:2-4) and others in preparing cult objects in the TABERNACLE (35:5, 9, 22, 27). Although various precious stones have been found in Palestinian tombs, most of them apparently were imported from surrounding countries, such as EGYPT and S ARABIA. General Hebrew terms used for ornaments include *kĕlī H3998,* a word that can refer to any useful object (Gen. 24:53 et al.), *ʿădī H6344* (Exod. 33:4 et al.), *ḥălī H2717* (Prov. 25:12; Cant. 7:1), and others. More specific terms are the following.

*Rings.* The nose-ring *(nezem H5690)* was worn by women in the OT (Gen. 24:22, 30, 47; Isa. 3:21; Ezek. 16:12; Hos. 2:13). The same Hebrew word also refers to EARRINGS worn by women (Gen. 35:4; Exod. 32:2) and men (Exod. 32:2). These earrings also were worn by Ishmaelites (Jdg. 8:24) and were made of gold (Gen. 24:22; Jdg. 8:24; Job 42:11). A different term for earrings *(ʿāgīl H6316)* is used in Num. 31:50 and Ezek. 16:12. "Pendants" *(nĕṭipâ H5755),* the droplet-shaped ornaments mentioned in Jdg. 8:26 and Isa. 3:19, may have been worn on the ears or on a necklace.

Signet rings *(ṭabbaʿat H3192,* from the root *ṭābaʿ H3190,* "to press into, sink") are mentioned in a number of passages (Gen. 41:42 et al.). The Hebrew term is included also in the list of items worn

by the luxurious women of Zion (Isa. 3:21), where it may be a general designation for finger ring. Another term for SIGNET or SEAL is *ḥôtām H2597,* an object sometimes kept on a string (Gen. 38:18 et al.; cf. *ḥōtemet H3160,* used only in Gen. 38:25). Biblical Aramaic uses the term *ʿizqă H10536* (Dan. 6:17) for signet ring.

The NT uses the Greek terms *daktylion G1234,* "ring" (Lk. 15:22), and *chrysodaktylios G5993,* "gold ring" (Jas. 2:2). Otherwise, it makes no specific mention of other types of ornaments.

*Bracelets.* Hebrew *ṣāmīd H7543* refers to an ornamental circlet worn on the lower arm *(yād H3338).* Some were made of gold (Gen. 24:22, 30,47; Num. 31:50; Ezek. 16:11; 23:42). The *šēr H9217* (only Isa. 3:19) can be equated with Akkadian *šawarum,* "bracelet."

*Armlets.* Bands worn on the arm, *ʾeṣʿādâ H731,* are mentioned twice (Num. 31:50; 2 Sam. 1:10; in the latter passage the term for "arm" is *zĕrôaʿ H2432).* In their simplest form they consisted of a thick strip of precious metal, bent into a circle, the ends of which were then pressed together.

*Anklets.* The term *ʿekes H6577* probably refers to an ornamental circlet worn about the ankles (only Isa. 3:18, where the NIV uses the more general term "bangle"). Some of these have been found *in situ* in Palestinian tombs and were made of heavy bronze. The cognate verb *ʿākas H6576* is used also as a verb in Isa. 3:16, which describes the women of Zion in their luxury as "tinkling with their feet" (NRSV). This ornament may be involved in the statement, "Ahijah heard the sound of her feet" (1 Ki. 14:6 NRSV).

*Necklaces.* Hebrew *ʿănāq H6736* may be translated "collar" or "chain" in Jdg. 8:26, referring to an ornament worn by camels. The word occurs in two other passages, where it may refer to a necklace or to a pendant hanging from it (Prov. 1:9; Cant. 4:9; cf. 4:4, where the bride's neck is compared to a military tower on which hung a thousand bucklers and shields). The *śahărōnīm H8448* were probably crescents worn on a necklace (the NIV renders this "ornaments" in Jdg. 8:21, 26, but "crescent necklaces" in Isa. 3:18). The *rābîd H8054* was an ornament for the neck given by PHARAOH to JOSEPH, and the context indicates it was an emblem of authority (Gen. 41:42); elsewhere it is used of JERUSALEM, personified as a young woman decked with jewels (Ezek. 16:11). The term *ḥărûzīm H3016* occurs only once (Cant. 1:10), where it is usually rendered "strings of jewels"; it apparently refers to a necklace of beads or shells. Biblical Aramaic *haměyānak H10212* (a Persian loanword) is used of a neck ornament promised to the man who could interpret the handwriting on the wall (Dan. 5:7, 16, 29).

The Bible speaks against the excessive use of ornaments (Isa. 3:18; 1 Tim. 2:9, 1 Pet. 3:4). Where the favoring of the rich over the poor is condemned, the rich are characterized as wearing gold rings (Jas. 2:2).

L.L.WALKER

**Ornan** or'nuhn. Alternate form of ARAUNAH.

**Orontes** or-on'teez (Ὀρόντης [cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* 16.7.1 et al.]; Akk. *Arantu,* Egyp. *Yernet).* Known today as Nahr el-ʿAsi, the Orontes was the chief

The Orontes River in SE Turkey. (View from Antakya to the NE.)

river of SYRIA, about 170 mi. long. Its sources are E of the foothills of the Qurnet es-Sauda, the highest mountain of the LEBANON range. Then it flows northward through the BEQA(, the valley between the Lebanon and the ANTILEBANON mountains, until it enters Lake Homs, an artificial lake created by damming the river. Near HAMATH (modern Hama), it turns to the NW, and the fertile valley becomes a narrow marsh, the Ghab, which today is being drained. Then, after forcing its way through a limestone shelf called Jisr esh-Shughur, the Orontes follows the (Amq Valley westward to the Mediterranean Sea, passing through ANTIOCH OF SYRIA (Antakya in modern Turkey) on the way.

The well-watered Orontes Valley played a crucial role in history. It was a natural N-S route for traders and conquerors. Traders either followed it to BAALBEK, from which they crossed the Antilebanon range to DAMASCUS, or they went S to the Litani Gorge, where they turned W to TYRE or SIDON. In ancient times it was both a target of, and a route for, Egyptian conquests in Asia. KADESH ON THE ORONTES (Tell Nebi Mindu) was a victim of THUTMOSE III. RAMSES II fought the HITTITES near this same city. Hittite, Hebrew, and Assyrian empires all extended into this valley. Some of the historic sites on the Orontes are Qatna (Mishrafeh), Hamath (Hama), Qarqar (N of Hamath where AHAB fought the Assyrians), and ALALAKH (in the (Amq Plain). (See R. Boulanger, *World Guides: The Middle East* [1966], 211-12, 346, 366-67, 475-478.)
A. BOWLING

**Orpah** or'puh (עָרְפָּה *H6905,* possibly "obstinate" or related to Arab. *(urfat,* "mane," thus "[girl with] a full head of hair"). A Moabitess who married KILION, one of two sons of ELIMELECH and NAOMI, after the family had migrated to MOAB from Judah in time of famine during the period of the judges (Ruth 1:1–4). RUTH married the other son, MAHLON (1:4; 4:10). Naomi, after the death of her husband and two sons, departed for her homeland accompanied by her two widowed daughters-in-law. Upon urging by Naomi, Orpah returned to her own people and gods (1:15; Jdg. 11:24), in contrast to Ruth who would not leave Naomi. The rabbis explained Orpahs name with the comment that "she turned her back [Heb. *(ōrep H6902,* 'neck] on her mother-in-law" (*Midr. Ruth* 2.9).

**orphan**. The Hebrew word *yātôm H3846* apparently refers specifically to a child left "fatherless." Along with Levites, aliens, and widows, the fatherless were to be provided with special three-year TITHES (Deut. 26:12). A further provision was the special plots of "gleanings" left in fields for such individuals (14:29 et al.). The OT repeatedly pleads the case of the two states, the WIDOW and the fatherless (Exod. 22:22). Since inheritance was through the male heir, the plight of a widow without sons, as in the case of NAOMI (and RUTH), was especially tragic. Daughters inherited only in the extreme case of no male heirs surviving (Num. 27:7-11).

In the NT the term Greek *orphanos G4003,* "orphaned," appears twice, once used figuratively (Jn. 14:18, "I will not leave you as orphans; I will come to you"), and once with reference to the ministry of mercy (Jas. 1:27, pure and faultless religion is "to look after orphans and widows in their distress and to keep oneself from being polluted by the world").
W.WHITE, JR.

**Orthosia** or-thoh'see-uh (Ὀρθωσία, alternate form of Ὀρθία, the name of ARTEMIS in Sparta). KJV Orthosias. A coastal city to which the usurper TRY-PHO fled after his defeat by ANTIOCHUS VII Sidetes in the days of SIMON MACCABEE (1 Macc. 15:37). The Peutinger Map (see CARTOGRAPHY) places it 12 Roman mi. N of Tripoli, suggesting that it must have been near the mouth of Nahr el-Barid.

**Orthosias** or-thoh'see-uhs. KJV Apoc. form of ORTHOSIA.

**oryx.** The Arabian or desert oryx *(Oryx leucoryx)* is a graceful white antelope, with long straight horns, black markings on legs and face, and tasseled tail. Until the beginning of the 19th cent. it was found through most suitable regions of the Middle E, but modern firearms (including machine guns) used from moving vehicles have exterminated it in the wild. According to some authorities, the Hebrew word *tĕô H9293* refers to the oryx. This word occurs in a list of clean foods that shows it to be a wild ruminant (Deut. 14:5) and in the phrase "like an antelope caught in a net" (Isa. 51:20), referring to a method of catching even big game. Others think that the Hebrew word refers to the wild sheep (KB, 1016, but this meaning is rejected by *HALOT,* 4:1673). F. S. Bodenheimer *(Animal and Man in Bible Lands*, 2 vols. [1960-72]) argues that the oryx is referred to by *dīšôn H1913,* but this term is usually rendered IBEX. (See *FFB, 2-3.)*
G. S. CANSDALE

**Osaias** oh-say'yuhs. KJV Apoc. form of JESHAIAH (1 Esd. 8:48).

**Osea, Oseas** oh-see'uh, –uhs. Respectively, KJV Apoc. forms of HOSHEA (2 Esd. 13:40) and HOSEA (1:39).

**Oshea** oh-shee'uh. KJV form of HOSHEA, original name of JOSHUA (Num. 13:8, 16).

**Osiris** oh-si'ruhs. One of the principal gods of ancient EGYPT. According to Egyptian mythology, Osiris's brother Seth cut up his body and scattered the pieces. Isis, wife of Osiris, assembled his

body and restored him to life. Their son Herus avenged his father by defeating Seth in single combat (Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris* 12-20).

Osiris was connected with vegetation and the life-giving water of the NILE. His annual festival celebrated the sprouting of the grain. Osiris was also king of the dead. He judged each person after death according to truth and moral laws. Acting as judge, he often is represented as a seated mummy, holding a flail and shepherd's crook and wearing a conical crown flanked by two feathers. The chief center of his worship was Abydos in Upper Egypt.

Later the worship of Osiris became popular outside of Egypt as a MYSTERY RELIGION that mourned his death and celebrated his revival. In Ptolemaic times he was combined with the bull-god Apis as Serapis (Osiris + Apis), who was widely worshiped. Isis also was a popular goddess throughout the Greco-Roman world, and many shrines and statues in her honor have been preserved. (See further E. A. W. Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Religion of Resurrection* [1911]; S. A. B. Mercer, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt* [1949]; H. Bonnet, "Osiris," *Real-lexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* [1952], 568-76; J. G. Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult* [1980]; J. Cott, *Isis and Osiris* [1994]; R. E. Witt, *Isis in the Ancient World* [1997, orig. 1971]; J. Ray, *Reflections of Osiris: Lives from Ancient Egypt* [2002]; M. D. Donaldson, *The Cult of Isis in the Roman Empire: Isis Invicta* [2003]; B. Mojsov, *Osiris: Death and Afterlife of a God* [2005]; *DDD,* 456-58 and 649-51.)

J. ALEXANDER THOMPSON

**Osnappar** os-nap'uhr (אָסְנַפַּר *H10055,* possibly a corruption of Assyr. *Aššur-bān-apli).* Also Osnapper. A "great and noble" king who deported people of various countries to SAMARIA (Ezra 4:10 NRSV). The name is found only in a letter written in ARAMAIC, sent by REHUM the commander and SHIMSHAI the scribe, as well as their associates, to ARTAXERXES king of Persia to urge him to stop the building of the walls of Jerusalem by the Jews. Osnappar is generally identified with ASHURBANIPAL, and that is the name used by the NIV in this passage.

L.L.WALKER

**osprey.** A large fish-eating hawk *(Pandion haliaetus).* The osprey is both passing migrant and winter visitor to Palestine. It is dark brown above and white below, and catches fish by snatching them from the surface of the water. In spring some ospreys work their way N in short hops rather than ride the thermals. Small numbers regularly visit the Huleh Nature Reserve and fish ponds of the upper Jordan Valley, but they possibly would not have been known well enough to the Israelites to rate a name, far less a place of unclean birds. Nevertheless, "osprey" is the rendering of the NRSV and other versions for Hebrew *ʿozniyyâ H6465* (Lev. 11:13 and Deut. 14:12, where the NIV has "black vulture"), while the NIV uses it to render *rāḥām H8164* (Lev. 11:18 and Deut. 14:17, where the NRSV has "carrion vulture," NJPS "bustard"). See VULTURE.

G. S.CANSDALE

**ossifrage.** This older English term (from Lat. *ossi-fragus,* "bone-breaking") refers to the lammergeier (*Gypaetus barbatus),* a large bearded vulture found in mountain regions. The term is used by the KJV to render Hebrew *peres H7272* (Lev. 11:13; Deut. 14:12; this word is derived from the verb *pāras H7271,* "to break"). This identification is possible, but most modern versions render it with the more general term VULTURE.

**ossuary** os'yoo-er'ee. Ossuaries are small boxes of varying size usually made of limestone or baked clay, and often decorated with carved geometrical patterns. The bones of the dead were placed in these after the flesh had decayed, and they were then deposited in special tombs, often large enough for a family or even several families. Here a series of shelves *(loculi)* cut into the walls of the excavated rock chamber housed the ossuaries. Although the

A collection of ossuaries from the Chalcolithic period.

term (from Lat. *ossuarium,* "bone container") does not occur in the English Bible, such boxes were used widely in biblical times. Possibly the ancient baked clay representation of a house dating from Chalcolithic times (c. 4000-3300 B.C.) and now on display in the Palestine Archaeological Museum was an ossuary. Generally, however, ossuaries date from the early Roman period. Many hundreds have been found in Palestine both Jewish and Christian in origin. They vary in size about 20-30 in. long, 12-20 in. wide, and 10-16 in. deep. Of particular value are ossuaries inscribed with Hebrew, Aramaic, or Greek, giving the name of the departed and sometimes a brief additional sentence. (See C. H. Kraeling in *BA* 9 [1946]: 16-20.)

J. ARTHUR THOMPSON

**Ostia** os'tee-uh (Lat. *ostia,* mouth). A town located at the mouth of the Tiber River. ROME was built on the banks of this river, approximately 16 mi. from the seacoast, for reasons of security and trade. As the city grew, the need for access to the sea became apparent, and Ostia was settled at the mouth of the river sometime between 350 and 300 B.C. During the 2nd Punic War (218-201 B.C.) it served as a naval base, and upon the conclusion of peace developed into an important commercial center. Since Rome depended for its grain supply upon imports from Sicily and Africa, Ostia was of vital significance to the city.

During the 1st cent. A.D. the city developed steadily as trade increased, and various emperors improved it by building a new harbor and other public facilities; for example, CALIGULA constructed an AQUEDUCT to supply the city with fresh water. By the 2nd cent. the city was at its height: ships anchored in its harbor from Africa and the E, and it was adorned with as many as six public baths, a theater, and possibly an amphitheater.

Ostia is important for the religious, cultural, and social knowledge of the Roman people. Over 6000 inscriptions have been found dealing with all phases of Roman life. Such a town is necessarily cosmopolitan in nature, and its religious life reflected this. The patron god was Vulcan, but various cults from the E were found, such as the worship of Isis and Magna Mater (see MYSTERY RELIGIONS). MITHRAISM also had its place. There are no clear traces of Christianity in Ostia until about the year 200, but by 250 the town had a bishop.

Beginning with the 3rd cent., decay set in, and Ostia was harassed continually by Goths, Huns, and Saracens in turn. Malaria became prevalent and finally made the site uninhabitable. As usual in such cases, the place became a quarry for the builders of the middle ages, and even up to the 19th cent. Systematic excavation of Ostia began in 1909, and has been carried on sporadically ever since. Much of the ancient city can be seen by tourists today. (See Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* 18/2 [1942], 1654-64.)

R. C. STONE

**ostraca** os'truh-kuh. Plural form of the Greek noun *ostrakon,* which means "fragment of an earthen vessel," "potsherd" (e.g., LXX Ps. 21:16 [22:15]). In ancient GREECE it referred to the potsherds used in voting on the banishment of a public official (whence the English word *ostracize).* More generally, the term refers to pieces of broken pottery on which people wrote, especially in ancient Palestine, where many have been found in archaeological excavations. The abundance of potsherds made them a cheap and readily available form of WRITING material. Chiefly they were employed for documents requiring only small space, such as letters, brief memoranda, receipts, short lists, and notes. Although unsuitable for longer documents, such as biblical books, ostraca may have been used for recording brief prophetic oracles and proverbs that later were incorporated into books. Because the material is virtually imperishable, some of the oldest surviving documents in Palestine are ostraca and INSCRIPTIONS. Recently greater care has been exercised in some excavations when handling Iron Age potsherds in order not to wash or scrub off possible writing on the sherds.

Three major collections of ostraca relating to OT history have come to light. (1) Over seventy ostraca were found in a storehouse in one of the palaces of SAMARIA. These were receipts for oil and wine paid as taxes to the king. They are dated in the early 8th cent. (reign of JEROBOAM II) and throw a great deal of light on the history of Israel in this period. (2) In 1935 and 1938 twenty-one Hebrew ostraca were

This ostracon is one of the series of "Eliashib letters" discovered at Arad.

found in the excavations of ancient LACHISH (Tell ed-Duweir). Most of these are letters written by a commanding officer at Lachish shortly before the capture of the city by the Babylonians in 589-588 B.C. These ostraca definitely identify the mound as Lachish and illuminate the final years of the State of Judah. (3) During the 1960s, more than 170 Hebrew and Aramaic ostraca were uncovered in ARAD. Some of the Hebrew inscriptions date as far back as the 10th cent. B.C. Although very fragmentary, they are of interest for both linguistic and historical reasons. (For further discussion and bibliography, see the articles on these cities.)

B. VAN ELDEREN

**ostrich.** Of several Hebrew words that possibly refer to the ostrich *(Struthio camelus),* the clearest is *rĕnānīm H8266,* which occurs only in Job 39:13 (cf. the description of the bird in vv. 14-18; note that the KJV's "ostrich" for a different word at the end of v. 13 is incorrect). There is also general agreement that *yāʿēn H3612* (only Lam. 4:3 *Qere)* refers to the same bird. A third term, *bat yaʿănā H1426 + H3613* (Lev. 11:16 et al.), is disputed; the NRSV and other versions translate it "ostrich," but some of the descriptions do not fit (e.g., ostriches do not live among ruins, Jer. 50:39), so the reference is more likely to the OWL (cf. NIV and see G. R. Driver in *PEQ* no vol. [1955]: 137-38).

In biblical times the ostrich was found in all suitable parts of Palestine. At the end of the 19th cent. it was still being hunted regularly by Arabs, for it was a sign of prowess to catch one, but the Arabian species now seems to be extinct, the last known specimen having been killed for food in Saudi Arabia during World War II. Ostriches have also disappeared from much of their former range around the N African deserts, and their numbers in other parts of Africa also have been reduced; today they are found only in open dry country, mostly in E Africa, where they are protected in reserves and national parks.

The ostrich is by far the biggest living bird, and an adult male may stand 8 ft. tall and weigh 300

pounds. It is conspicuous, with black and white plumage, and bare pink neck and upper legs. The wings are quite useless for flight, but bear the ornamental plumes for which ostriches are kept in farms. The hen is smaller and grayish brown. Although basically vegetarian, the ostrich also takes insects, especially LOCUSTS, and other small bugs that it may come across. If, as some think, Hebrew *yāʿēn* comes from a root meaning "greedy," it may refer to the bird's well-known habit, at least in captivity, of swallowing a wide range of unsuitable hard objects which may cause death. From the description in Job 39 it is clear that the author knew the bird well, and it is possible that JOB had tame ostriches living around his tents, as the Arabs had into the 20th cent. Great collections of tamed animals, probably including ostriches, were kept in Egypt before 2000 B.C. and in Mesopotamia in the 19th cent. B.C.; one of the earliest definite records, dating to the 3rd cent. B.C., concerns eight pairs of ostriches in harness that formed part of a procession at ALEXANDRIA.

The passage in Job 39 merits comment. When displaying to the hen, the cock waves and shakes its short, plume-covered wings (vv. 14-15). The cock does most of the incubation, including through the night, and it is usual for the hen to leave the eggs, partly covered with sand, to be kept warm by the sun in the daytime. The eggs have, in fact, such thick shells that only a heavy blow would break one (v. 15). Possibly this comment refers back to v. 14, but it could refer also to what happens when a pair of ostriches and their brood are chased; the parents run away, hoping to draw the attack, while the young ones "freeze" on the ground, their mottled down and feathers providing a good camouflage (v. 16).

An ostrich in Israel.

The charge of lack of wisdom is an old one, perhaps because of its habit of eating lethal objects (v. 17). An ostrich can maintain fifty miles per hour for some distance and so can outrun most horsemen.

The ostrich was well known to the ancient peoples and was widely eaten, probably also by the Israelites, for it cannot with certainty be identified among the forbidden meats. Its eggs (6-8 in. long and weighing 3 lbs.) were used as utensils after the contents were eaten; ornamental cups made from them have been found in Assyrian graves of around 3000 B.C., as well as in other ancient cultures. (See *FFB*,60-61.)

G.S.CANSDALE

**Othni** oth'ni (עָתְנִי *H6978,* prob. short form of עָתְנִיאֵל *H6979;* see OTHNIEL). Son of Shemaiah, grandson of OBED-EDOM, and a gatekeeper from the Korahites (1 Chr. 26:7; cf. v. 1). See KORAH. Othni and his brothers are described as "leaders in their father's family because they were very capable men" (v. 6).

**Othniel** oth'nee-uhl (עָתְנִיאֵל *H6979,* derivation of first element uncertain; proposed meanings include "God is my strength *[or* protection]" and "God has exalted me *[or* made me proud]"; see *HALOT,* 2:905, and J. D. Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew* [1988], 96, 131). Son of KENAZ and first deliverer or judge of the Israelites (Josh. 15:17-18; Jdg. 1:13-14; 3:9-11; 1 Chr. 4:13). The expression "son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger brother" (Jdg. 1:13; 3:9) is ambiguous. Since CALEB (who with Joshua had returned a favorable report regarding the conquest of Canaan after the spies' reconnaissance) is sometimes called the "Kenizzite" (Num. 32:12; Josh. 14:6, 14), some hold that he was the son of Kenaz and thus the older brother of Othniel. In support it is pointed out that the description "younger brother" would have little significance if intended in reference to Kenaz, whereas in view of Othniel's marriage to Caleb's daughter (Josh. 15:17; Jdg. 1:13), there was a need to show less disparity in age between uncle and niece. However, this last reasoning would call for the expression to be used in Josh. 15:17 (where the marriage is first mentioned), while in fact it is used only in Jdg. 1:13 and 3:9, even though there is no reference to the marriage in the latter passage.

Caleb was much older than Othniel, an age difference more in keeping with his being Othniel's uncle than older brother. Caleb was eighty-five when given his portion of land (Josh. 14:10), and Jdg. 2:10 states that a new generation arose to bring on the defection calling for the deliverance wrought by Othniel. Again, Caleb is elsewhere called the son of Jephunneh, not Kenaz (Num. 13:6; Josh. 14:6; 1 Chr. 4:15). And finally, 1 Chr. 4:13 gives Kenaz's sons as Othniel and Seraiah; it is difficult to imagine Caleb's name being omitted here if he also had been a son. The identification of Caleb as a Kenizzite is better explained in terms of an ancestor more distant than a father (according to 1 Chr. 4:15, Caleb had a grandson named Kenaz, suggesting that this was a recurring family distinguished name). In short, Caleb should be regarded as the younger brother of Kenaz; thus Othniel was Caleb's nephew.

Othniel first distinguished himself in capturing DEBIR (destroyed by Joshua, Josh. 11:21-22, but apparently not occupied) for his uncle, Caleb. The latter had been granted the HEBRON area where the Anakim lived. He had driven three sons of ANAK from the area and desired now to take Debir (prob. modern Khirbet Rabud, 8.5 mi. SSW of HEBRON). He promised his daughter, ACSAH, as wife to the man who would capture it. Nephew Othniel succeeded and was given the daughter. When her father gave her land as a present, she asked for a water source as well, and Caleb gave her "the upper and lower springs" (Josh. 15:19; Jdg. 1:15).

Othniel's greatest service was in delivering the Israelites from the control of CUSHAN-RISHA-THAIM, called "king of Mesopotamia" (ARAM NAHARAIM), whom Israel served for eight years. This foreign domination was a divine punishment because the people "forgot the LORD their God and served the Baals and the Asherahs" (Jdg. 3:7). When the people cried to God for relief, God raised up Othniel as deliverer. Othniel was one of the four judges of whom it is said that "The Spirit of the LORD came upon him" (Jdg. 3:10; the others were GIDEON, JEPHTHAH, and SAMSON). Thus enabled, he defeated Cushan-Rishathaim.

Othniel evidently became the eponymous ancestor of a Judahite clan, for one of his descendants served as captain of the temple guard for the twelfth monthly course under DAVID (1 Chr. 27:15).

(See further KD, *Chronicles,* 89-90; J. *Garstang, Joshua, Judges* [1931]: 263-65; M. Noth, *History of Israel* [1958], 56-59.)
L.J.WOOD

**Othoniah** oth'uh-ni'uh ('Οθονιας, apparently from Heb. עתניהו, meaning possibly "Yahweh is my strength"; see OTHNIEL). KJV Othonias. One of the descendants of Zamoth who agreed to put away their foreign wives (1 Esd. 9:28; apparently called MATTANIAH in the parallel, Ezra 10:27).

**Othonias** oth'uh-ni'uhs. KJV Apoc. form of OTHONIAH (1 Esd. 9:28).

**ouches.** This English term, which refers to the settings where precious stones are mounted, is used by the KJV to render Hebrew *mišbĕṣôt H5401* (Exod. 28:11, 13, 14, 25; 39:6, 13, 16, 18; NJPS, "frames"). Since the Hebrew word is derived from the verb *šābaṣ H8687,* meaning "to weave," it probably refers to a filigree setting—woven gold thread or wire (cf. NIV, NRSV). In the OT it refers most often to the gold settings of the engraved stones in the BREAST-PIECE of the high priest.
S. BARABAS

**oven.** The Hebrew word for "oven," *tannûr H9486,* occurs fifteen times in the OT (Gen. 15:17 [NIV, "firepot"]; Exod. 8:3; et al.). Excavations of Neolithic sites in the Near E (c. 8000 B.C.) have produced many clay ovens set into interior wall corners. Several types were used, including open hearths with a center smoke hole, as in wattle and daub houses found widely scattered across the world from an early period. In the OT ovens of various sizes were used for smelting metals and firing pots, as well as baking the traditional flat doughy bread of the Near E. Before the Punic wars of the 3rd cent. B.C., the Romans had adopted the Greek BREAD made in open clay ovens, but after the African campaigns they favored the *puls punica,* a white raised style made from better wheat and cooked in stone ovens.The ancient ovens were universally heated with wood and some animal dung.

In the imprecations of the prophets, the oven or FURNACE is used as a symbol of God's wrath (Isa. 31:9; Mal. 4:1). This same theme is developed in the gospel narratives, where Christ refers to the judgment at the PAROUSIA in terms of the heat of an oven (Gk. *klibanos G3106,* Matt. 6:30; Lk. 12:28; NIV, "fire"). The use of metallic stoves was not begun in antiquity because of the difficulty in tempering the metal sufficiently to withstand the heat. Many types of structures were built with the lower openings facing in such a manner as to take

An ancient oven from Israel.

advantage of the prevailing winds. Such ovens were capable of high temperatures, and were probably the ones referred to in the prophetic contexts.

W. WHITE, JR.

**Ovens, Tower of the.** A tower in the western wall of postexilic JERUSALEM, restored by NEHEMIAH (Neh. 3:11). When the walls were rededicated, one of the processions, starting presumably from the VALLEY GATE (cf. H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra-Nehemiah,* WBC 16 [1985], 373), went N "past the Tower of the Ovens to the Broad Wall" (12:38). Archaeological excavations have uncovered the BROAD WALL, which intersected the western wall; thus the general location of the Tower of the Ovens can be determined (i.e., a relatively short distance S of the Broad Wall), though the precise site is unknown. Earlier attempts to associate this tower with the CORNER GATE were misleading.

**overlay.** Archaeology reveals that the process of overlaying was known quite early among the Egyptians, and the offspring of JACOB may have learned it during their stay in EGYPT. By far, gilding was the most prominent type of overlaying practiced by Israel. Gold plates covered parts of the TABERNACLE structure: the pillars that supported the veil and the side frames of the tabernacle with their bars. Gold-plated items of tabernacle furniture were the ARK OF THE COVENANT (inside and out; cf. Heb. 9:4) with its carrying bars, the table of SHOWBREAD with its bars, and the altar of INCENSE with its bars (Exod. 25-26; 36-37).

Even more extensive was the amount of GOLD used in this way in Solomon's TEMPLE. The cherubim, the floor, the two doors to the Holy of Holies, and the doors at the entrance to the temple were overlaid with gold. The enormous quantity of this precious metal required for such an undertaking could hardly be estimated, but the six hundred talents within the Holy of Holies alone amounts to more than twenty tons (1 Ki. 6; 2 Chr. 3). The gold plates were fastened to the walls with gold nails, but were removable under extreme circumstances (2 Ki. 18:16). Solomon also used gold to overlay his own ivory throne (1 Ki. 10:18; 2 Chr. 9:17).

Overlaying with SILVER was done only sparingly, being limited to the capitals of the pillars in the court of the tabernacle (Exod. 38:17, 19, 28). The altar of burnt offering with its carrying poles and the doors to the court of the temple were coated with bronze (Exod. 27:2, 6; 38:2, 6; 2 Chr. 4:9).

R. L. THOMAS

**overseer.** This English term or related words occur frequently in the OT (often rendering a

An Egyptian overseer with a staff in his hand. Wall painting from the Beni Hasan tombs in Egypt.

form of the Heb. verb *pāqad H7212,* which has a wide semantic range, including the sense, "to take care of"). Overseers had charge of the workmen in the construction of Solomon's TEMPLE (2 Chr. 2:18; NIV, "foremen") and of those involved with repairing the temple under Josiah's auspices (2 Chr. 34:12-13, 17). JOSEPH was given oversight of POTIPHAR's house (Gen. 39:4-5; NIV, "put him in charge") and suggested to PHARAOH the appointment of overseers throughout Egypt (Gen. 41:34; NIV, "commissioners"). Officers with the same title were active in helping rule the remnant in Jerusalem after the Babylonian captivity (Neh. 11:9, 14, 22; NIV, "chief officer") and will also be found among Israel during her future time of restoration (Isa. 60:17; NIV, "governor"). HEZEKIAH also provided for overseers of the tithes and offerings brought to the temple (2 Chr. 31:13). Ants have no overseer, yet their industry should embarrass the sluggard (Prov. 6:6-8).

In the NT, the KJV gives "overseer" only once as the rendering of *episkopos G2176,* which is descriptive of the function of ELDERS in the Ephesian church (Acts 20:28; cf. "taking the oversight" for the cognate verb *episkopeō G2174,* 1 Pet. 5:2). In the other passages where this Greek noun appears, the KJV has "bishop," but the NIV translates it consistently as "overseer" (Phil. 1:1; 1 Tim. 3:2; Tit. 1:7; 1 Pet. 2:25). See BISHOP.

R. L. THOMAS

**owl.** As many as ten different Hebrew words have been thought to refer to various species of owls, and there is wide disagreement among the English versions in the translation of these terms. In a section of the list of unclean birds (Lev. 11:16-18; Deut. 14:15 –17), the RSV identifies only one of the birds as an owl, the NRSV and NJPS identify three as owls (but they agree on only two of them), while the NIV regards six of them as distinct owl species. In an important scientific analysis, G. R. Driver (in *PEQ* no vol. [1955]: 5-20) argued that a full eight of the terms refer to owls, as follows:

1. *bat yaʿănă H1426 + H3613* (Lev. 11:16a), eagle owl (NIV, horned owl; NRSV, OSTRICH).
2. *taḥmās H9379 (v.* 16b), short-eared owl (NIV, screech owl; NRSV, NIGHTHAWK).
3. *šaḥap H8830* (v. 16c), long-eared owl (NIV, GULL; NRSV, sea gull).
4. *kôs H3927* (v. 17a), tawny owl (NIV and NRSV, little owl).
5. *šālāk H8960* (v. 17b), fisher owl (NIV and NRSV, CORMORANT).
6. *yanšûp H3568* (v. 17c), screech owl (NIV and NRSV, great owl).
7. *tinšemet H9492* (v. 18a), little owl (NIV, white owl; NRSV, WATER HEN).

8. *qāʾat H7684* (v. 18b), scops owl (NIV and NRSV, desert owl).

According to Driver, the order in which they appear is based on size, with the largest owl listed first (several of the terms occur elsewhere, e.g., Ps. 102:6; Isa. 34:11). These identifications are reasoned by him at some length from philology and natural history, but are only tentative. There are some minor inaccuracies in the biological data. A more important objection to this list is that these owls are largely nocturnal birds, some migratory or rare, and it is most doubtful whether they would have been known well enough in Palestine to be given individual names—far less in the desert, where the Levitical lists were proclaimed.

The following brief note concerns the species of owls known in Palestine today. The *eagle owl,* in a number of races (e.g., Eurasian *Bubo bubo,* African *Bubo africanus),* is the world's largest species and may be nearly 28 in. long. It ranges through much of Europe and Asia, including Palestine, where a beautiful sandy-colored desert race is found, as well as a woodland form. This species is resident. The *short-eared owl (Asio flammeus,* alternate spelling *A. flammens),* more diurnal than most kinds, passes through on migration (cf. also *qippōd H7887* in Zeph. 2:14 [so *HALOT,* 3:1117, but NIV and NRSV have "screech owl"]; the similar Heb. word *qippôz H7889* in Isa. 34:15 may refer to *Syrnium aluco,* but some believe that the ARROW-SNAKE is in view here). The *long-eared owl (Asio otus)* lives in forests and goes to Palestine only for the winter. The *tawny owl (Strix aluco)* is some 15 in. long; it has a wide distribution, in many races, and lives in woods, feeding mostly on rodents. The *fishing owl (Ketupa zeylonensis)* is probably absent from Palestine itself but is well known from the Nile valley and Iraq; it feeds like the OSPREY, snatching fish from near the surface of the water. The *barn owl (Tyto alba)* is the palest of all, with areas of white or cream plumage; through its wide range it normally is associated with farms and buildings, and is easily recognized by its long drawn screech in flight and strange snoring and hissing noises at the nest. The *little owl (Athene noctua)* is now the commonest kind and breeds in most regions other than the desert; it often is seen perching near the roadside by day and is more useful than harmful to humans. The *scops owl* (many races, such as *Otus brucei)* is even smaller, only 7.5 in. long; it is a summer visitor to Palestine and well-known from its monotonous single whistle note, though seldom seen.

G. S. CANSDALE

**ox (animal).** See CATTLE.

**Ox (person)** ohks (Ωξ). Son of Joseph and grandfather of JUDITH (Jdt. 8:1). Because the name is not Semitic, some suspect it may be a corruption of *Oz* (found in some MSS.) or *Ozi,* that is, Hebrew Uzzi; others believe the name is fictitious.

**Oxyrhynchus Sayings of Jesus** ok si-ring'kuhs. A collection of sayings or apothegms purporting to be quoted from Jesus and surviving on four small fragments of PAPYRUS written in Koine Greek. These were discovered in the systematic search for papyrus carried on at the site of the Hellenistic town of Oxyrhynchus (modern Behnesa, 121 mi. below Cairo and 10 mi. to the W of the Nile River). The mass of papyri fragments, scrolls, and folios excavated from Oxyrhynchus were published by the British scholars B. P. Grenfell (1869-1926) and A. S. Hunt (1871-1934) and their successors in eighteen volumes, and accompanied by several monographs.

The sayings attributed to Jesus are written on four separate and apparently unrelated fragments.

The first was discovered soon after the first trench into the mound of the ancient Roman-age town was dug, after 11 January 1897. It was titled by its finders, *Papyrus I,* and contains a portion of the apocryphal Gospel of St. Thomas, a Gnostic work of the postapostolic period (see THOMAS, GOSPEL OF). There are seven decipherable sayings each introduced by the phrase "Jesus says," and apparently disconnected from each other except for the introductory phrase.

Preservation of such fragments leaves more questions unanswered than answers provided. The "sayings *of Papyrus 1*" are paraphrased as follows: (1) "Jesus says, Unless you fast from the world, you will in no way discover the kingdom of God." "If you do not keep the sabbath the whole week through, you will not see the father." (2) "Jesus says, I stood in the center of the world and I was seen by them in the flesh, and I found all men drunk, but I found none thirsty among them." (3) "Jesus says, My soul grieves concerning the sons of men because their hearts are blind so they do not see their plight and their poverty." (4) "Jesus says, Wherever there are two together they are not apart from God, and where one is alone, I tell you I am with him." "Lift up the stone and then you shall find me, split the beam and I am there." (5) "Jesus says, A physician does not treat those who know him." (6) "Jesus says, You hear with one ear, but the other is closed." (7) "Jesus says, There is nothing hidden (buried) which shall not be (raised) known." (The numbering and reconstruction of the sayings is highly tentative and that shown here is by no means final or authoritative.) These statements were written on a leaf of an ancient codex and are marked on the reverse with the figure "11," possibly indicating that it was once part of a much larger collection.

The second fragment, *Papyrus 654,* was excavated in 1903 and contains a short introductory prologue and the remains of five sayings. Only the left half of the fragment is extant and on the reverse appear listings of real estate surveys. It may have been a school text but contains some material unknown from other sources. The prologue declares the contents to be the "life-giving" sayings of Jesus who is stated to be alive and to have been seen by Thomas and the ten. This reference has been assumed to relate the work to the apocryphal Gospel of Thomas. However, a restoration of one of the sayings is similar to a quotation from the apocryphal Gospel of the Hebrews cited by CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA: "May he that seeks not stop seeking until he finds, and when he finds he will wonder, and after he has wondered he will rule, and after he has ruled he will rest." The remaining sayings appear to be slightly variant versions of similar statements that appear in the Gospels (Matt. 7:7; 10:26; et al.; Lk. 17:20ff.).

The third fragment, *Papyrus 655,* is another fragment from a scroll as is *654,* but the two are unrelated. Two columns are preserved, but the second one is so badly damaged as to be barely decipherable. The better preserved portion is a free variant of Matt. 6:25-28 concerning the lilies of the field and the providence of God. A citation in the works of Clement of Alexandria which he traces to the apocryphal Gospel of the Egyptians seems to be paralleled by a saying quoted at the end of this fragment. "His disciples say to him, When will you be revealed to us and when will we see you? He replies, When you have cast off your garment and are no longer feeling shameful." No other quotation of this type is known from other sources.

The fourth fragment was uncovered in 1905 written in a very tiny hand on both sides of a leaf from a CODEX. The extant text totals about forty-five lines plus some fragmentary words. The contents have been the subject of considerable controversy. It takes the form of a dialogue between Jesus and a Pharisee, a high priest named Levi. Just what the text was meant to convey—whether another apocryphal gospel, a set of magic statements, or a school text—has not been decided. It is distinctly different in style and content from the other three fragments. The text is known as *Papyrus 840.* No known parallels exist.

Unfortunately many speculations have been based on no better foundational assumptions than the MARCION hypothesis, the negative higher critical schools, or simply some notion of which fragment precedes the others. The results have had little application to overall NT exegesis. The situation, however, has changed somewhat with the discovery of the DEAD SEA SCROLLS and the insight they provide into the mystical exegesis of the OT common at that time. The recovery of a number of Coptic Gnostic papyri from Egypt discovered beginning in 1948 at the site of a Roman era town near modern Chenoboskion has added the only other series of papyri of similar content (see NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY). It is clear from the fuller text of the apocryphal gospel attributed to Thomas that the short disconnected LOGIA quotations were typical of the Gnostic writings (see GNOSTICISM).

The earliest date so far assigned the Oxyrhyn-chus Papyri is the middle of the 3rd Christian century. By that period the syncretism of Christianity and the Hellenistic religions was well advanced, and apologists were striving to define the heretical dogmas abroad. A common contrivance of the various heterodox movements was to ascribe their notions to some leader of the church, and these collections of Jesus' words no doubt sprang from such motives. The double phrase form and the cleverly associated development of ideas is similar to the main body of oriental WISDOM literature, which may be traced back to the 3rd millennium B.C. The fragments also indicate that their writers had a broad knowledge of the canonical evangelists. Some debate has centered on the fact that there are no clear references to texts or statements from John's gospel. This is most probably just a coincidence of discovery; the fourth gospel was parodied and modified for the purposes of the sectaries as much as the other three.

The question as to whether these or other collections of noncanonical sayings may in fact be based on some unrecorded true remembrance of the words of Jesus is related to the view of canon which is adopted. See CANON (NT). Since the apostles were in the prime position to judge the veracity of such texts, and since their disciples took such pains to set down only their teachings, it is highly unlikely that a large body of such literature would have survived. The evidence for an extensive body of oral tradition in the immediate postapostolic age is denied by the writings of the pre-Nicene fathers, who appear to have shown the diligence and care necessary to differentiate between the true canonical books and the many spurious ones then in circulation. The difficulty of the location of the true origin of the sayings is impossible to solve, and speculations are useless. In each of the sayings the theme of the "hiddenness" of the true message of Jesus and the need for nonrational means of obtaining the true knowledge are typically oriental and neo-Platonic, two chief features mentioned by the Greek fathers as common in the heresies of their time.

One aspect of the sayings that demonstrates the essential character of the 3rd-cent. church is their simple reliance for authority on the words of Jesus. The authors of these spurious texts could seek no better authority for their notions than to insert them into the teachings of Jesus. The common notion that Christ did not construct an authoritative body of teaching, but that it was his followers who made up the true character of Christological authority, is thus destroyed. Another feature of the sayings is that they lack the inherent Semitic style and semantics of the actual quotations from Christ's teaching as recorded in the Gospels. They are probably not based on Hebrew or Aramaic originals, but were set down in either Coptic of Upper Egypt or Koine Greek. Final assessment of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri must await the results of newer archaeological discoveries of texts from the Roman era.

(See further B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, et al., eds. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri,* 32 vols. [1898 – 1966]; H. G. E. White, *The Sayings of Jesus from Oxyrhynchus* [1920]; J. Jeremias, *Unknown Sayings of Jesus* [1957]; W. S.Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* [2004]; *NTAp,* 1:92-95,110-23.)

**Ozem** oh'zuhm (אֹצֶם *H730,* possibly "hot-tempered"). (1) Sixth son of JESSE and older brother of DAVID (1 Chr. 2:15).

(2) Son of JERAHMEEL and descendant of JUDAH through PEREZ and HEZRON (1 Chr. 2:25).

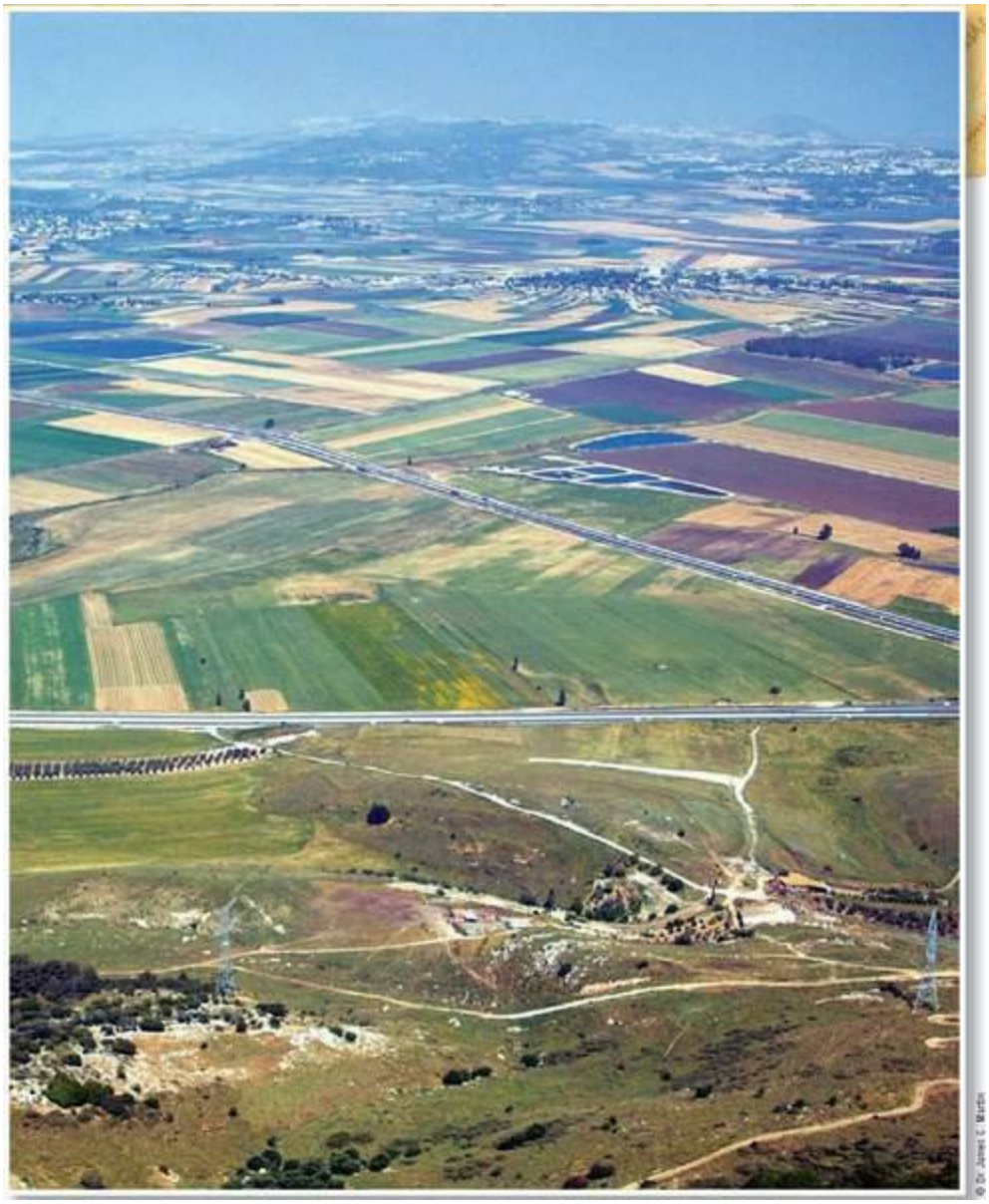
**Ozias** oh-zi'uhs. KJV Apoc. and NT form of UZZIAH (Jdt. 6:15 et al.; Matt. 1:8-9).

**Oziel** oh'zee-uhl (Οζιήλ). Son of Elkiah and ancestor of JUDITH (Jdt. 8:1).

**Ozni** oz'ni (אָזְנִי *H269,* prob. short form of אַזַּנְיָה *H271,* "Yahweh has heard" [see AZANIAH]; the gentilic has the same form, אָזְנִי *H270,* "Oznite"). Son of GAD and eponymous ancestor of the Oznite clan (Num. 26:16); called EZBON in the parallel list (Gen. 46:16).

**Ozora** oh-zuh'ruh. KJV Apoc. form of EZORA (1 Esd. 9:34).

# P



Aerial view of the Jezreel Valley looking N toward the western section of the Nazareth Ridge. This area provided an important transportation route across ancient Palestine.

**P (Priestly).** An abbreviation used (along with D, E, and J) to designate one of the supposed sources of the PENTATEUCH, according to the Documentary Hypothesis. This priestly document is dated after the EXILE, when the professional priesthood is thought to have elaborated ritual practices and made them binding upon all the Jews. See also PRIESTS AND LEVITES.
S. BARABAS

**Paaneah** pay'uh-nee'uh. See ZAPHENATH-PANEAH.

**Paarai** pay'uh-ri (פַּעֲרַי *H7197,* apparently from פָּעַר *H7196,* "to open [the mouth wide]"). An ARBITE, listed among DAVID's mighty warriors (2 Sam. 23:35); in the parallel passage he is called "Naarai son of Ezbai" (1 Chr. 11:37). See discussion under EZBAI.

**Pacatania** pak'uh-tan'ee-uh. See PACATIANA.

**Pacatiana** pak'uh-ti-ay'nuh (Πακατιανός, "peaceful"). Sometimes Pacatania. A province in ASIA MINOR whose capital was LAODICEA. At the end of the 3rd cent. A.D., the province of ASIA was divided into seven parts, two of which were PHRYGIA Prima on the W and Phrygia Secunda on the E. After the time of the Emperor Constantine, Phrygia Prima also bore the name Pacatiana (Secunda was also known as Salutaris; cf. W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography,* 2 vols. [1857], 2:624-25; W. M. Ramsay in *HDB,* 3:865). At the end of 1 Timothy, the KJV includes this subscription on the margin: "The first to Timothy was written from Laodicea, which is the chiefest city of Phrygia Pacatiana *[mētropolis Phrygias tēs Pakatianēs]."* This is the reading of the TR and of most Greek MSS, but none earlier than the 8th cent.
R. L. ALDEN

**Pachon** pay'kuhn (Παχων). Ninth month of the Egyptian year, approximately June (3 Macc. 6:38). See EPEIPH.

**Paddan, Paddan Aram** pad'uhn, pad uhn-air'uhm (פַּדָּן *H7019* [only Gen. 48:7], prob. "plain"; פַּדַּן אֲרָם *H7020* [cf. שְׂדֵה אֲרָם, "field/land of Aram," Hos. 12:12, MT v. 13]). KJV Padan, Padan-aram. The area of Upper MESOPOTAMIA around HARAN, upstream of the junction of the rivers EUPHRATES and HABOR (Gen. 25:20; 28:2-7; 31:18; et al.). The name occurs only in Genesis and is thought to be equivalent to ARAM NAHARAIM (but see *ABD,* 5:55). The strategic importance of this sector of the FERTILE CRESCENT is reflected in the patriar chal narratives. Here ABRAHAM dwelt before his emigration to Canaan. He sent his servant to it to procure a bride for his son, ISAAC. And to the same area JACOB fled and dwelt with LABAN. See also ARAM (COUNTRY).
J. M. HOUSTON

The Plain of Haran, where this photo of an old beehive home was taken, is in the region that the Bible calls Paddan Aram.

**paddle.** This word, which in Middle English referred specifically to a spade-shaped tool used for cleaning a plow, is used once by the KJV to render *yātēd H3845* (Deut. 23:13). The Hebrew term means "peg" but has a variety of uses. In this passage it refers to a wooden spade to be used for latrine purposes (RSV, "stick"; NRSV, "trowel"; NIV, "something to dig with").

**Padon** pay'duhn (פָּדוֹן *H7013,* "ransom," possibly the short form of a theophoric name such as פְּדָיָהוּ

*H7016,* "Yahweh has redeemed"). Ancestor of a family of temple servants (NETHINIM) who returned from the EXILE with ZERUBBABEL (Ezra 2:44; Neh. 7:47; 1 Esd. 5:29 [KJV, "Phaleas"]).

**pagan.** See GENTILE.

**Pagiel** pay'gee-uhl (פַּגְעִיאֵל *H7005,* perhaps "one who intercedes with God" or "God has entreated *[or* met]"). Son of Ocran; he was the leader from the tribe of ASHER, heading a division of 41,500 (Num. 2:27-28; 10:26). Pagiel was among those who assisted MOSES in taking a census of the Israelites (1:13) and who brought offerings to the Lord for the dedication of the TABERNACLE (7:72-77).

**Pahath-Moab** pay'hath-moh'ab (פַּחַת מוֹאָב *H7075,* "governor of Moab"). This name (apparently derived from a title) is attributed to an Israelite who may have held some office in MOAB, perhaps at the time that DAVID subjugated that nation (cf. 2 Sam. 8:2). We know nothing about him, but he had more than 2,800 descendants (through two distinct lines, it seems) who returned from the EXILE under ZERUBBABEL (Ezra 2:6; Neh. 7:11; 1 Esd. 5:11 [KJV, "Phaath Moab"]). Another group of 200 of his descendants returned later with EZRA (Ezra 8:4; 1 Esd. 8:31). Eight of them are listed as having married foreign wives (Ezra 10:30), and at least one of them, HASSHUB, helped NEHEMIAH rebuild the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. 3:11). His name—referring possibly to the chief of his clan—is listed among "the leaders of the people" who signed the covenant of Nehemiah (Neh. 10:14).
R. L. ALDEN

**Pahlavi** pah'luh-vee. Also Pehlevi. This term was applied by the Persians to that dialect of their language that was used by the Sassanian dynasty from the 3rd to the 7th cent. A.D. (i.e., from the overthrow of the PARTHIANS to the time of the Muslim conquest). See PERSIA. The Pahlavi script (derived from a late form of the Aramaic or Syriac ALPHABET) was used also to put down in written form a much earlier stage of the language known as Avestan, but preserved only in oral form from the period of Zoroaster (see ZOROASTRIANISM). The Zoroastrian Scriptures, known as the *Avesta,* survived by oral tradition from the 6th cent. B.C. until the 7th cent. A.D., and then began to achieve written form, doubtless in answer to the challenge of the written Koran of the Muslims. The earliest datable inscriptions, however, in Arsacid or Parthian Pahlavi appeared on the coins of Vologases I (A.D. 51-79; cf. R. Ghirshman, *Iran* [1954], 256-57); previously, the Parthian coins had borne Greek inscriptions exclusively.

The language came into its own as the official medium of communication only with the rise of the Sassanian dynasty under Ardashir I (c. A.D. 224), and so remained until they were finally overwhelmed by the Muslims in 651. Unfortunately, however, there was little of the literary Pahlavi that survived destruction, although portions of the *Dadhastan i Menoghkhrad* ("Doctrine of Celestial Wisdom") and the *Ardagh Viraz-Namagh* ("Vision of Ardagh Viraz") contain material on Zoroastrian theology that is thought to go back to the period of Khosrau I (531-579). Likewise the legendary life of Ardashir I in *Karnamak-i Ardashir-i Papakan* has been shown to be current in the late Sassanian period before the Muslim conquest. Quite possibly the important later compilation known as the *Denkard,* which deals with matters of cosmology and religious legends of various sorts, contains historical references to Shapur I (241 –270) as a patron of literature, who encouraged the translated of major works in Greek and Sanskrit into the Pahlavi language.

Certain major difficulties have beset the study of Pahlavi literature, the chief of which is the habit of the scribes in regard to the use of ARAMAIC expressions and terms, which they employed in preference to the actual Pahlavi words that they represented. The reason for this practice seems to have been (a) the prestige that the earlier language enjoyed throughout the Middle E, and (b) the words could be written more briefly in Aramaic than in the more polysyllabic Pahlavi. It was formerly supposed by modern scholars that the language had actually absorbed these Aramaic terms into their actual speech (just as Persian later absorbed a very high percentage of Arabic). A glossary has been preserved, the *Frahang-i-Pahlavik,* which lists these Aramaic words with their Pahlavi equivalents, and the Pāzand texts of Zoroastrian religious books followed a policy of replacing the Aramaic terms with Persian equivalents equipped with vowels. These serve to indicate the way by which the Pahlavi texts actually were read aloud (e.g., the preposition "from" was written with Aram. *min,* but read aloud as *hac).*

The second major difficulty in the interpretation of Pahlavi is that the various letters of their alphabet of 18 letters tended to develop forms so similar to each other as to be virtually indistinguishable except for the context. Students of the language, lacking for the most part any vowel notation, and coping with the similar-appearing consonants, find certainty of interpretation extremely difficult to attain. See also LANGUAGES OF THE ANE III.

(See further H. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pahlavi, 2* vols. [1928-31]; J. C. Tavadia, *Die mittelpersische Sprache und Literatur der Zarathustrier* [1956]; R. C. Zaehner: *The Teachings of the Magi: A Compendium of Zoroastrian Beliefs* [1956]; D. N. MacKenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary* [1971]; C. J. Brunner, *A Syntax of Western Middle Iranian* [1977]; R. Asha, *The Persic ("Pahlavi"): A Grammatical Precis* [1998].)

G. L. ARCHER

**Pai** *pi.* Alternate form of PAU.

**paint.** Biblical references to paint and painting are comparatively few, in spite of the fact that the people of the ANE have always been fond of bright colors. Black paint was used to enlarge the eyes (2 Ki. 9:30; Jer. 4:30; Ezek. 23:40). In Jer. 22:14, mention is made of painting a house in red; in Ezek. 23:14, of drawing pictures on the wall with the same pigment (the Hebrew word is *šāšar H9266,* referring prob. to the bright red pigment *vermilion,* either *cinnabar,* red mercuric sulphide, or *minium,* red oxide of lead).

Painting played a large part in the life of the ancients. It began with the decoration of pottery

Bathhouse at Masada with some of the paint on the walls still visible.

and of the body. The colors, taken from nature, usually had religious and magical meaning. There is hardly any information of the painter's craft from MESOPOTAMIA. In EGYPT, however, most of the craftsmen seem to have done their own painting for centuries. Individual painters and even easel painting and its products can be traced as far back as 2600 B.C. A picture of an artist's workshop dates to the Amarna period (R.J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology,* 9 vols. [1955-65], 3:241). The color schemes varied in different periods. Early wall paintings at Hierakonpolis show the use of yellow, red, green, white, and black. The ancients painted pottery, plaster, stone, wood, canvas, papyrus, ivory, and semiprecious stones or metals (ibid., 242). Fragments of paint have been found by archaeologists in houses from the period of the monarchy in Palestine (e.g., by W. F. Albright at Tell Beit Mirsim). See ARCHITECTURE.

P. A. VERHOEF

**palace.** The common Hebrew word *bayit H1074,* "house," is often rendered "palace" in the NIV and other versions when it refers to the residence of a king or high official (Exod. 8:3 et al.; cf. also Gk. *oikos G3875 in* Matt. 11:8). More specific terms are Hebrew *hêkāl H2121* (2 Ki. 20:18 and frequently) and *bîtān H1131* (only Esth. 1:5; 7:7-8), as well as Greek *aulē G885,* "court, hall" (Matt. 26:3 et al.), *basileios G994,* "king's dwelling" (Lk. 7:25), and *praitōrion G4550,* from Latin *praetorium,* "governor's residence" (Jn. 18:28 et al.). For the historical development of the palace, see ARCHITECTURE.

One of the earliest palatial type structures was the "palace" of AI, about 22 ft. wide by 66 ft. long, with four interior pillars down the middle and a second story, a prebiblical Canaanite structure of the Early Bronze Period. At TAANAK from the Middle Bronze II Age was a palace about 66 ft. per side that included several rooms approximately 10 by 14 ft. with a large court occupying a corner of the plan. The "palace" at MEGIDDO (c. 1650-1150 B.C.) was named for its character and size. It extended through several levels with variations, indicating a prolonged era of power. A large structure discovered at Tell el-Ful (GIBEAH of Benjamin) may have been the palace of King SAUL (cf. A. Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible, 10,000-586 B.C.E* [1992], 371-74).

SOLOMON's palace, of which nothing remains and which may have been destroyed by SHISHAK as the Lord's penalty for REHOBOAM's apostasy, was called the House (Palace) of the Forest of Lebanon because its columns and roof structure were of Lebanon cedar (1 Ki. 7:2 et al.; see FOREST). It was built in close proximity to the TEMPLE on the S and measured 50 by 100 cubits. Near it was a porch leading to the throne room, which was connected to the temple enclosure by a single gate. The House had an enclosing wall of three courses of stone reinforced against earthquake shock by a row of wood beams. Valuable stones were used in the masonry work (7:9).

Later, OMRI and AHAB, kings of Israel, built their palaces at SAMARIA, the latter's being distinguished by a large, enclosed court formed by a wall of casemate construction. Jeremiah makes several references to parts of the palace that was destroyed by NEBUCHADNEZZAR (Jer. 36:20, 22; 37:21; a guard room, 38:6). In NEHEMIAH's time, wood beams were parcelled out on the king's order (Neh. 2:8). The luxury and splendor of Persian palaces are detailed in Esth. 1, and they are amply verified from the excavations. For ornamentation and beauty, painted plaster was frequently employed in Babylonian palaces. Except for cut stone in the eras of Solomon and Ahab, general construction was of rubble stone and plaster finish.

The postexilic period presents a governor's residence at Tell ed-Duweir (LACHISH) that featured an inner, enclosed court with rooms arranged on three sides, having several arched doors and vaulted

roofs, and covered an area of c. 2,700 square yards. In TRANSJORDAN, Araq el-Amir presents on the outside a bare, flat wall of desert fortification enclosing soldier and living quarters within, from the end of the Ptolemaic age. ANTIOCHUS Epiph-anes is reported to have built a palace to the S of the temple in Jerusalem, but nothing remains of it.

The site of the Tower of HANANEL in Jerusalem was incorporated by HEROD the Great into his Tower of ANTONIA, a rectangular palace with four corner towers, and apartments between. It enclosed an open court that is the site of the present Sisters of Zion Convent, in whose basement may be seen the pavement of the court of Herod's Tower of Antonia. Cisterns below the pavement are still used. Herod also built a fortress atop the table rock at MASADA, along the W shore of the Dead Sea. This fortress was of great beauty and included several fountains. Excavations have justified JOSEPHUS's descriptions. It became the last holdout of the Jews against the Romans in A.D. 73 or 74.

In the NT, "the palace of the high priest" (Matt. 26:3; Jn. 18:15) refers to his official quarters, which probably were located on the site of St. Pierre in Gallicantu, situated across the Tyropoeon to the SW from the temple mount. Jesus was taken from there to the*praitōrion* (see PRAETORIUM), where the soldiers mocked him.

The progressive adornment of the palaces by earthly rulers lifted them to the levels of symbols of oppression and made them forget their dependence on God. Ideally God was the protector of the palace and its chief dweller (Ps. 48:3) when faith occupied the king's heart. Usually sumptuous palaces were accompanied by exploitation of the people. The presence of many IVORY pieces in the ruins of Samaria (cf. Amos 6:4) indicate lavish use of this material as decoration, emphasizing the disparity between the classes.

The prophets did not hesitate to single out the palace as symbolizing the king, nor to denounce him for his excesses. Amos declared that fire would destroy BEN-HADAD's palace, which would be God's vengeance for atrocities in GILEAD (Amos 1:5). GAZA was to be burned with fire (v. 7) because this city had sold Hebrews to EDOM (v. 6), who would, in turn, experience the destruction of fire because of enmity to Israel (v. 12). TYRE would experience a similar fate for the same unbrotherly attitude (v. 10). The destruction of the palace declared that the kingdom was at an end (2:2). Such fate would befall Judah (v. 5), ending the dynasty of Jeconiah (JEHOIACHIN).

The seat of power and authority in ASHDOD and Egypt was the palace, but bad news could not be excluded by that power when God brought judgment (Amos 3:9), for they had filled their storehouses with violence, that is, gotten their goods by violent means; therefore Samaria would be delivered up because of its corruption and unfeeling luxury (6:8). The action of aggressor-usurpers burning a king's house because of the evils of the former king often is declared to be God's judgment (1 Ki. 16:18).

When the king followed God, God would abide in the king's palace, that is, give his blessings on the king's rule (Ps. 48:3), and the palaces of the city that followed God would be known as those that mark God's blessings—a great lesson for all governments (v. 13). To the end that rulers in Israel should fear God, DAVID declared the palace was for God; in other words, the king was only God's viceroy, and justice was to be the palace inhabitant (1 Chr. 29:1). (See J.-M. Fenasse, "Palais," in *DBSup* 6 [1960], cols. 976-1021; A Badawy, *Architecture of Egypt and the Near East* [1966]; W. G. Dever in *ABD*, 5:56-58.)

H. G. STIGERS

**palaeography.** See PALEOGRAPHY.

**Palal** pay'lal (פָּלָל *H7138,* prob. short form of פְּלַלְיָה *H7139,* "Yahweh has intervened"; see PELA-LIAH). Son of Uzai; he assisted NEHEMIAH in repairing the wall of Jerusalem, working "opposite the angle and the tower projecting from the upper palace near the court of the guard" (Neh. 3:25).

**palanquin.** This English term, referring to an enclosed litter carried with poles, is used by the NRSV to render Hebrew *)appiryôn H712,* which occurs only once (Cant. 3:9; KJV, "chariot"; NIV, "carriage"). The precise meaning of the Hebrew word is uncertain, but it probably refers to a sedan, that is, a portable, covered chair designed to carry one person.

**paleography.** Also *palaeography.* The study of ancient writings. In biblical studies, the term is applied especially to the examination of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek MSS, focusing on the form, materials, and dates of ancient books, as well as on scribal practices. See TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (OT); TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (NT).

**Palestina** pal'uh-sti'nuh. KJV alternate name for PHILISTIA (Exod. 15:14; Isa. 14:29, 31; in Joel 3:4, "Palestine"). See also PALESTINE.

**Palestine.** pal'uh-stin. This name (derived from Heb. *pĕlešet H7148* [PHILISTIA] through Lat. *Palaestina)* refers to an ancient region of SW Asia lying between the E coast of the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River (but sometimes considered to include TRANSJORDAN). Often called "the Holy Land" or "the land of the Bible."

1. Name
2. Situation
    1. Palestine and the Mediterranean world
    2. Palestine and the desert
    3. Palestine and the ancient trade routes
    4. Palestine and the Fertile Crescent
3. Landscapes and regions
    1. The heartland (central highlands)
    2. The Plain of Esdraelon
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    6. The Jordan Rift Valley
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4. Geology and structure
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6. Water supply
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**I. Name.** The KJV uses the name Palestine once (Joel 3:4) and the variant Palestina three times (Exod. 15:14; Isa. 14:29, 31). Modern versions, however, properly translate with "Philistia" or "Philistines" (as the KJV itself does in other passages), for the Hebrew term *pĕlešet H7148* refers to the coastlands of the E Mediterranean from GAZA N to JOPPA. Application of the name to the wider region lying inland from this coastline was the work of classical writers, so that by the time of the Roman occupation it could be understood in its modern sense, embodied in the Roman province of Palaestina.

JOSEPHUS reserves *Palaistinē* for Philistia (*Ant.* 1.6.2 §136 et al.) and uses instead the name SYRIA *(e.g., Ant.* 10.6.1 §86, though frequently this name refers more specifically to ARAM), a usage that held good for virtually the entire period of the region's history thereafter, until 1919-20. Under Arab and Ottoman rule, Palestine was but a part of a larger, Syrian unit of government, and it was really only with the breakup of the Turkish empire at the end of the first world war that the name Palestine again took on any precise significance. Under the agreements and treaties of 1916-20, Britain assumed a mandate over parts of the empire that became known as Iraq, Transjordan (Jordan), and Palestine, with the French occupying Lebanon and Syria (N and NE of Palestine). Boundaries of these territories were partly arbitrary and partly based on the old Turkish *vilayets,* or administrative divisions. Britain held the Palestinian mandate through increasingly troubled times, until the modern states of Israel and Jordan were born out of the upheavals following the second world war. The new international boundary (or, more properly, cease-fire line) of the period 1948-67 cut postwar Palestine in two.

Thus the name Palestine seems, over the centuries (with the exception of the period 1920-48), to have covered either too little or too much to have precise meaning; either it described a part of the larger whole that was Syria, or it covered parts of the political unities formed by adjoining states. In popular thought, however, it is probably most common to equate the name Palestine with "the Holy Land," that is, the land occupied by the twelve Hebrew tribes and later identified as sacred—as *hāʾāreṣ, "the* Land"—in Jewish religious thought; and the land where Jesus carried out his ministry and lived his life. There can be little objection to the popular usage, in view of the checkered career of the name from the days of the exodus onward.

**II. Situation.** The crossroads position of this land bridge between Eurasia and Africa in the Middle E is sufficiently obvious to justify the 13th-cent. map makers in their decision to show JERUSALEM as the center of the world—a world which to them was made up of a T-shaped land area with the encircling ocean forming an "O" around it, and Jerusalem at the intersection of the "T." Attempts have repeatedly been made to express the geographical situation of Palestine in a way that will best bring out its unique character. (The most vivid scholarly account is prob. that of George Adam Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* [1894; 25th ed., 1931], hereafter *HGHL.* More recent descriptions include Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], and Z. Kallai, *Historical Geography of the Bible* [1986].) No one statement can do justice to this situation, but the following points taken together will serve to explain something of the uniqueness of Palestine.

***A. Palestine and the Mediterranean world.*** Palestine forms part of the ring of Mediterranean coastlands, a ring whose unity has formed the theme of works by numerous geographers and historians (e.g., Semple, Newbigin, Ogilvie, Siegfried). Not only in terms of vegetation and forms of agriculture, but judged also by the less tangible indices, such as quality of light, the Mediterranean borderlands have a common quality from Spain to the Levant. The sea has united, rather than separated, the peoples on its shores; being enclosed and relatively narrow, it has encouraged exploration and contact by a number of coastal peoples who have carried on its commerce and established its cross-routes. However early and however strong Palestine's land connections with the E may have been, its frontage on the Mediterranean gave it, for better or worse, an identity with the coastlands, and so with Europe and Africa, which could not be overlooked, once sea travel became established.

But it would be quite insufficient to think of Palestine as only Mediterranean in character, because everywhere around its shores the influence of the sea is limited inland by relief and modification of climate. In fact, the Mediterranean influence in Palestine does not penetrate far enough inland to claim the whole even of this narrow land as its preserve. Other influences must be taken into account.

***B. Palestine and the desert.*** Palestine lies on the outer margin of one of the world's great deserts. In numerous ways that desert makes its influence felt within the land—by the hot, dust-laden winds that blow out from it; by the fingers of desert that encroach upon S Judea and the Jordan Rift; most of all, however, by the repeated excursions of desert tribes from ARABIA, reaching out to the more fertile lands beyond the desert rim. Over much of the Middle E, the desert continues down to the seashore. Here in Palestine, there is a humid littoral some 50-80 mi. wide in which the ancient rivalries between the inhabitants of the desert and the sown land could be fought out. Thus George Adam Smith speaks of Syria as "the north end of the Arabian world," and "the most common receptacle of the Arabian drift" *(HGHL,* 30).

***C. Palestine and the ancient trade routes.*** In Smith's words is an implicit challenge to the normal "Western" view of Palestine as a terminus of routes from the W; that is, as the E end of the Mediterranean world (which, in turn, was the world of S Europe). Since the desert lay behind the narrow Levant coastlands, there was no question of European trade routes continuing due E; it was necessary either to establish interchange points on the coast, or to avoid the area by diverting to N or S (i.e., along the lines which, in a much later period, became the Suez Canal route and the "Berlin-Baghdad" railway). Quite apart, therefore, from the religious motivation that inspired the Crusades and produced their "foothold" kingdoms in the 12th and 13th centuries, there was excellent economic reason for European presence at the "end of the line" on the Levant coast, and excellent natural reason for Europeans penetrating no farther. At the same time, and in the long run probably more importantly, Palestine served as the "end of the line" in quite another sense for the inhabitants of the Arabian world, whether moving seasonally or permanently into its richer lands from their own arid territories.

***D. Palestine and the Fertile Crescent.*** This N end of the Arabian world is bordered by a belt of better-watered lands that, roughly semicircular in shape, is well known as the FERTILE CRESCENT. It stretches from Egypt, through Palestine and N Syria, to the Mesopotamian plain and the Persian Gulf. Its fertility is not due to a single cause—in the center of the arc it is largely attributable to rainfall, whereas at the two ends it is a result of irrigation waters from the NILE and EUPHRATES—but fertility

of any kind has been attractive when bordered by desert and rugged mountains. Here in the Crescent grew up the early riverine civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia, and communication between them made of Palestine a land of passage, the great routes of the ancient world following the narrow fertile belt between desert and sea (see ROADS). With such a tantalizing zone of fertility forming the northern rim of their horizon, it is not difficult to explain the eruption of the desert tribes into the settled lands of the Crescent, or, for that matter, the rivalry between its two ends.

It has therefore become commonplace to speak of Palestine as a narrow bridge between N and S, at a point where the Fertile Crescent is curving in that direction, parallel with the Mediterranean coast. The list of invasions that have moved across this bridge, in both directions, is a long one *(HGHL,* 32-33). Today, however, this function is largely in abeyance, and it is safe to say that, if normal relations are ever restored in the Middle E, it is as a bridge between E and W rather than N and S that Palestine will be viewed, the oil pipelines of the 21st cent. replacing the Venetian trade links of the 13th. What is certain, however, is that God's self-revelation was set in lands whose situation has assured them, in successive periods, of focal importance in world affairs.

**III. Landscapes and regions.** Strategic though its position may be at the Middle Eastern crossroads, the land of Palestine is remarkable for its small size in contrast to such neighboring entities as Egypt, Arabia, or Syria. Its dimensions should be realized: from DAN (PLACE) to BEERSHEBA, the historic limits of the land, is 145 mi.; from the nearest point on the Mediterranean coast JERUSALEM lies, as the crow flies, 32 mi. inland, with JERICHO 15 mi. farther on. From NAZARETH to Jerusalem, the straight-line distance is less than 65 mi. (although the journey made by the boy Jesus and his parents would, admittedly, have involved greater distance and considerable detour). Lastly, the distance between Jerusalem and the city that was for so long its rival, if not its enemy—SAMARIA—is barely 36 mi., or well within the everyday range of the modern commuter. On this small stage almost the whole of the biblical drama, from Joshua to the early chapters of Acts, was played out.

Smallness does not mean in this instance, however, lack of variety. Within the confines of the land there are a coastal plain, two ranges of mountains, the world's deepest surface gash, and an inland sea 50 mi. in length. At least seven distinctive regions can be identified, whereas a refined version of this regional subdivision involves no less than forty-two units (see D. H. Kallner and E. Rosenau in *Geography Review 29* [1939]: 61-80).

***A. The heartland (central highlands).*** The heartland of Israel, in the centuries following occupation of Palestine, lay in the hills that run between the coastline and the Jordan, and is roughly parallel to both. This "hill country" rises to a little over 3,000

The physical geography of Palestine.

ft.; it is at its broadest and highest in the latitude of HEBRON, and both declines and becomes more broken as one goes either N or S from there. On the W, the slope of the hills toward the Mediterranean is relatively gentle: on the E, the descent to the JORDAN Valley is much more abrupt. None of this upland is genuinely fertile; cultivation is possible only where springs or wells of water are available, and much of it is true desert. The general impression is one of a bare and stony land, for the forests that once covered its moister parts have long since given way to axe or animal. In places, the horizontal limestone strata (see below) create the illusion that the hill slopes have been terraced, protruding as they do in a series of benches; terracing has indeed sometimes taken place, but in the main this is a country for pastoralists rather than for cultivators.

The hills of JUDEA—the "mountains…round about Jerusalem" (Ps. 125:2 KJV)—form a sufficiently compact mass to afford some military advantage to the nation occupying them, and this undoubtedly helped the southern kingdom by contrast to the northern, whereas the Philistines, the long-time enemies of Israel within the land, do not seem ever to have penetrated the massif. Northward from Jerusalem, in the "hill country of Ephraim," lay the strong point of the northern kingdom after the separation. Here the upland becomes more broken and less defensible; it is more of a dissected plateau, with isolated summits such as Mounts GERIZIM and EBAL, and it terminates northward in the broad block of Mount GILBOA. Where it does so, the "heartland" terminates also, for as the hills open out northward they give access to the central lowland of Palestine, the Plain of ESDRAELON; that is to say, these northern hills are open to one of the great routeways of the ancient world. The heartland is essentially mountainous—the enemies of Israel reasonably concluded that Israel's God was a god of the hills (1 Ki. 20:23). In its fertile pockets, the most powerful of the twelve tribes made their homes, very much as the Scottish clans occupied the fertile glens among the barren hills, the strength of the tribe or clan depending upon the extent of the fertile area under its control.

The N end of the upland includes the region of Samaria, an intermediate zone of scattered hills,

where movement is easier and where attack was more likely. (Smith *[HGHL,* 220] points out that most of the references to chariot driving in the OT apply to this area; such a vehicle could have made little headway over the hills of Judea.) The main range, although interrupted by the descent to the Plain of Esdraelon, sends out an arm in a NW direction that reaches the sea coast in the blunt promontory of Mount Carmel (see CARMEL, MOUNT).

Carmel rises to less than 2,000 ft., but it does so directly from the seashore, and therefore forms a more impressive feature than its altitude figure would suggest. Projecting westward as it does, the Carmel range receives a somewhat higher rainfall than the area to the E of it, and its vegetation is different in consequence; the cover is denser and included, in the past, a good deal of woodland. This range is only 4-5 mi. broad, but it effectively cuts off the coastal plains of PHILISTIA and SHARON to the S from the narrower coastlands of PHOENICIA. It also acts as a low but definite barrier between Sharon and the Plain of Esdraelon, and so lies across the historic route between Egypt and Mesopotamia (see ROADS). This has given to the passes through the range a particular importance, out of all proportion to the difficulty of crossing it—an importance that has in the past extended to the towns that stood at the N end of the gaps, especially MEGIDDO, and which persisted at least up to the time of Napoleon's campaign of 1797.

***B. The Plain of Esdraelon.*** The mountains that form a rugged backbone for Palestine, from Judea N to the Lebanon, are interrupted for a short distance N of Samaria by a downfaulted basin that affords a lowland passage from the seacoast N of Carmel to the Jordan Valley. Nowhere along this E-W line does the altitude rise above 300 ft.: the basin itself is linked with the coast by the valley of the KISHON and with the Jordan by the narrow vale of JEZREEL. The central plain itself is roughly triangular in shape, with a side of some 15 mi. It has a floor of alluvium that, when drained, yields excellent soil, given peaceful conditions in which to cultivate it. Formerly it was marshy, and SISERA's chariots came to grief there (Jdg. 4:15; 5:21).

From the surrounding hills, the plain must have appeared a tempting goal, and the Israelites duly occupied it. As Baly remarks, if it was Jewish territory, it was "a possession for which they paid very dearly" (D. Baly, *The Geography of the Bible* [1957], 148). For if Judea has been the heartland, Esdraelon has been the cockpit—the crossroads where armies converged and battles were fought. Seldom has the potential fertility of the plain been available for peaceful exploitation: its location is too vital to the broader purposes of peace and war. (For a list of the battles fought here, see Smith, *HGHL,* 253-68; Rev. 16:16 [ARMAGEDDON=Mt. Megiddo] would seem to indicate that the list is not yet complete.)

***C. Galilee.*** Beyond the transverse break in the mountain chain created by the Plain of Esdraelon, the land rises again, abruptly, to the hills of GALILEE. A series of scarp edges overlook the plain on the N, rising as much as 1,000 ft. above it, and forming the rim of Lower Galilee. This N edge of the plain is dominated by the isolated summit of Mount TABOR. The region is normally divided into two —an upper and a lower section—for descriptive purposes; Lower Galilee has summits averaging 2,000 ft. in elevation, whereas Upper Galilee beyond it rises to 3,000 ft. and more.

The two parts of the region, though similar in structure, are very different in landscape. Lower Galilee, a land of limestone hills and fertile basins, was one of the garden spots of the ancient world, well populated, and supporting a considerable number of cities. It received the accolade from Josephus as "universally rich and fruitful" *(War* 3.3.2 §42), and certainly from the gospel narratives there emerges the picture of a region throbbing with life. The settlements and cultivated lands lay in a

series of basins in

The Sorek Valley. (View to the W.)

the hills, separated from each other by low and often barren divides. The ministry of Jesus would have taken him out of the Nazareth basin, which lies just N of the scarp above Esdraelon, and over the surrounding hills, from settlement to settlement, through the olive groves that spread over the lower slopes and the fields of grain that covered the basin floors.

Upper Galilee, by contrast, is in Baly's phrase "aloof and windswept." It is higher, wetter, and more exposed, and it forms a kind of transition zone between Palestine proper and the mountains of Lebanon. Its population has always been sparse, and Smith, ever alert to the military or strategic situation, saw a parallel with the mountain rim of Britain's Indian Empire on the NW Frontier. The "step up" from Lower to Upper Galilee occurs on a line level with the N end of the Sea of Galilee, N of which summit levels increase to 3,000 ft. and above (see GALILEE, SEA OF).

These Galilean hills fall away eastward to the shores of the lake; from 2,000 or 3,000 ft. above sea level they drop to 680 ft. below. Level by level during the descent, the climate and vegetation change—from cheerless moorland and woods to tropical heat and vegetation at the lakeside. Formerly, these eastward-facing slopes of the Galilean hills, with their fruit and grain crops, supported a whole string of lakeshore towns; not only did the lake itself provide employment in fishing and transport, but this W shore of the lake carried a section of the main N-S trade route, a route that crossed the lowland just N of the lake and headed for DAMASCUS. Lower Galilee then lay across the commercial axes of the land favored both by climate and by situation, and its population grew dense. At the time of the Jewish War it is estimated that its population was 400,000 and that it possessed at least nine towns with a population of more than 15,000 (see A. Reifenberg, *The Struggle between The Desert and The Sown* [1955]).

These three regions—Galilee, the central plain, the heartland—together make up the N-S spine of Palestine. Parallel with this spine, to its E and W, run lines of lowland.

***D. The coastal plain.*** On the W, between the mountains and the sea, is the coastal plain, comprising the plain of PHILISTIA in the S (the Philistine homeland that contained their five cities of Gaza, Gath, Ashkelon, Ashdod, and Ekron); the plain of SHARON to the N of this, up to the point where the Carmel promontory (see above) reduces the coastal lowland to a few hundred feet in width; and the plain of Asher N of Carmel. The last of these three areas of plain is linked by the Kishon Valley with the Plain of Esdraelon. At its N end, the coastal lowland is finally squeezed out by the mountains, and N of

here, in Phoenicia, it is present only in a few isolated areas.

As the Israelites first knew it, in the 13th cent. B.C. or thereabout, the plain that bordered their Great Sea was of little value to a nation of cultivators; although it possessed alluvial soils of high quality, much of it was covered with either drifting sand, forest, or marsh. Along the coast a dune barrier made sheltered landing points rare, and diverted the outflowing rivers into lagoons and swamps, which had to be drained. The forest of Sharon was gradually reduced by cutting, and the drifting sands have now to some extent been halted by planting trees.

With all these natural drawbacks, it was still an area that had much to offer to a people subsisting in the Judean hills. It was also a part of the land of promise. This being the case, the Israelites made constant attempts to occupy it. Their wars with its inhabitants, the PHILISTINES, are a prominent feature of the record of Judges and Samuel, but their successes were rare. It was not until the reign of DAVID that decisive victories were registered against the Philistines, and it probably would be fair to say that, in modern terms, Israel had a thoroughgoing inferiority complex about them before David showed the way by killing their champion, GOLIATH (1 Sam. 17). It was probably in consequence both of the natural hostility of the coastline and the military hostility of its inhabitants that Israel developed no attachment to the SEA. Most of the important harbor cities of the Levant lie N of Carmel—especially in Phoenicia—and it was not until HEROD the Great constructed CAESAREA that a significant port was created S of Carmel, and then it was a wholly artificial harbor.

***E. The Shephelah.*** With its northern tip under the shadow of Mount Carmel, the coastal plain broadens steadily southward between the sea and the hills. As it does so, an intermediate or piedmont zone appears, breaking the descent from the mountains to the sea. This piedmont zone was given by the Hebrews the paradoxical name of SHEPHELAH *(šĕpēlâ H9169,* "low [place]"), although in reality it is a belt of gently rolling, low hills between 500 and 1,000 ft. in height (Smith *[HGHL,* 145] describes them as "downs" in the English sense), separated from the mountain chain by a narrow valley. The name Shephelah is now commonly used in regional descriptions of the area.

The main significance of this region was military. Because the Shephelah lay between the coastal plain and the mountains of Judea, it could act as a kind of "outwork" to the defenses of the heartland. As Baly puts it, "Whereas conquest of the Shephelah was always a necessary preliminary to the conquest of the mountains, it was only a preliminary" *(Geography,* 144). These wooded hills (they formerly had a covering of sycamores) would serve to slow an attack from the W, which would thus lose its momentum before it confronted the main mountain defenses of Judea. In all their campaigns against Israel, the Philistines do not seem to have breached the outwork; their decisive victory against SAUL was gained far to the N, at Mount GILBOA (1 Sam. 31), whereas a number of Israel's successful actions against the Philistines took place precisely in the area protected by the Shephelah (cf. 1 Sam. 14:13; 2 Sam. 5:25; etc.).

The Shephelah, however, protected Judah only and not that part of the central spine lying farther N. These piedmont hills, of Eocene limestone (see section IV below), do not extend much farther N than the latitude of Jerusalem—one more military disadvantage for the northern kingdom after its separation from Judah. They terminate, in fact, immediately N of the famous valley of AIJALON, up and down which so many of the invaders of Judah either marched or fled.

***F. The Jordan Rift Valley.*** To the E of the central spine, the hills drop precipitously to what is not so much a plain as a hole in the earth's surface. Nowhere else does that surface sink to such levels: –1,274 ft. at the shore of the DEAD SEA, and –2,600 ft. at the sea's deepest point. This hole—occupied

in turn by the upper Jordan, the Sea of Galilee (600 ft. below sea level), the main stem of the Jordan, the Dead Sea, and the broad valley of the Arabah—is the result of crustal faulting of the surface and forms part of a much larger system of faults crossing the Middle E into Africa.

It begins in the N, where the headstreams of the Jordan drop down from Lebanon, and reach the small Lake Huleh (now largely drained and reclaimed) as a normal valley. South of here, however, the Jordan enters a gorge, and cuts its way down to the Sea of Galilee. There is nothing in the appearance of the rolling, grass-covered slopes of this once busy region to betray the fact that it is below sea level; the lake is some 12 x 5 mi., and its shores are steep though not precipitous. South of the lake, the Jordan enters a trench known as the Ghor, and continues to fall, entering an environment on the trench floor that is largely desert. In this floor, the river has incised itself to a depth of as much as 150 ft. Within the incision, there is a dense, jungle-like vegetation of tamarisk and willow, but this ends abruptly where steep, bare cliffs mark the rise to the main floor of the trench; stained with minerals, these cliffs give "the impression of a chemical slagheap in an industrial area" (W. B. Fisher, *The Middle East: A Physical, Social, and Regional Geography,* 4th ed. [1961], 403).

Crossing the Ghor would have been a laborious undertaking in OT times, and Joshua's monument at GILGAL (Josh. 4:20) marked an important milestone in Israel's journeys. To recross the Jordan, starting from the hills of Judah, involves a 4,000 ft. descent into the cauldron of the Ghor (where the temperature may reach 100°F. every day for three months in the summer), and then the problem of crossing the Jordan bed itself before starting up the 4,000 ft. climb into the hills of MOAB.

The Jordan emerges eventually into the Dead Sea basin, with the mountains of Judea towering in huge cliffs above the western shore (one of them crowned by Herod's great stronghold of MASADA) and the eastern wall of the valley rising more smoothly, but to an equal height, across the 8 to 9 mi. wide sea. South of here the trench bears the name of ARABAH; it is virtually waterless, and rises to some 650 ft. above sea level before falling away to the Gulf of AQABAH.

***G. Transjordan.*** Beyond the Jordan to the E, the mountains rise in another N-S chain to form what is, in many ways, a different world from that W of the river. Although the two are separated in space only by the width of the Ghor, "it is necessary to insist upon the 'otherness' of the country E of the Jordan, because it goes a long way to explain the constant tendency of the Trans-Jordanians to feel that they are a separate people" (Baly, *Geography,* 218). Yet owing to the original settlement of two and a half tribes E of Jordan (Num. 31:1-27), part at least of this area must be—and by the Jews was—regarded as belonging to "the land."

The mountains E of the river increase generally in height from N to S. In BASHAN, E of Galilee, they are around 2,000 ft., and they rise southward, through GILEAD and MOAB, to reach over 5,000 ft. in EDOM (where they form the biblical Mount SEIR). This rise in height runs counter to a general decline in rainfall going from N to S (see section V below), so that the mountains represent a narrow belt of well-watered land, 30-50 mi. wide, between the tongue of desert in the Ghor to their W, and the main Arabian desert to their E. The highest summits are on the W, overlooking the Jordan Valley, and both the surface and the amount of rainfall drop away to the E toward the margin of the true desert. The Mediterranean influences, and specifically Mediterranean crops such as the olive and vine, do not penetrate so far inland as to cross this second range of mountains, but the region is fertile and attractive enough to have diverted the two and a half tribes from any ambition to settle W of Jordan, whereas the resources of the region enabled Moab and Edom to develop sufficient strength to be quite formidable rivals of Israel. They also served as a constant temptation to desert tribes from farther E.

This N-S strip of fertility and heathy upland is divided by nature into several sections by the valleys of Jordan tributaries cutting deep gorges, where they plunge down to reach the floor of the Jordan trench. These gorges form major obstacles even today, and the ancient highway that ran along the chain wound round their heads. From N to S the rivers are the YARMUK, which divides Bashan from Gilead, the JAB-BOK, the ARNON, and the ZERED, the latter forming the historic boundary between Moab and Edom.

Since the rivers divide the terrain into sections, it is possible to distinguish several subregions from N to S. The N end of the range (lower in altitude), known both as Bashan and Hauran, receives plentiful rainfall from across Lower Galilee and possesses fertile volcanic soils. Consequently, it became an important cereal growing area, and served as one of the granaries of Rome. Its surface is that of an irregular plateau.

To the S lies Gilead, more mountainous and formerly almost as well known for its trees as was Lebanon. It produced its famous balm and it yielded excellent pasture, which was what originally attracted the tribes of Reuben and Gad (Num. 32:1), and which still attracts desert tribes to it in summer. To the S of Gilead lies Moab, whose king was a sheep breeder (2 Ki. 3:4), able to deliver 100,000 lambs and the wool of 100,000 rams to the king of Israel, although his country was subsequently devastated. Still farther S lies Edom, among the highest mountains of the range (up to 5,700 ft.). The Edomites appear constantly in the biblical narrative, but seldom in the role for which they were best known in the contemporary world—as traders, operating across the deserts from their rock hewn base at PETRA. Their territory lay, on the whole, S of Palestine, their northern boundary, the Zered River, entering the Dead Sea at its S tip.

Thus this narrow strip of well-watered land on the desert boundary, all of which fell, for some period at least, under Israel's control, displays a wide variety of surface and produce, and added considerably to the resources of Palestine proper.

***H. Regions bordering Palestine.*** These seven regions (above) comprise the land of Palestine, but it is necessary also to place them in their larger setting by noticing how they relate to bordering regions on the N, E, and S.

**1. Lebanon.** Reference already has been made to the transitional character of Upper Galilee. Going N from the land, the traveler finds himself climbing steadily toward higher mountains—the Lebanon and Antilebanon. The former, to the W, rise directly from the coast, and are separated from the latter by a valley some 10-15 mi. wide. The Antilebanon mountains, lying 25-30 mi. inland, terminate at their S end in the great mass of Mount HERMON, "the majestic newel post of Israel" (Baly), rising to over 9,000 ft. and capped with permanent snows. The Lebanon mountains themselves rise above 10,000 ft., and with their abundant rainfall carry a forest cover that once included the famous CEDARS (only a few groups of these remain). High up on their limestone slopes, spring lines occur, and the most important role played by these northern mountains is undoubtedly to provide water, not only for the Jordan, but, in larger quantities, for the rivers flowing N and W through Syria.

Between the Lebanon and Antilebanon lies the N-S valley known as the Bekaa (BEQA(), which is followed by parts of the ORONTES and Litani rivers and contains the "entrance to Hamath" (Num. 34:8), or northern gateway to Palestine. The Antilebanon, although its snows supply the rivers ABANA and PHARPAR (2 Ki. 5:12) with water as they flow E past DAMASCUS, generally lacks the springs, like those that occur on the slopes of the Lebanon, and is a dry, barren range for the most part. To the E of it lie a series of lesser ranges of the same character, which fade off into the desert and are the home of

nomads who pasture animals on their sparse vegetation.

In the desert, however, E of the mountains, lies the oasis of Damascus, and this has given to the NE corner of Palestine a much greater importance than its resources might lead one to expect. This has been a gateway into the land over which countless invaders have traveled, and through which the apostle PAUL passed to his encounter on the road (Acts 9:3)—the road along the foot of the Antilebanon and skirting the hills of Bashan. By this route, the influence of civilizations and lands farther E has penetrated into northern Palestine.

**2. The desert to the east.** The desert everywhere touches, of course, the E border of the land. The higher rainfalls produced by the Transjordan mountains quickly fade out in the "rain-shadow" to the E, and the steppe becomes desert. Much of what lies beyond the margin is volcanic in character; lava flows of basalt form ragged outcrops or isolated hills, and these reach their highest elevation in the Jebel Druze (almost 5,000 ft.), a wild region of rocks and caves, which has historically served as a refuge for outlaws and minority groups. The NE edge of the land was not always so desolate as it today appears: the DECAPOLIS, a league of Greek cities E of the Jordan, extended far out into the desert, supported by elaborate aqueducts and irrigation works, and carrying on a flourishing trade between E and W.

**3. The desert to the south.** There remains the S border of the land. It was on this side that Palestine lay most open to attack by desert tribes. There is no topographic barrier like the Jordan Valley on the E; the land rises in gentle undulations to the Judean mountains. Nor is there a counterpart of the Shephelah to provide an outpost line. On the contrary, here in the S, the desert penetrates deep into the land, embracing S and SE Judea, which thus formed a natural part of the territory over which the desert tribes ranged. It was a troublesome frontier, therefore. Its barren character gave the Hebrews their word for SOUTH, *negeb H5582,* "dry land" (see NEGEV). Israel's hold on the desert was never long maintained S of BEERSHEBA; Baly states that only three times in their history did the Jewish kingdoms overcome the natural obstacles sufficiently to hold the Negev for a short time. The Negev in any case did not belong to the land of promise: the border of the land promised to Abraham was to extend from the "river of Egypt" (see EGYPT, BROOK OF) to the EUPHRATES (Gen. 15:18), and the former reaches the sea at GAZA, having risen SE of BEERSHEBA. On this frontier at least, then, Judah maintained its position in the God-given land up to the time of the captivity.

**IV. Geology and Structure.** The general position of Palestine in relation to Middle E structures can be likened to a building. The principal feature is the basement complex or stable shield area, formed of very ancient crystalline materials, against which pressure from the N has forced younger materials. The effect of this pressure (which appears to be still continuing) has been to cause cracks in the basement rocks—since they tend to fault rather than fold—and some of the major faults determining

The Maktesh Ramon, the world's largest karst crater (c. 24 mi. long), lies in the southern portion of Palestine. (View to the SW.)

structures are shown on the relief map (p. 632). To this pressure, in particular, are attributable the form of the RED SEA, the separation of ARABIA from AFRICA, and the existence of the Rift Valley occupied by the JORDAN and the DEAD SEA.

North of the Arabian and Egyptian shield areas, the main zone of folding is to be found in Anatolia (ASIA MINOR) and Iran (PERSIA), whereas between these two major belts is an intermediate zone of moderate folding—less pronounced than that of the Anatolian or Persian mountains, but sufficient to raise the Lebanon Mountains as an anticlinal chain reaching 10,000 ft.

As is often the case in a zone of pressure against a stable mass, the Palestinian borderland has for long periods been submerged beneath seas forming in a downfold at the margin of the shield. Consequently, marine deposits are abundant, and whereas the early geological history of the land was dominated by the deposition of Nubian sandstone (which seems to have continued over a very long period of Paleozoic and Mesozoic time), the later stages were marked by deposition of limestone, chalk, and chalky marls.

These materials have been gently folded, mainly on a N-S axis, so that the Lebanon, the Antileba-non, and the Judean mountains all represent anticlinal features. Much more prominent, however, are the results of the faulting. These are concentrated in two areas: (1) Galilee, where a large number of step faults occur, mostly running E-W, giving the region its basin structure and the general form of the "staircase" descending from Upper to Lower Galilee; (2) the main Rift Valley. The latter is one of the outstanding tectonic features of the earth's crust, a feature that ranks with the erosional wonders of the Grand Canyon or Yosemite. The line of the rift can be traced S from Palestine, through the ARABAH and the Gulf of AQABAH to the Red Sea, and thence through ETHIOPIA into E Africa. As the map shows, the rift becomes pronounced only where it reaches its lowest point at the Dead Sea, but from there S, the faults on either side are almost continuous and remarkably parallel. The floor of the rift has been let down and then filled with a considerable depth of recent deposits, among which the most prominent are the white Lisan beds on the shores of the Dead Sea. Elsewhere, by contrast, there is little evidence of faulting, and the geological map does not indicate the presence of any faults, for example, in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem. (There has in the past been speculation regarding a connection between tectonic activity and possible fulfillment of apocalyptic statements set in this area.)

With the long continued marine deposition and the lack of severe folding, most of the rocks

exposed in Palestine are of secondary age or later. The oldest formation covering any substantial area is the Nubian sandstone, the main spread of which lies S of Palestine. (It is in this rose-colored sandstone that the desert city of PETRA is carved.) The dating of this formation seems difficult to establish,

View of the Jordan Valley from Mount Nebo.

but its deposition appears to have stretched from Paleozoic into Mesozoic time, and to represent tribal conditions beyond the marine transgressions occurring farther W. It overlies the granites of the basement complex, so that the latter are not exposed anywhere within the borders of Palestine, although they are close to the surface in the NEGEV.

To a remarkable degree, the spine of Palestine is the province of two, and only two, formations, both of them of Cretaceous age. These are the Cenoma-nian limestones and the Senonian chalk, both of them named for comparable formations occurring in the Paris Basin in France. They were laid down in a series of marine transgressions, beginning in the Jurassic period (and attested by the presence of limestones of that age), and reaching their climax in the Cretaceous period that succeeded it. Deposition of limestone or chalky sediments continued through the Senonian (or Upper Chalk) period into the Eocene, and these Eocene limestones also cover considerable expanses within the land.

The oldest of these formations, the Cenoma-nian, is the limestone that underlies W Judea, much of Galilee, and the Carmel range; in area, it is the most extensive in Palestine. It is folded only gently, if at all, and on the bare hillsides the individual strata often protrude in such horizontal bedding that they create the impression of being artificial terraces. As in most limestone country, caves are common; surface water is scanty, and karstic features are found everywhere, so that in this climate the resulting landscape is often rock strewn and uneven in appearance. Water supply occurs in the form of springs and spring lines, and the population that these can support is necessarily clustered around them and limited in numbers. The Cenomanian yields little soil, and in general produces at best a grassland and shrub vegetation.

The Senonian, or Upper Chalk, is rather less extensive. It can, however, easily be distinguished from the limestone above and below it by the landscape it creates. It is softer than either the Cenomanian or Eocene limestone, and forms smoothly rounded or rolling hills, quite different in outline from those carved from the more massive limestones. In Judea, this transition from smooth slopes to

abrupt ones with cliffs, crags, and gorges is best seen on the eastern side of the mountains, where they fall toward the Dead Sea. Chalky marls (or chalk with an admixture of clay) often are found in association with the chalk, and in the desert these form a truly depressing landscape, "a series of greyish white or yellow hillocks" (Fisher). The Senonian formations, being less resistant, also can be distinguished from the Cenomanian because they normally form lower features or valleys. Thus the valley, which separates the Shephelah from the main upland of Judea, is developed on the Senonian.

The Eocene period, at the beginning of the Tertiary, saw the continued deposition of limestones, and these remain intact in Upper Galilee, Samaria, and the Shephelah, although most of the cover has been removed from the main mountain areas. In the case of the Shephelah, the Eocene forms rolling hills on the flank of the main upland.

To these basic Palestinian structures and formations, a great variety of more recent materials has been added in the form of a drift cover. One of the main sources of these materials has been vulcanicity. Basalt flows of various dates have spread over the land, mainly from the much larger lava fields to the E (e.g., the Jebel Druse). Galilee is the region of the land most affected, for to the lava it owes not only the existence of the Sea of Galilee (ponded back behind a basaltic barrier) but also the fertility of its soils. There is indeed a striking contrast between the limestone and the lava in this respect. Most of this volcanic activity is recent, and some of it is still going on, as witness the hot springs at TIBERIAS on the shore of Galilee and at other points in the Rift Valley, where the reaction of heat with mineral substances produces rock colors that remind one of the comparable area of Yellowstone Park.

Others of the recent surface materials are produced by wind action. There are patches of loess, the fine wind-borne dust that settles in thick blankets around desert areas and produces soils of fine structure and fertility, if they can be watered. There are also, especially on the borders of the Negev, areas blown clear of all finer materials, and which therefore possess a surface of stones and pebbles; in some cases the wind has blown out considerable hollows or depressions, with stony floors. These features are known as *hamadas*. Along the coast, too, are wind-blown sand dunes stretching, in some cases, several miles inland, a permanent threat to the cultivated lands.

The remainder of the drift cover is composed of alluvia, that is, water-borne materials, which in some cases date back to the Tertiary period and in others represent the product of the last winter's rainfall. The dry summers of Palestine and the centuries of soil erosion that have stripped the land (as discussed below, sections V and VIII) have produced between them a huge volume of loose, eroded material to be washed either to the sea or to the Jordan, and in the case of the latter it must be borne in mind that the great depth of the Rift Valley gives the rivers flowing—or rather falling—into it an immense cutting power. Changes in level of the Mediterranean Sea have insured the existence of a broad alluvial plain S of Carmel, whereas in the Rift Valley it is necessary to imagine the Dead Sea, or some predecessor of it, as occupying the whole valley floor as far N as Galilee and well S of its present terminus. Likewise the Plain of Esdraelon is floored with recent materials; like the Lake Huleh basin farther N it was, until reclaimed in the 20th cent., swampy and of little agricultural use.

**V. Climate.** The marginal character of Palestine is first and foremost a fact of climate. It is a product of the interplay between continental and maritime influences, in a small but mountainous area bordered on three sides by landmasses and on the fourth by the sea. This situation is then rendered more complex by the interlocking of sea and land in the Middle E; the Persian Gulf, for example, considerably affects the pressure systems, especially in summer, and the Mediterranean itself acts in some climatic senses more like a large lake than an ocean. As a result, the main source areas of the

air masses that affect Palestine are the Indian Ocean and Asia Minor, but air from these regions reaches Palestine along circuitous routes and is considerably changed in character by the time it arrives.

***A. Summer conditions.*** In summer, a trough of low pressure lies over the Persian Gulf, and a smaller low is to be found in a direct E-W line with this, over CYPRUS. These lows draw in from the Indian Ocean monsoon air; it flows over Mesopotamia, and tends to circle round Cyprus, arriving back over the Palestine coast from the W. Such moisture as it had at its source is long since shed, and it is this air that dominates over Palestine in summer, yielding a little cloud and dew but virtually not a drop of rain between June and September. Rarely does cooler air from northern latitudes succeed in reaching the area in these summer months; the only variations occur when continental air from Africa and Arabia is drawn northwards, intensifying the heat. These inflows of desert air are common occurrences all along the outer margins of tropical deserts; they may be known by the name of *sirocco* applied to the hot desert wind, or in Egypt as *khamsin,* and in the Levant sometimes as *shlouq.* They make life almost intolerable while they last, with relative humidity very low and clouds of dust and grit filling the stifling air.

***B. Winter conditions.*** In winter, although the Eurasian and African landmasses are dominated by high pressure conditions, the Middle E and especially the Levant experience much more variable conditions than in summer. Between the two highs there is an irregular succession of lows—that is, of depressions—that form and reform during the winter months. Most of these have their origins over the Mediterranean, whose indented coastline and irregular mountain border offer plenty of atmospheric "backwaters" in which depressions can form. Some of them are probably the survivors of the Atlantic depressions that cross southern France from the Bay of Biscay. All of them tend to strike the Levant coast, with its obstructing mountains, and some of them survive and even intensify as they veer northward toward Iraq and Iran. As they pass, they draw in continental air from both N and S, and this may be of varied character, wet or dry, cold or relatively warm, by the time it reaches the Levant coast. Consequently, winter weather in Palestine is considerably less predictable than summer heat and droughts; Eurasia, Africa, and the sea all in turn influence temperature and rainfall.

***C. Temperatures.*** Palestine lies between 30° and 33° N Latitude. Summer temperatures are therefore likely to be high, but modified locally by elevation and distance from the sea. In fact, the relief of the country is broken enough to provide some striking local variations in temperature. Along the coastal plain, the summer winds blow steadily onshore, and tend to hold down temperatures from reaching oppressive levels. The daily range in summer is small, but the relative humidity is high. Farther from the coast in summer, the effect of the sea breezes is lost (they may arrive, but too late in the day to moderate the heat), and while relative humidity falls to very low levels (less than 20 percent at noon in Jericho), the daily range of temperature is somewhat greater, making the heat slightly more bearable. In the mountains, temperatures fall off with increasing elevation, but at Jerusalem the average daily temperature in August is still over 74°F, despite the 2,500-ft. elevation.

In winter, as might be expected, the coastal plain possesses a mild climate, and frost is virtually unknown. In the mountains, however, temperatures fall off markedly with height, to produce a long lying snow cover in Lebanon and the mountains of Transjordan. The effect of relief is, in fact, rather complex; Jerusalem, at 2,500 ft., has a January mean of 47°F, whereas Jericho, at –840 ft., has 59°, not simply because of low elevation, but because, down in the Rift Valley, winter day temperatures

will rise high even though the nights are bitterly cold. The mean is misleading in giving the impression that Jericho in January has the same temperature conditions as Florida; it certainly does not.

The annual range of temperatures on the coast, in the Judean hills, and in the Rift Valley is illustrated

| | Tel Aviv (sea level) | Jerusalem (2,500 ft.) | Jericho (-840 ft.) |
|---|---|---|---|
| J | 55.5 | 47.7 | 59.0 |
| F | 55.5 | 49.1 | 60.3 |
| M | 58.1 | 51.8 | 63.5 |
| A | 61.7 | 59.9 | 71.6 |
| M | 68.0 | 69.3 | 81.0 |
| J | 72.5 | 72.5 | 85.1 |
| J | 76.5 | 74.3 | 88.2 |
| A | 77.9 | 74.7 | 88.2 |
| S | 75.2 | 72.1 | 85.1 |
| O | 70.7 | 68.4 | 80.1 |
| N | 65.7 | 61.7 | 71.9 |
| D | 58.3 | 51.6 | 62.1 |

by the following table, which gives the average daily temperature of stations in those three regions:

The fierce summer heat of the desert, intensified by the sunken nature of the rift, shows in the high summer figures for Jericho. With a mean of 88°F for two months and a daily range of 25-27°, the daytime temperature exceeds 100° regularly between June and September. Although such maxima do not occur at higher elevations within the land, the rest of Palestine does experience, from time to time in summer, desert-like conditions, when air from Arabia is drawn N by a period of lowered pressures in that direction. Strong winds blow from the S (Lk. 12:55), the temperature may rise by as much as 30°F, and the relative humidity falls to 10 percent percent or less.

***D. Rainfall.*** RAIN is the most important factor in Palestine's climate; not only in amount, but in season of occurrence, its regime dominates life in the land. Rain-bearing winds reach the Levant from the SW. They are charged with moisture by their passage across the Mediterranean, and those reaching the northern Levant have had a longer fetch over the sea than those that merely "cut the corner" from Egypt to Philistia. Consequently, it is generally true that rainfall declines from N to S throughout the Levant. Equally, it follows that the amount diminishes as one leaves the coast behind, so that there would be, over a level surface, a regular transition from, for example, 40 in. of rainfall annually on the coast, through a steppe region with 20 or 15 in., to desert where the rainfall in a given year may be 2 in. or even zero.

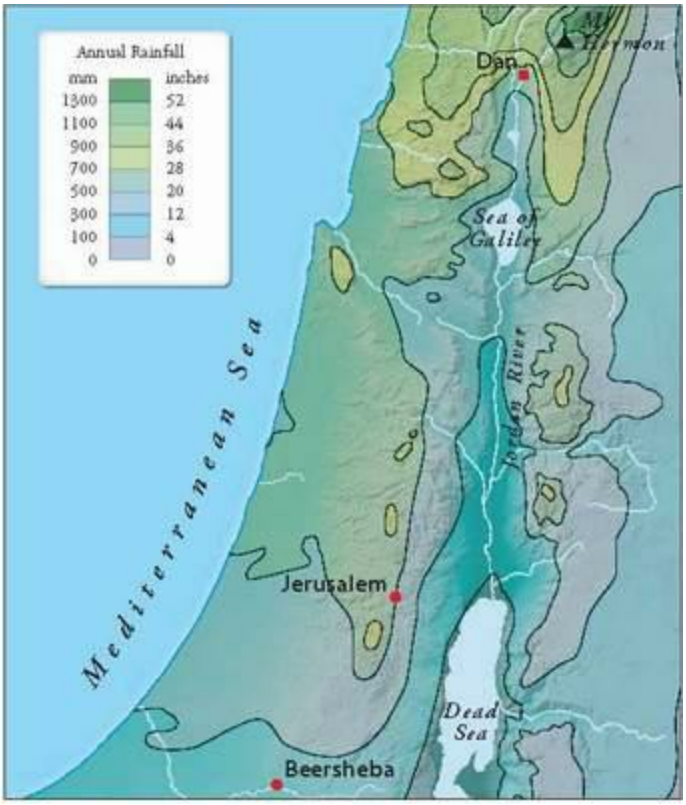
Rainfall, however, is not the result simply of distance from the sea but of elevation. The mountains of the Levant lie across the path of the rain bearing southwesterlies, obliging them to rise and to precipitate their moisture. Especially during the second half of the rainy season (i.e., the spring), this relief or orographic factor is important in determining the amount of rain that falls, at

least on the windward slopes of the hills. On the E or leeward side, in consequence, there is likely to be a "rain shadow"; the winds have deposited their moisture on the W facing slopes, and are drying out as they descend the E side of the mountains.

This situation accounts for the tongue of desert that protrudes N up the Jordan Rift, and it intensifies the change to desert conditions that takes place on the E side of the mountains of Edom, which themselves receive 15-20 in. It equally works to the advantage of a few areas: Bashan (or Hauran), lying E of Galilee, receives a rainfall high enough to have made it fertile and prosperous as a granary of the Roman empire because between it and the sea lies the Plain of Esdraelon and the relatively low region of Lower Galilee, and the rain-bearing winds from the sea can pass over these low elevations without losing all their moisture.

There are thus two possible generalizations about rainfall: (1) it diminishes from N to S, and (2) it diminishes from W to E across Palestine. Both of these must be qualified by a third: (3) it depends on elevation and aspect. The resultant pattern is shown on the map.

The amounts shown on the map, however, are by no means dependable. Records kept in Jerusalem since 1846 show that whereas the long-term average is in the region of 25 in., only 10 in. were received



Average rainfall in Ancient Palestine.

in 1932/3 and 1950/1, but in 1877/8, 43 in. fell. In Nazareth, the figures for maximum and minimum annual totals are 55 and 15 in. It is axiomatic that, the lower the rainfall, the more unreliable it tends to be, and the more serious the fluctuations become. FAMINE plays a prominent part in the biblical record from its first pages onward: ABRAHAM, ISAAC, and JACOB all experienced privations in the land, and ELIJAH warned AHAB (1 Ki. 17:1) of famine conditions that lasted for three years. Although the tribes of the desert expected drought and led a nomadic, pastoralist life, to the settled cultivators of Palestine it came as a periodic disaster, unpredictable and ruinous. As farmers and ranchers on the Great Plains of America have cause to know, the tendency of dry years to occur in rows is the most

devastating part of their effect: the farmer can withstand one, or perhaps even two, and still tide himself over, but Elijah and Israel lived through three, and JOSEPH saved the Middle E when no less than seven subnormal years of rainfall occurred in succession.

In the absence of rain, the DEW plays an important part in the water supply of Palestine, producing as much as one quarter of the total amount of moisture in some areas. Dew is produced by cooling overnight of moisture-bearing air, and the source of this is, of course, the Mediterranean. Consequently, dews are heaviest on the coast, where they may occur on over 200 nights in the year, and diminish inland.

Undoubtedly the most significant factor in Palestine's rainfall is its concentration in the winter season. This is a characteristic of all Mediterranean climates, and it is both an advantage and a disadvantage. Taking place in winter, the precipitation is not immediately claimed by evaporation under a hot summer sun; it has a chance to soak into the earth and to charge springs and wells. The fact that it falls in winter also means that there is no precipitation in the growing season, when it is most needed. Mediterranean farmers historically, therefore, either have had to rely on snow-melt from the mountains (e.g., the Alps) for their summer moisture, or else must resort to storage of winter rain water and IRRIGATION in summer.

The dry season in Palestine is clearly defined. Between mid-June and mid-September, it is virtually certain that no rain will fall. The blocking effect of a generally high pressure area in the W Mediterranean insures the undisturbed dominance in this period of dry and stable air that has crossed from the Persian Gulf and remained well warmed over the landlocked Mediterranean. Consequently, summer conditions are highly predictable. The long-term means for Jerusalem shows negligible rainfall recorded in June, July, August, and September; Tel Aviv usually records zero precipitation for June, July, and August, and only one-third to half a percent of the annual total falling in May and September.

For the farmer everything depends on the rains falling in the other seven or eight months of the year. The replacement of the dry monsoon air of summer by moister air from the W starts, rather hesitantly, in September, when a few showers may fall. It is not until October that thunderstorms generally herald the inward movement of maritime air from the W, nor does this moist air achieve anything like the same dominance over Palestine as does the summer air mass. Indeed, the "take-over" may be considerably delayed, which is disastrous when it occurs. Delay holds up farm work, especially plowing, and reduces the period during which the rains can recharge the springs and wells from which the population has drawn its summer water supply. It is therefore not surprising that the Bible pictures the farmer as waiting for the "early" rain (Jas. 5:7, etc.); that is, for the onset of the rainy season to relieve the drought of summer. He is almost certain that the later the start of the rains, the smaller his harvest will be the following year.

After the onset of the rains in October, there may be another pause, and then the winter months are all wet. At Tel Aviv, 84 percent of the annual precipitation occurs in the months November through February; in the mountains of Judea the figure is 78-80 percent. On the coast, December is the wettest month. In the mountains of the central "spine" it is usually January, and in the northern Negev the maximum—though scanty in total—occurs in March. March is also often the wettest month in Transjordan. The rains come in with the depressions from the W; they are irregular in occurrence, and normally last for a day or two, after which there is a dry and finer period. This sequence is repeated at weekly or ten-day intervals throughout the rainy period. Rains usually are heavy and brief, rather than gentle and prolonged; they are produced by the movement of unstable air over a highly differentiated land surface.

By March on the coast, and April farther inland, the rains begin to taper off. As this is the season

A farmer plowing his field.

of intense activity on the land, and the only part of the rainy season with rising temperatures and consequent plant growth, the importance of these late (or latter) rains is very great. A dry spring will reduce the volume of the harvest (the barley crop will be harvested in April or early May) and perhaps increase the danger of late frosts. Since the following months, as the farmer knows, are going to be completely dry, the longer the rains continue, the better he is likely to be pleased.

As, therefore, the rains between November and February are assured, even though their total may be uncertain, the incidence of rainfall in October and March is highly uncertain, and consequently becomes a matter for prayer to God and patient acceptance of what he is pleased to send.

***E. Climatic regions.*** It will now be possible, following Baly *(Geography),* to give a brief regional description of the climates of Palestine.

**1. Coastal plains.** On the coastal plains, the proximity of the Mediterranean is felt in the cooling sea breezes that moderate daytime heat, and in the greater amounts of moisture received here, either as rainfall or as dew, compared with points inland. The summer weather is not particularly pleasant, however, as considerable heat often combines with high humidity in a way known to those who live on the Middle Atlantic seaboard of the USA; and although daytime maxima are depressed by sea breezes, night temperatures are uncomfortably high. Rainfall diminishes from N to S, and beyond Gaza the desert reaches the coast. The rainfall maximum occurs here early in December rather than in January.

**2. Central highlands.** In the mountains of the central spine, elevation tends to compensate for distance from the sea to maintain rainfall at constant amounts; thus Tel Aviv at sea level and Jerusalem at 2,500 ft. have virtually the same totals. In the mountains, the N receives more precipitation than the S, height for height. The increasing elevation reduces maximum temperatures and widens the daily range so that frost, unknown on the southern coast, is a common occurrence on the Judean hills, and snow falls from time to time. At higher levels, for example, on Mount Hermon or across the Rift Valley in Edom, snow lies long in winter. The mountain climate is generally invigorating and pleasant, apart from occasional very low temperatures in winter and injections of hot desert air in summer.

**3. Rift Valley.** In the Rift Valley E of the mountains, the influence of the Mediterranean is seldom felt. The valley lies in a profound rain shadow, and the desert margin swings N to include the floor of the rift almost as far as the Sea of Galilee. The valley S of Jericho receives a very uncertain 2 in. of rain a year; the rain-bearing winds blow over this great gash and deposit their moisture on Edom or Gilead. In the N, however, where Lower Galilee offers little barrier to the passage of these winds, the latter retain some part of their moisture and arrive over the depression around the lake to encounter conditions that cause instability, and violent storms can occur over the lake.

The absence of maritime influence is also felt in the intense summer heat; the only possible comparison is with Death Valley in California. Temperatures at the S end of the Dead Sea (Sodom) may be expected to exceed 100°F almost daily for three months, and although the Galilee lakeshore does not heat up quite so fiercely, the August mean at Tiberias, beside the lake, is 87°F, only 1° lower than that of Jericho. At the same time, night temperatures in winter may fall quite low in the rift, and the Dead Sea region possesses all the characteristics of an arid continental type of climate.

**4. Transjordan.** East of the Jordan, the climate in the mountains resembles that of Judea, but with increasing distance from the sea the range of temperature becomes greater and the effect of the cooling sea breezes less. Rainfall increases, here also, with height, so that a narrow belt of well-watered hill country runs parallel with the rift. Since the rainfall is diminishing southward, this belt becomes narrower in Edom (see map), but is still emphatically marked out from the desert to the S and E of it, for the mountains of Edom rise over 5,000 ft. and attract a rainfall of 15 in. or more. On this E side of the Jordan, as on the southern fringe of Palestine around Beersheba, there is a narrow belt of what, technically, would be classified as steppe (or semiarid continental) type climate, intermediate between the desert and the sub-humid zones, and having a rainfall of 8-12 in.

There are thus three climatic types represented in Palestine: the Mediterranean type, with precipitation in winter and totalling 12-30 in.; the steppe type; and the desert type. This gives to the region the primary characteristic of being climatically transitional, with all that that implies concerning the way of life and methods of cultivation that the population must adopt.

**VI. Water supply.** As already indicated, the problem of WATER supply in Palestine is one of making a seasonal supply last throughout the year. In the dry season, many of the streams dry up, and conversely, when they flow in winter, they often do so as torrents, and flood uselessly down to the coast, or the Dead Sea. In this respect, the land is at least favored by possessing wide areas of limestone, through which rain water may percolate into underground aquifers; this reduces runoff and waste. It is fortunate, too, that the mountains of Lebanon and Hermon act as a snow trap, for it is the melting of their snows that insures a water supply for the Jordan in summer, and makes it a perennial stream—and not the Jordan only, but the Orontes and Litani also.

The Jordan is the only river of any significant size in Palestine. It rises on the W side of Mount Hermon a little to the N of Dan, the historic northern border town of "the land." Flowing S, it passes through a depression where lava flows ponded back its waters to form Lake Huleh, a small lake fringed with swamp, which was once a malarial waste but has now largely been drained and reclaimed. The Jordan passes through the Sea of Galilee and only then does it receive a major tributary, the Yarmuk, which enters, like all the main Jordan tributaries, from the E. The higher rainfall of the Transjordan mountain line produces about one-half of the total flow of the Jordan by the time it enters the Dead Sea. Unfortunately, from the point of view of the farmer, the Jordan and these E-bank streams are deeply entrenched for most of their courses S of the Sea of Galilee, so that it

is difficult if not impossible to use them for irrigation: the main channel is as much as 150 ft. below the level of the Rift Valley floor, and the tributary valleys are too narrow to enclose much riverside land that might be irrigable. Consequently, to use the Jordan below Galilee it is necessary to make a major diversion and pump its waters up to a considerable height, and this is the basis of modern schemes for utilizing its waters.

The Jordan empties into the Dead Sea, from which its waters can find an outlet only through evaporation. J. Neumann (in *Israel Meteorological Notes* 16 [1959]) offers the following figures for the water balance of this remarkable inland body of water. (a) Annual evaporation from surface: 60.5 in. (b) Inflow compensating for evaporation: Jordan water, 47.5 in.; rainfall, 3 in.; other (e.g., underground supply), 10 in.

Since the main inflow is in winter and evaporation is most rapid in summer, the level of the sea fluctuates by 10-11 in. between February and August, but from year to year it remains remarkably constant. However, there seems to be no doubt that, over the past two centuries, there have been major changes in level. The best evidence of these is contained in various accounts, dating from the late 18th and early 19th centuries, of travelers who reported that it was possible to ford the Dead Sea at its narrows—the Lisan Strait. By the middle of the 20th cent., the depth of water at this point was some 40 ft., but by the beginning of the 21st cent. the level had again gone down drastically, most of the area now being dry ground. The sea S of the Lisan Strait is no more than a shallow lagoon or salt marsh.

Aerial view looking N up the Jordan River valley toward the Sea of Galilee.

Few of the streams of the Mediterranean slope of Palestine are perennial; those that are flow mainly in the better-watered N. These seasonal streams are a feature of all areas with a dry season, including western N America; in an area of winter rainfall like Palestine, they tend to run in spate uselessly in the season when they are of little service to the farmer, and their erratic flow is a threat to adjacent lands and settlements because they carry a great deal of debris and tend to block themselves with it and to flood. Consequently, their beds, whether known as *wadis* or *arroyos, are* potentially dangerous places to locate; Christ's parable of the house built on the sand is probably a reference to this danger.

Under all these circumstances, water supply for most communities in Palestine depended on the existence of springs (see FOUNTAIN) and WELLS. It was by digging wells that the patriarchs established themselves in the land (cf. Gen. 26:17-33), and the possession of a reliable well became a source of pride (Jn. 4:12). Because of the presence of wide areas of limestone, springs may emerge in the most

unlikely places. Note Smith's description of EN GEDI: "The oasis bursts upon him [the traveler] from one of the driest and most poisoned regions of our planet…He hears what perhaps he has not heard for days—the rush of water; and then through the bush he sees the foam of a waterspout, 6 feet high and almost 2 feet broad" (*HGHL,* 183-84). Between them, the locations of wells and springs account for a high proportion of all the settlement sites of Palestine.

With such a restricted choice of water supply points, the inhabitants of the land found it necessary to build AQUEDUCTS of various sorts. The water supply of JERUSALEM was a particular problem, and was evidently not assured until HEZEKIAH built his conduit to bring water into the city (2 Ki. 20:20). Conversely, by destroying these elaborate works in the path of an invader (2 Chr. 32:2-4), Hezekiah hoped to deny him a water supply—a kind of "scorched earth" policy particularly appropriate in a dry land.

With the coming of the Greek and Roman influences to Palestine, the water problem was tackled on a much larger scale, making possible, for example, the establishment of the cities of the DECAPOLIS on the desert edge E of Jordan. The Herodian city of CAESAREA was supplied, through two aqueducts, with water on a scale that would be considered generous even today. Elsewhere, IRRIGATION was developed by means of a device known as the *foggara.* Since some strata retain water and act as underground reservoirs, it was found to be possible to tunnel through to such strata and drain off the water collected in them, which would flow under gravity out onto lower lands. Usually these water-bearing strata were clays or marls, and the systems of tunnels were elaborate; they might extend for distances up to 5 mi., and formed a striking feature in the settlement and agriculture of Syria and NE Palestine.

All such artificial water supply involves the care and maintenance of the works, and when this was not given, the supply quickly ceased. In a war-torn land like Palestine, therefore, the life of a settlement might be abruptly ended by deliberate destruction of aqueducts and wells, or slowly strangled by neglect of maintenance.

**VII**. **Vegetation.** The vegetation of Palestine is necessarily adapted to the circumstances of soil formation and climate, especially seasonal drought, which are to be found there. In the desert areas there is little or no true soil; there are rock surfaces, pebble beds, sand, and patches of alkaline crust. The only potentially fertile areas are the wind-blown loess deposits, which yield well if irrigated. Sand is under cultivation (citrus groves) today where it can be found mixed with a proportion of clay or silt. The salt pans can sometimes be planted to trees, if each tree is rooted down carefully below the level of the alkaline crust.

The steppe areas possess a reasonable brown soil, and in the 10-15 in. rainfall areas they can be successfully, if rather precariously, cultivated. The dominant soil color in Palestine is undoubtedly red. This color marks the existence of the so-called *terra rossa,* a soil characteristically developed in a Mediterranean climate where limestone is present. It is not naturally a fertile soil, for its color betrays its lack of organic matter. It is produced by the chemical weathering of the limestone, and is rich in iron and alkalis.

This is not an impressive list of soils. Almost all those mentioned are easily eroded and need careful cultivation. Climate also imposes limitations on the range of vegetation, whether natural or cultivated. The hot, dry summer means that most Mediterranean and desert vegetation types are adapted either to growth in winter or to storage of moisture in roots or leaves.

Under Middle Eastern conditions, the natural sequence of vegetation to be expected is, from the interior to the coast, desert scrub, steppeland with shrubs and grasses, grassland, and transitional

woodland. If there is also a considerable change of elevation (as there is on Mount Hermon), the transitional woodland should give way to denser stands of wood, to mountain forest, and then to alpine pasture.

All these vegetation types are to be found in Palestine and Lebanon, but their character today is far removed from the original, either in quality or distribution. Occupancy of the land over the past three or four millennia, and especially over the period since the early Iron Age (c. 1200 B.C.), has resulted in changes, and especially the cutting of forest trees. This change is not confined to Palestine; it is true for all the old civilization areas of the Middle E, since all of them have suffered from a shortage of timber, and when the iron axe became available, any local supplies were quickly attacked.

Forests remained on the mountains and were highly prized at least up to the 1st cent. A.D.; Reifenberg *(Struggle,* 27) cites the discovery of forest preserve markers of Roman origin in an area that is now "wildly eroded karst." Generally the vegetation became degraded by clearance and subsequent soil erosion. The original forest consisted of both softwoods and hardwoods—cedar, fir, pine, oak, sycamore. References to these are plentiful in the Bible. When they were felled, however, and their regrowth was hindered by the browsing of goats (the chief enemies of forest regeneration), they were generally replaced by the vegetation that is so widespread in Mediterranean lands today, and is known by the French names *maquis* and *garrigue.* These differ little in appearance; both consist of a mixture of bushes, scrub, and small scattered trees (often holm oaks). Normally a thick, thorny vegetation cover results, but one with few grasses and bare patches between the shrubs. In N America, the closest analogy would be with the piñon-juniper belt in the Rocky Mountains or the chaparral of California.

The maquis is of very limited usefulness—it provides neither good grazing nor good timber. Often almost impenetrable, it merely testifies to the fact of long-standing human occupancy. It is found generally over the areas of former woodland in Palestine, and where it spreads it gives the country a rough, bushy appearance.

There was never a great extent of natural grassland in Palestine proper, but in the steppe areas grasses are found that flourish in winter and disappear in summer. These give way at the desert margins to the shrubs that alone can survive there—thornbushes, tamarisk, heaths. A few grasses flourish briefly, and these are eagerly sought out by the desert nomads as pastures for their animals. On the other margin, the steppe gives place to more luxuriant vegetation on the mountain slopes, where perennial grass cover exists on the edges of the upland forest. The lower limits of the latter are marked by the presence of deciduous species such as the OAK; this lower edge is—or used to be, since it has generally been cut down—at about 3,000 ft. in Palestine. Above the oaks are to be found the conifers, the most famous of them the CEDARS of Lebanon, one of the prized resources of the ancient world. Solomon bought cedar wood from the king of Tyre when he was assembling the finest possible materials for the temple (1 Ki. 5:6), and used cedar to finish his own quarters (7:2-12). The few survivors of the cedar forest are today a jealously guarded tourist attraction.

Undoubtedly, the long-term effects of forest clearance were to accelerate soil erosion and to impoverish the land. Reifenberg *(Struggle,* 41) ascribes to soil erosion, for example, the fact that S Moab, a region today sparsely settled, was "so densely occupied in the Early Iron Age that the fertile areas on top of the plateau and even the mountain slopes were utilized." Such loss of fertility continued virtually unchecked down to the time after the first world war, when the Jewish colonists began to arrive in Palestine under the British mandate. If the landscape of 1919 bore little relationship to the land of milk and honey of Joshua's day, the transformation in the following half

century was hardly less striking, and opposite in effect. The Jewish colonists deliberately set out to restore the fertility of the land, re-creating the cultivation of grains and introducing new tree crops, chiefly citrus, as well as continuing to grow the olive. The dark green of their orchards today covers areas which, before their coming, were sandhills or maquis-spread slopes. Altogether, these determined settlers have produced the most marked advance of cultivation over waste that has occurred since Roman times, bridging centuries of misuse and neglect. See also FLORA.

**VIII. The problem of landscape change.** In view of the description given of Palestine so far, the question inevitably arises as to whether the land as we see it today is, in terms of its resources, better or worse than it was when the Israelites entered it. The references in Exodus to the land of promise described it very favorably; so, too, did the spies sent ahead to prospect from Kadesh Barnea (Num. 13:27; 14:7-8). Yet the bare, barren hillsides of Palestine today hardly seem to confirm these reports, and the *kibbutz* worker of modern Israel, toiling on the dry soil, might well feel that Palestine could have been a land "flowing with milk and honey" only by force of contrast to a nation grown accustomed to the desert. Yet this would be to charge Israel's God with a kind of confidence trick—with conditioning his people so that they would think that he was offering them a good land when in reality the bargain was a poor one.

What are the facts? The question posed above is really a twofold one: (1) Have climatic conditions changed since the exodus (i.e., since 1400 or 1300 B.C.)? (2) Is the land as seen today the same in quality as it was in OT times? There have undoubtedly been climatic changes within recent geological times. Evidence of these is to be found in such physical features as valleys in desert regions that are manifestly carved out by water; there is even a possibility that features exist in the deserts S of Palestine that are of glacial origin, but this is unconfirmed. For the period of human occupancy, archaeological evidence can offer such items as the ruins of settlements located where no water supply is available today, and drawings of animals known to require an environment more humid than that of the Middle E under present conditions.

Within the period of real interest—1400 B.C. to the present day—whereas there is a certain amount of evidence of climatic fluctuation, just as there is in other parts of the world, there is almost none of long-term change, in particular of desiccation. Where rainfall is low, of course, even a slight fluctuation is critical to the individual cultivator. It does not seem as if the total water supply of Palestine is any less than it was in Roman times; in a number of instances works constructed at that period to tap springs of water have been cleaned out and put to use, and found to fit precisely the amount of water available at the present time. Although the Israelites were certainly made conscious of their dependence upon God for fruitful harvests and needed rains, it does not therefore appear to be true—as has sometimes been implied—that God brought them to the land of promise and then dried it up beneath their feet.

This is not to say, however, that there have been no changes in Palestine since biblical times, but only that the changes are not due to long-term climatic trends. There can be, in fact, little resemblance between the landscape of the preexodus period and that of modern times—either the pre-1918 landscape that was marked by the traces of centuries of Turkish rule, or that of the period since the modern state of Israel embarked on its programs of settlement and reclamation. To imagine Palestine in OT times, "One must strip the country of its orange groves, its hedges of prickly pear, its fields of tomatoes, and must clothe instead its hill country with forest, clog much of its lowlying land with marsh, and wall up its little towns and villages" (D. Baly, *Geographical Companion to the Bible* [1963], 62).

The land, which the Israelis have done so much to restore since 1948, would not at that starting date have struck the unbiased observer as flowing with milk and honey. It was barren and largely treeless; its soils had been eroded to a point where the bare bones of the underlying rock structures protruded, and everywhere could be seen the traces of former cultivation long since abandoned—blocked aqueducts and crumbling terraces. Much of this damage and neglect had been caused during the centuries of Arab and Turkish rule, because of the attitude of these rulers to land and its use (Reifenberg, *Struggle)*. All uncultivated lands were regarded as commons, to be grazed at will by the owners of animals: agriculture itself was not highly regarded as a way of life, and even arable land often was held in common so that its cultivators had no incentive to improve their farming. By the 18th cent., such was the state of taxation and simultaneous depredation under Turkish rule that many cultivators had simply abandoned this way of life as unprofitable.

Granting, however, that all this happened after the Jews had lost control of the land, it still remains interesting to notice the peculiar relationship of the Palestine environment to the spiritual state of the people within the biblical period. Reifenberg lists as the main factors responsible for the decline of prosperity in rural Palestine: (1) war, (2) clearance of forest for arable land, (3) cutting of trees for fuel, (4) forest cutting for charcoal burning and limekilns, (5) overgrazing. No doubt some forest clearance under (3) and (4) was inevitable, and the OT does not completely rule out tree cutting (Deut. 20:19-20). In the life of Israel, war, shortage of arable land, and overgrazing were not chance factors; they were the result of specific policies and even more specific failures.

War was a recurrent event in the life of Israel. From the time of Joshua onward, however, it was much more frequent than it need have been. It is only necessary to recall how many of Israel's wars they brought upon themselves—by unnecessary and disastrous alliances that made their land a battleground for other nations' quarrels; by appeals for military help when they should have sought divine help; most of all, by bringing upon themselves the judgments of God (including the great judgment of the captivity) by their own disobedience. Each of these wars would lead to destruction, especially of the all-important tree cover (cf. 2 Ki. 25:1). Each unnecessary military adventure would increase the effect.

The second and third of these factors, clearance for agriculture and overgrazing, are opposite sides of the same coin. They bespeak a situation in which an agriculture-based community is overcrowded on its available lands: the density of the population, both human and animal, has risen above acceptable levels. In any part of the world, but especially in one with a marked dry season, such a situation will produce soil erosion; the erosion reduces fertility and soil-holding capacity still further, and so a cycle is initiated that can only be reversed by total transformation of the economy and massive expenditure (on the lines of the Tennessee Valley Authority or the efforts of the modern Israeli state). See also AGRICULTURE.

To the question: Why was Israel so crowded in the land of promise? The answers are clear. (1) Israel failed in its task of driving out from the land all the previous inhabitants. A series of weaknesses and compromises, beginning with Joshua's treaty with the Gibeonites (Josh. 9:15; cf. 13:13; Jdg. 1:27-35), made it necessary to accommodate a double population. (This can be compared with the situation E of the Jordan after 1948, when hundreds of thousands of Arabs, displaced by Israeli conquest, have been added to the population of the state of Jordan.) Instead of having exclusive occupation of the conquered territories, Israel was sharing them with a part of the original population.

(2) The nation never occupied the whole territory promised to it (cf. Gen. 15:18; Josh. 1:4; 13:2-14; 23:4, 5; Jdg. 1:27-35). Almost from the start of Israel's occupancy of the land, it proved

difficult either to gain or to keep control of the lowlands; the uplands of Judea and Samaria formed the core area of the nation, and to these, for most of its history, the nation was confined. Whereas in terms of anthropology or social history this situation is a familiar one, the promise of God to Israel certainly covered the lowlands as well as the mountains. The failure to occupy the whole land can be traced back to the same weakness of faith in their God that had prevented their ancestors from entering the land in the first place (Num. 13:27-33; cf. Heb. 3:16-19).

The effect of this failure to take what had been promised them can be judged by comparing the size of Israel as divided between the twelve tribes with the size of the kingdom at its apogee, under Solomon. Although the exact borders of the latter are in doubt, it seems clear that Solomon held sovereignty over an area between three and four times as large as the "basic" kingdom. Spread over such an area, and even allowing for the infertility of some parts of this greater empire, Israel should have suffered much less from overcrowding than, in practice, it did.

Bearing these factors in mind, it is not unreasonable to argue that God's purpose in leading his people to this particular land was, like everything else in his purpose for them, moral in intention. This was certainly the case when he led them into the desert (Exod. 13:17-18), a hostile environment where they were to become a nation and to learn dependence on himself. The desert was not the land of promise, and neither were the lands of Egypt and Mesopotamia, where life is based on irrigation agriculture, that is, on rivers "to whose operations man has but to link his own, and the fruits of the year are inevitable" (*HGHL,* 68). On the contrary, God called Abraham away from Mesopotamia and his descendants away from Egypt, the land of slavery for which they experienced such homesickness (Exod. 16:3; Num. 11:5).

The land where they were to settle is intermediate between the deserts of the S and E and the humid environments of the N; it is in every sense marginal land, and its occupation demands care on the part of those who exploit it. "Palestine is not a country where crops grow easily, and nothing there can be obtained without an effort" (Baly, *Geography,* 107). Its variable winter rainfall must be conserved and used wisely; its hillsides must be terraced to avoid soil loss; its vegetation must be safeguarded or it will degenerate into scrub or bare earth. If its inhabitants neglect these tasks and relax their efforts, then the very appearance of the landscape will soon betray the fact. Just as one is impressed

The rock walls retain soil on these agricultural terraces, allowing for crops to be grown on the hill sides.

today by the work of the Israeli rural communities, so the destruction of the land has been witnessed by earlier travelers who recorded the effects of Turkish rule or Hebrew neglect. Palestine, in fact, is

very much what its inhabitants make of it, and what they are making of it can be seen by all. (There is, perhaps, a parallel in the dustbowls of the 1930s; when dust from Oklahoma or Kansas darkened the skies as far away as the Atlantic coast, it was evidence of the most embarrassing kind that all was not well with the farming system on the Great Plains.) It is, in other words, an environment that encourages virtue and that advertises idleness, disobedience, and (in Israel's history) lack of faith in God. It is hard to believe that his choice was a random one.

(In addition to the works mentioned in the body of the article, see E. C. Semple, *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region: Its Relation to Ancient History* [1931]; E. Orni and E. Efrat, *Geography of Israel,* 3rd ed. [1973]; J. Ben-Yoseph in *Hebrew Studies* 26 [1985]: 225-39; D. C. Hopkins, *The Highlands of Canaan: Agricultural Life in the Early Iron Age* [1985]; New York Times correspondents, *Israel: The Historical Atlas, from Ancient Times to the Modern Nation* [1997]; *ABD,* 2:964-77, s.v. "Geography and the Bible [Palestine]."))

J. H. PATERSON

**palimpsest.** A writing material (esp. a PARCHMENT MS) that has had its text scraped off and replaced with new writing (from Gk. *palin,* "again," and *psaō,* "to rub"). Many biblical MSS are palimpsests, including an important parchment from the 5th cent., CODEX EPHRAEMI: its biblical text was erased in the Middle Ages and replaced with patristic writings. Through the use of chemical reagents and other means, much of the original text can often be recovered. See TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (NT) II.C.

**pallet.** This English term, referring to a small and portable bed or mattress, is used by the RSV to render Greek *krabatton G3187* (Mk. 2:4 et al.; NIV and NRSV, "mat").

**Pallu** pal'yoo (פַּלּוּא *H7112,* perhaps short form of a theophoric name such as פְּלָאיָה *H7102,* "Yahweh is wonderful [*or* has done a wondrous thing]," see PELAIAH; gentilic פַּלּוּאִי *H7101,* "Palluite"). Son of REUBEN, grandson of JACOB, and eponymous ancestor of the Palluite clan (Gen. 46:9 [KJV, "Phallu"]; Exod. 6:14; Num. 26:5, 8; 1 Chr. 5:3). His "son" or descendant ELIAB was the father (or ancestor) of DATHAN and ABIRAM, who joined KORAH in his rebellion against MOSES (Num. 16:1; in this verse, some emend PELETH to Pallu).

**palm (of the hand).** See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES I.D.

**Palms, City of.** A designation used with reference to JERICHO (Deut. 34:3; 2 Chr. 28:15). In the book of Judges, however (Jdg. 1:16 [note the reference to ARAD]; 3:13), the context has suggested to some scholars that the name originally designated a site S of the DEAD SEA, such as TAMAR (PLACE) or ZOAR (cf. Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], 215), or possibly modern Tell ʿAin ʿArus, about 6 mi. SSE of the DEAD SEA (cf. *HALOT,* 2:822, s.v. ʿîr B.5). See also PALM TREES.

**palm tree.** The Hebrew term *tāmār H9469* refers specifically to the date palm (*Phoenix dactylifera)* and occurs a dozen times in the OT (Exod. 15:27 et al.; cf. the name TAMAR). The cognate *tōmer H9472* occurs only in connection with the Palm of DEBORAH (Jdg. 4:5), whereas *timōrâ H9474,* referring specifically to ornaments carved in the shape of palm tress, is used in passages dealing with temple decorations (1 Ki. 6:29 et al.; Ezek. 40:16 et al.). In the NT, the Greek word *phoinix G5836*

occurs twice, both times with reference to palm branches (in Jn. 12:13 with *baion G961;* in Rev. 7:9, by itself).

The date palm is normally a fruit tree (although possibly Deborah's tree was not, since trees that do not bear fruit produce more foliage, thus providing more shade). It will grow 90 ft. high or more. On the top there are borne large numbers of feathery leaves, about 9 ft. long. In Palestine the palms are sometimes found in groves and sometimes as lone specimens. The DATE fruits are invaluable in many regions of the Middle E.

There is hardly any part of the date palm that is not used. The leaves are used for roofing, and even in the olden days to make the sides of houses; they also are made into fences for protection from winds, animals, etc. From the crowns, ropes are made. The date kernels provide food for animals, particularly camels, and the seeds often are made into beads. A strong liquor is produced from the spathe that surrounds the flowers. This undoubtedly was known to the ancient Babylonians. It is presumed by many that when strong drink is referred to in the Bible—as opposed to wine—it means this particular intoxicant.

Palm tree stamped on a Roman sesterce, minted by Emperor Nerva (A.D. 96-98) to mark the end of abuses in collection of taxes that Jews were to pay to Rome.

Because the ancient historian HERODOTUS *(Hist.* 1.193) states that a palm can produce bread, wine, and "honey," there is reason to believe that the references to HONEY in the OT may sometimes be to the date palm liquor—and not to the common honey from bees. The Jewish historian JOSEPHUS claims that there were forests of palms in his time (37-95 A.D.), and that these were found by the Lake of Galilee, in the Jordan Valley, round about Jerusalem, and especially in JERICHO (e.g., *War* 1.7.6 §138; several times in the OT, Jericho is referred to as the City of Palms, Deut. 34:3; Jdg. 1:16; 3:13; 2 Chr. 28:15).

Because the palm takes some thirty years before being fully mature, the planting of the trees is a long-term project, but around Jericho the writer has seen evidence of large-scale palm planting, and the trees are doing very well. Date palms usually last about 200 years. The trees are dioecious, that is, the male flowers are borne on separate trees from the female blossoms. For this reason, it was customary in the olden days to cut off the male blooms and hang them in the "female trees," thus insuring perfect pollination. (See further *FFB,* 162-64.)

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

**Palmyra** pal-mz"ruh. See TADMOR.

**palsy.** This term, especially in the expression "sick of the palsy," is used by the KJV to render the

Greek adjective *paralytikos G4166* (Matt. 8:6 et al.) and the form *paralelymenos* (pass. ptc. of *paralyō G4168,* Lk. 5:24 et al.), both of which are translated "paralyzed" or "paralytic" in modern versions. See PARALYTIC.

**Palti** pal'ti (פַּלְטִי *H7120,* prob. short form of פַּלְטִיאֵל *H7123,* "God is my deliverance"). (1) Son of Raphu, from the tribe of BENJAMIN, and one of the twelve spies sent out by MOSES to reconnoiter the Promised Land (Num. 13:9).

(2) Alternate form of PALTIEL #2.

S. BARABAS

**Paltiel** pal'tee-uhl (פַּלְטִיאֵל *H7123,* "God is my deliverance"; cf. PALTI, PELATIAH, PELET). (1) Son of Azzan; he was a leader from the tribe of ISSACHAR, chosen to assist in the distribution of the land (Num. 34:26).

(2) Son of Laish, from the Benjamite village of GALLIM; for a time he was the husband of SAUL's daughter, MICHAL (1 Sam. 25:44 [KJV, "Phalti," and NRSV, "Palti," both following MT]; 2 Sam. 3:15 [KJV, "Phaltiel"]). Michal had been married to DAVID, but when he lost favor with Saul, she was given to Paltiel. After the death of Saul, David demanded of ISH-BOSHETH that Michal be restored to him. "So Ish-Bosheth gave orders and had her taken away from her husband Paltiel son of Laish. Her husband, however, went with her, weeping behind her all the way to Bahurim" (2 Sam. 3:15-16).

**Paltite** pal'tit (פַּלְטִי *H7121,* gentilic of פֶּלֶט *H7118,* "deliverance"). A designation applied to Helez, one of David's mighty warriors (2 Sam. 23:26). See discussion under HELEZ #1.

**Pamphylia** pam-fil'ee-uh (Παμφυλία *G4103,* "[land of] all tribes"). Situated halfway along the S coast of ASIA MINOR, this lowland district is only one of two locations on this seaboard where the mountains do not plunge steeply to the sea (eastern CILICIA is the other plain). The precise geographical limits of the area are uncertain. At the time of the apostle PAUL, however, Pamphylia was a small Roman PROVINCE, extending 75 mi. along the coast and 30 mi. inland, following the lower course of the valley of the Cestrus to the Taurus mountains in

Pamphylia.

the interior. It was surrounded by Cilicia to the E, LYCIA to the SW, and PISIDIA to the N.

The region was subject to numerous invasions of peoples, commencing with the Dorian conquest. It was subject successively to LYDIA, PERSIA, ALEXANDER THE GREAT, the SELEUCIDS, PERGAMUM, and ROME. The Romans established about 102 B.C. a small series of posts on the Pamphylian coast to check piracy. In 36 B.C., Antony gave Pamphylia to Amyntas of GALATIA. About A.D. 43, it was detached from Galatia, and the Lycian territory was added to it. Under NERO the Lycians were freed, and in A.D. 69 Pamphylia and Galatia were put under one governor. Further territorial changes were made, and in the year 76 the Roman province of Pamphylia was extended into the mountainous interior—into Pisidia.

Pamphylia is first mentioned in the NT in Acts 2:10, where it is said that some of the pilgrims in Jerusalem at PENTECOST were from that province. Later, Paul visited the territory on his first missionary journey when he preached at PERGA, the chief center of the territory (Acts 13:13; 14:24). Here John Mark left the party and returned to Jerusalem (13:13; 15:38; see MARK, JOHN). Christianity appears to have been slow in becoming established here, in an area characterized by its amalgam of ethnic groups. The church founded at Perga is the only one from that area mentioned in the 1st cent., but there were twelve or more founded at the time of the "Diocletian persecution" of A.D. 304.

Besides Perga, the chief cities of Pamphylia were ATTALIA (c. 12 mi. WSW of the chief city), Side (over 30 mi. to the SE, founded by Aeolian settlers), and Aspendus (a Persian naval base). It was probably at Attalia where the apostle Paul began his journey through the province (cf. Acts 14:25-26). (See further A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces,* 2nd ed. [1971], ch. 5; H. Brandt, *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft Pamphyliens und Pisidiens im Altertum* [1992]; *OCD,* 1102-03.)

J. M. HOUSTON

**pan.** This English term is used variously in Bible translations to render several Hebrew terms, such as *kiyyôr H3963* (1 Sam. 2:14, where it is distinguished from "kettle," "caldron," and "pot"). See also POTTER; VESSELS.

**panel.** This English term is used variously in Bible versions to render several Hebrew words. In the NIV and RSV, for example, it translates *mis-geret H4995* with reference to the rims or sides of the wheeled LAVER stands in the TEMPLE (1 Ki. 7:28-29 et al.; KJV and NRSV, "borders"; NJPS, "insets"). These lavers were box-shaped, about 6 ft. square and 4.5 ft. high. The sides were formed of ornamented stile and rails (borders), and the area within was a panel ornamented with lions, oxen, and cherubim. As a verb, *panel* sometimes translates *sāpan H6211,* "to cover," used of the labor that Shallum (i.e., JEHOAHAZ), king of JUDAH, foolishly lavished on the walls and ceiling of his palace in the face of impending doom (Jer. 22:14); it was also invidious that the repatriates of HAGGAI's day paneled their houses, but left God's house in ruins (Hag. 1:4).
H. G. STIGERS

**Pannag** pan'ag (פַּנָּג *H7154).* KJV transliteration of a Hebrew term that occurs only once, with reference to the items that Judah and Israel traded with TYRE: "wheat of Minnith, and Pannag, and honey, and oil, and balm" (Ezek. 27:17; similarly NJPS). If the word is indeed a place name, the town or region is not known. Most modern versions interpret it as a type of food, though what that might be can only be conjectured (NRSV, following the Syriac, has "millet"; NIV, more generally, "confections"). See also MINNITH.

**pantheism.** The view that God should be identified with the forces and laws of nature. See THEISM.

**pap.** KJV term for "breast, chest" (Ezek. 23:21; Lk. 11:27; 23:29; Rev. 1:13), now obsolete in this sense.

**paper.** See PAPYRUS; WRITING.

**Paphos** pay'fos (Πάφος *G4265).* The name of two settlements in SW CYPRUS, distinguished historically as Old Paphos *(Palaipaphos* [Strabo, *Geogr.* 14.6.3], modern Kouklia) and New Paphos (modern Baffa, some 10 mi. to the NW of Kouklia). The older city was a Phoenician settlement, long identified with the cult of Aphrodite, to whom a temple was dedicated there. The later city grew up

This mosaic, depicting a boxing scene, is from the floor of a Roman house in the city of Paphos.

as the port of Old Paphos and became the capital of Cyprus in Hellenistic times. When the Romans annexed the island in 58 B.C., New (Nea) Paphos served as the center of rule in the province of

Cyprus.

Largely destroyed by an earthquake in 15 B.C., Nea Paphos was rebuilt with funds received from the emperor and renamed *Augusta* in his honor. The city then became adorned with magnificent public buildings and temples. Its shrine to Venus, or Aphrodite, became particularly famous, as EPHESUS was noted for its worship of Diana (see ARTEMIS). Aphrodite—as the Greek goddess of love, beauty, and fertility—was akin to the fertility cults of the Phoenician Astarte (see ASHTORETH), the Anatolian Cybele, and the Babylonian ISHTAR. The later Roman equivalent was Venus. In Cyprus, the birth of Aphrodite was associated with her birth on the foam of the sea, floating to the Cypriot shore on a shell near Paphos, a possible allusion to the transmission of the Phoenician cult. The greatest festival in Cyprus was the Aphrodisia, held three days each spring, with a procession between New and Old Paphos. L. P. di Cesnola (*Cyprus: Its Ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples* [1878]) identified what he considered was the temple to Aphrodite in New Paphos, an enclosure some 690 ft. from E to W and 539 ft. from N to S. Paphos suffered from a second earthquake in A.D. 76 or 77 and was virtually destroyed by a third one in the 4th cent., lying for a long time afterward in ruins. It is now known as Baffa.

PAUL and BARNABAS landed on Cyprus in A.D. 45 or 46 at SALAMIS, then the chief commercial center and port of the island. After ministry throughout the island (Acts 13:6), they then proceeded to Paphos, and the trip probably included a complete tour of all the Jewish synagogues. The route they took is uncertain, but eventually they reached Paphos where they met the governor Sergius PAULUS. His conversion was a great victory for the Christian missionary enterprise (13:6-12), for he was the Roman proconsul (A.D. 46 to 48); an inscription from Paphos mentioning his name in the middle of the 1st cent. has been found. It was in the court of Sergius Paulus that the encounter with the sorcerer ELYMAS took place. (See further G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus,* vol. 1 [1940]; F. G. Maier and V. Karageorghis, *Paphos: History and Archaeology* [1984]; *OCD,* 1108.)

J. M. HOUSTON

**Papias** pay'pee-uhs (Παπίας). Bishop of HIERAPOLIS, a town a few miles N of LAODICEA in PHRYGIA (SW ASIA MINOR), at the end of the 1st cent. and the beginning of the 2nd (a little later in the 2nd cent., Claudius Apollinaris the apologete was bishop of the see). Papias probably was born in the decade of A.D. 60-70. His writings are the major ground of interest in him, for he said that he made a point of interrogating people who had known the Lord's disciples. He thought he could profit more "from the utterances of a living and surviving voice" than from books (Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* 3.39.4). He wrote an *Interpretation of the Sayings of the Lord* in five books. Although it was listed in the library catalogue of Stams, a Cistercian monastery in the Tyrol as late as 1341, it has now disappeared. There are only quotations from it and references to it by other writers. EUSEBIUS has the most interesting citations, but IRENAEUS and Andrew of Caesarea (late 6th cent.), among others, also quoted him directly.

The *Interpretation* can be dated about 120-130. It states that "Mark became Peter's interpreter and wrote accurately all that he remembered, not indeed in order, of the things said or done by the Lord." Of Matthew, Papias said that he "collected the sayings in the Hebrew language, and each interpreted them as he was able" (Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* 3.39.15 –16). Irenaeus *(Ag. Her.* 5.33.3) quoted Papias as saying that the apostle John related what Christ taught, that after the resurrection of the righteous there would be an earthly kingdom when vines and wheat would be more prolific than ever, and animals would be peaceable and obedient to man. Irenaeus also described Papias as a "hearer of John" and a companion of POLYCARP (5.33.4).

Eusebius, however, argued that Papias had not known any of the apostles *(Eccl. Hist.* 3.39.4). He quotes Papias as saying, "I inquired into the words of the presbyters, what Andrew or Peter or Philip or Thomas or James or John or Matthew, or any other of the Lord's disciples, had said, and what Aris-tion and the presbyter John, the Lord's disciples, were saying." Eusebius interpreted this statement to be a reference to two separate "Johns," and he frequently has found support among modern scholars. Eusebius had a low opinion of Papias's mind and called him "a man of very little intelligence" (*Eccl. Hist.* 3.39.13). The connection indicates that this may be due, in part at least, to their divergent views on the millennial period. (See M. Jourjon, *DBSup* 6 [1960], cols. 1104-9; U. H.J. Körtner, *Papias von Hierapolis: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des frühen Christentums* [1983]; J. Kürzinger, *Papias von Hierapolis und die Evangelien des Neuen Testaments* [1983];R.Bauckham in JTS 44 [1993]: 24-69; W. R. Schoedel in *ABD,* 5:140-42.)
P. WOOLLEY

**papyrus.** The *Cyperus papyrus* is a sedge that still grows plentifully in the Sudan. In ancient times, as abundant evidence shows, it grew throughout all the NILE valley, the delta, and, according to PLINY the Elder (*Nat. Hist.* 13.68-83), in SYRIA as well. (See also BULRUSH; REED.) The papyrus is a graceful plant, and may be seen in pictures of Egyptian goddesses, held in the hand as a symbol of divinity. The clustered buds gave the architect a decorative motif. Bound in long bundles it provided handy rafts or canoes for bird hunting in the fens of the delta.

Pliny, in the passage cited, describes the plant and its manifold uses. It grows, he wrote, "in the swamps of Egypt or else in the sluggish waters of the Nile where they have overflowed and lie stagnant in pools not more than about three feet in depth; it has a sloping root as thick as a man's arm, and tapers gracefully up with triangular sides to a length of not more than about fifteen feet, ending in a head like a thyrsus; it has no seed, and is of no use except that the flowers are made into wreaths for statues of the gods. The roots are employed by the natives for timber, and not only to serve as firewood but also for making various utensils and vessels; indeed the papyrus itself is plaited to make boats, and the inner bark is woven into sailcloth and matting, and also cloth, as well as blankets and ropes. It is also used as chewing gum, both in the raw state and when boiled, though only the juice is swallowed."

Above all, however, the tough stems of the papyrus gave mankind its first convenient writing material. Pliny describes the process of making paper from papyrus. The plant was split "into very thin strips made as broad as possible." The best quality was in the center of the plant and was originally called "hieratic paper" (but later was given the name of Augustus in honor of the emperor). The next best quality could be made finer "by a careful process of insertion." Pliny also mentions the Saitic and Taeneotic paper as being less valuable, and still an additional paper that could be used only for covering documents. "After this comes the actual papyrus, and its outermost layer, which resembles a rush and is of no use even for making ropes, except those used in water."

Pliny continues: "Paper of all kinds is 'woven' on a board moistened with water from the Nile, muddy liquid supplying the effect of glue. First an upright layer is smeared on to the table, using the full length of papyrus available after the trimmings have been cut off at both ends, and afterwards cross strips complete the latticework. The next step is to press it in presses, and the sheets are dried in the sun and then joined together, the next strip used always diminishing in quality down to the worst of all. There are never more than twenty sheets to a roll."

Smoothed by pumice and hammered hard, the papyrus pith, though fragile, provided a writing material that was almost indestructible if kept dry. And because it never rains S of Cairo, numerous

documents that were once discarded have been discovered in Egypt in modern times. In the second half of the 19th cent., with the expansion of cultivated areas, ancient sites were stripped and "papyri began to appear in masses, just as they had been thrown away in the ancient world on rapidly forming out-door rubbish heaps" (E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* [1968], 21). In 1877, and then again in 1887, important finds were made in the area of the Fayum.

This papyrus fragment from Wadi Murabba'at dates from the 7th cent. B.C. The original text was erased, and the later writing mentions the name of Hosea.

The most spectacular discoveries, however, came as a result of the systematic explorations of the Oxford scholars B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt. Having moved their expedition in 1896 to Oxyrhynchus (modern Behnesa, some 120 mi. S of Cairo), and after weeks of hesitation, they decided to dig one of the rubbish mounds. There they discovered the now famous *Gospel of Thomas,* after which "the flow of papyri soon became a torrent it was difficult to keep pace with." Grenfell continues: "The third and by far the greatest find, that of the Byzantine archives, took place on March 18th and 19th [1897], and was, I suppose, a 'record' in point of quantity. On the first of these two days we came upon a mound which had a thick layer consisting almost entirely of papyrus rolls…At the end of the day's work no less than thirty-six good-sized baskets were brought in from this place, several of them stuffed with fine rolls three to ten feet long, including some of the largest Greek rolls I have ever seen" (quoted in Turner, *Greek Papyri,* 29-30; on the following day twenty-five more baskets were filled).

Although valuable copies of classical and biblical works were discovered, these mounds were of course filled with documents that the ancient inhabitants themselves regarded as useless: outdated commercial transactions, brief private letters, contracts of marriage and divorce, memoranda. Yet it was precisely these insignificant materials that revealed how the common folk of Hellenistic times actually lived and spoke. Adolf Deissmann *(Light from the Ancient East: The New Testament Illustrated by Recently Discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World* [1928], 7, 9-10) puts it this way: "In the literary memorials that have come down to us, what we have is practically the evidence of the upper, cultivated classes about themselves. The lower classes are seldom allowed to speak, and where they do come to the front—in the comedies, for instance—they stand before us for the most part in the light thrown upon them from above…Now, however, thanks to the discovery of their own authentic records, they have suddenly risen again from the rubbish mounds of the ancient cities, little market towns, and villages. They plead so insistently to be heard that there is nothing of it but to yield them calm and dispassionate audience…Peasants and artisans, soldiers and slaves and mothers belonging to the common people speak to us of their cares and labours. The unknown and the forgotten for whom there was no room in the pages of the annals, troop into the lofty halls of our

museums, and in the libraries, volume on volume, are ranged the precious editions of the new texts."

The discovery of these materials revolutionized our understanding of NT Greek, for it soon became clear that the apostles had written in the language of the common people. See GREEK LANGUAGE. In addition, extremely important MSS of the NT itself have been discovered, some of them dating back to the 2nd cent. See BODMER PAPYRI OF JOHN; CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI; TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (NT).

(Important publications include A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* [1932-34]; P. W. Pest-man, *The New Papyrological Primer,* 2nd ed. [1994]; J. F. Oates et al., *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets,* 5th ed. [2001]. The Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri can be accessed online through the Perseus Project at *http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/Texts/* papyri.html.)

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

**parable.** In classical Greek, the noun *parabolē G4130* meant "juxtaposition, comparison, illustration" (from the verb *paraballō,* which had several senses, including "to lay [one thing] beside [another], to compare"). In the NT, the word is applied to a saying or story that seeks to drive home a point the speaker wishes to emphasize by illustrating it from a familiar situation of common life. In the SEPTUAGINT, this term is used frequently as the equivalent of Hebrew *māšāl H5442,* in which the idea of comparison is also present.

1. Old Testament
2. Synoptic Gospels
3. The Gospel of John
4. The Gospel of Thomas
5. The writings of Paul
6. Hebrews
7. Rabbinical parables

**I. Old Testament.** The element of comparison is obvious enough in many of the OT proverbs; for example, "As vinegar to the teeth and smoke to the eyes, / so is a sluggard to those who send him" (Prov. 10:26). Sometimes the comparison is left to be inferred: "Ants are creatures of little strength, / yet they store food in the summer" (30:25). See PROVERB.

More important for the present purpose are the OT parables in narrative form. One of the earliest of these is the fable of the trees told by JOTHAM to show the Shechemites how unwisely they had acted in choosing ABIMELECH to be their king (Jdg. 9:8-15). The fable is a parable and not an ALLEGORY: the olive, fig, and vine do not stand respectively for distinct individuals or types. The point is that trees, which have useful work to do, are too busy to accept the offer of kingship; the only tree to accept the offer is the useless brier, which, far from providing food or shelter, catches fire and burns the other trees down. In the actual situation the moral is plain, and does not require to be spelled out, although Jotham draws his hearers' attention to the lesson of his tale.

The prophet NATHAN's parable of the ewe lamb serves a similar purpose. Again there is no allegory: the details of the story are told for the sake of building up the picture, and do not correspond to the circumstances in which DAVID had committed adultery with BATHSHEBA and arranged her husband's death. But the story of a shameful act of injustice was sufficient to evoke David's indignant condemnation of the perpetrator—and therewith of himself—as soon as Nathan pointed the parallel

with his indictment, "You are the man!" (2 Sam. 12:1-7).

King JEHOASH's fable of the thistle trying to arrange a marriage alliance with the cedar (2 Ki. 14:9) was a not very diplomatic warning to AMA-ZIAH not to let success go to his head. Again, there is no allegory, for a marriage between two families is not an obvious counterpart to military confrontation between two kings; but the point was sharp enough—it is just that Amaziah was too insensate to pay heed to it.

Isaiah's song of the vineyard (Isa. 5:1-7) was not understood immediately by his hearers to be a parable. It was a sad tale of devoted labor expended in vain, until it was made plain to them that "the vineyard of the LORD Almighty is the house of Israel" and that he could not be expected to go on caring for it as he had done when it persistently produced the fruit of oppression instead of the justice for which he was entitled to look. As before, there is no detailed allegorization; the point of comparison is the failure to produce the fruit that was reasonably expected after all the painstaking work to insure it.

In a deeper sense, Hosea's experience of his wife's unfaithfulness might be called a parable of Yahweh's experience of the unfaithfulness of Israel; the simpler parabolic form is found when he depicted Israel ("Ephraim") as Yahweh's little son whom he taught to walk, as parents still teach their children, with reins—"with cords of human kindness, with ties of love" (Hos. 11:3-4).

Ezekiel's picture of Jerusalem as the foundling baby girl whom Yahweh in pity brought up and, when she had reached full maidenhood, betrothed as his bride, only to find her prone to abandon him for other lovers (Ezek. 16), is more an allegory than a parable, and one moreover in which the picture and the reality that it portrays are intertwined throughout; the same is true of the account of OHOLAH AND OHOLIBAH (ch. 23). The figure of the vine, whose wood is useless except for burning when it has ceased to bear grapes, is a straightforward simile (15:1-6). The story of the great eagles that planted and transplanted cedar and vine shoots (17:1-10) is expressly called a "riddle" (NIV, "allegory"; Heb. *ḥîdâ H2648)* and a "parable" (NRSV, "allegory"; Heb. *māšāl).* It is more of an allegory than a parable, especially as it records details hardly to be expected in the normal existence of eagles and trees, but introduced to be the counterpart of features of the real situation that was being illustrated. There is more of the true parable in the two pictures of ch. 19, where the mother of the princes of Israel is portrayed first as a lioness, the mother of whelps, and then as a vine, well-watered, vigorous and fruitful, but destined to be uprooted, withered, and burned. Both these pictures are called a "lament" (Heb. *qînâ H7806).*

Whereas the WISDOM literature is full of sayings in which the whole point lies in the comparison, only occasionally is the comparison developed to the dimensions of a self-contained story. A good example is the story in Eccl. 9:14-15 of the little city that in time of siege was delivered by the wisdom of a poor man (an allusion to Archimedes in Syracuse?) whose services were forgotten when the danger was past. The lesson of the parable is that wisdom is better than military might, although the wise man will know better than to expect any reward or gratitude for his wisdom.

In the apocalyptic symbolism of Daniel and his postcanonical successors there is a comparison indeed, but not the kind of comparison defined as parable; the symbols often are far removed from real life—as the lion with eagles' wings (Dan. 7:4) that loses its wings but receives a human mind and stands on two feet—and are devised from the first to correspond to the historical reality that they represent.

In the pre-Christian compilation of APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE called *1 Enoch* is one section (chs. 27–71) known as *The Parables (or Similitudes) of Enoch* because it is divided into three parts (chs. 38-44; 45-57; 58-71), each of which is introduced in the text itself as a "parable" ("the first parable,"

"the second parable," "the third parable"). Here the term *parable* has lost practically every trace of its primary significance and has become another word for *mystery* (this semantic change may have been facilitated by the use of Hebrew *ḥîdâ* and *māšāl* as synonyms in such a passage as Ezek. 17:2, mentioned above). The "parables" that Enoch saw and described were his visions of the future, experienced by "special" revelation. See ENOCH, BOOKS OF.

**II. Synoptic Gospels.** When the subject of parables is discussed it is preeminently the parables of Jesus that come to mind; in his teaching, the parable form appears in perfection. See JESUS CHRIST VI. Whether in his instruction of the disciples or his preaching to the crowds that flocked to hear him or his debates with the SCRIBES and PHARISEES, he regularly used parables: "indeed he said nothing to them without a parable" (Matt. 13:34 RSV). To his disciples, for example, he told the parable of the unforgiving servant (Matt. 18:23-35); to the crowds, the parable of the sower (Mk. 4:1-8); and to Simon the Pharisee, the parable of the two debtors (Lk. 7:41-47). To the city of Jerusalem he addressed the parable of the fruitless fig tree (Lk. 13:6-9), and to the Jewish rulers there he addressed the parable of the vineyard (Mk. 12:1-9), as they themselves readily recognized: "they knew he had spoken the parable against them" (v. 12).

This last parable has more allegorical elements in it than his parables usually had—to the extent, at least, that each stage of the story has a counterpart in real life. This element is slightly increased in the Matthean version, where the account of the tenants' treatment of the owner's son, "they took him and killed him, and threw him out of the vineyard" (Mk. 12:8), becomes "they took him and threw him out of the vineyard and killed him" (Matt. 21:39), in accordance with the historical fact that Jesus was taken outside Jerusalem before he was put to death.

For the most part, however, the parables of Jesus are not allegories. The details of the stories make them more vivid and effective, but each parable is told to drive home one point. There are few examples of labor expended in vain throughout the


Branch of fig tree with early season fruit, such as Jesus was not able to find on his way to Jerusalem when he was hungry (Mk. 11:12-14). On an earlier occasion, he had spoken a parable based on a fruitless fig tree (Lk. 13:6-9).

history of biblical exegesis to be compared with the persistent attempts to allegorize the details in the parable of the Good Samaritan—his beast, the inn, the innkeeper, the two coins, and so forth—all of which resulted in the obscuring of the moral that Jesus himself drew from the story: "Go and do likewise" (Lk. 10:37).

The fashion of allegorical exegesis of the parables is generally considered to have received its

deathblow from Adolf Jülicher's *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu* (1888-99). This does not mean that henceforth it should be accepted as a dogma that there is no allegory in the parables of Jesus, but rather that allegory should not be read into them. Jülicher established on exegetical grounds the principle that normally a parable of Jesus is told for the sake of one point that is to be emphasized. He himself considered that the one point was some ethical maxim; the recognition of the eschatological orientation of the ministry of Jesus, which has been a feature of NT study in the 20th cent., has led to the conclusion that the point of the parables, far from being general and timeless, had special relevance to the crisis that was present in Jesus' preaching of the kingdom of God.

The most distinctive parables of Jesus are parables of the KINGDOM OF GOD, designed to embody some aspect of his preaching. They were not mere illustrations, but integral to the whole ministry of Jesus: in the terminology of Ernst Fuchs and his school they are a *Sprachereignis,* a "language-event" (cf. E. Jüngel, *Paulus und Jesus* [1962], 87ff.). In the parables the kingdom of God itself comes to expression and Jesus bears testimony to his own person and mission, albeit in veiled form, so that the hearers' response to the parable is their response to the kingdom of God and to Jesus himself.

In Jesus' general parables about the kingdom are two phases, one in which the kingdom is already present and one in which it is yet to come. Whichever phase of the kingdom is foremost in any particular parable, what is insisted on above all else is the urgent necessity of coming to a decision. The brief opportunity presented by Jesus' ministry is of such paramount importance that nothing must stand in the way of grasping it; let everything go provided this be secured. This is the treasure hidden in a field for the sake of which a man sells all his property and buys the field; this is the pearl of great price for which a merchant sells all that he has (Matt. 13:44- 46).

The kingdom and its preacher may seem unimpressive and insignificant at present, when the preacher is still beset by limitations (Lk. 12:50) and the kingdom has not yet come "with power" (Mk. 9:1), but that is no reason for despising it. Small beginnings may lead to great consummations: the seed that a farmer scatters on the ground germinates and sprouts while he is busy with other things until, almost before he realizes it, harvest has come and he sets to reap with the sickle (Mk. 4:26-29). Similarly the tiny seed of mustard becomes a huge shrub (Mk. 4:31-32) and the handful of leaven that a woman puts into a basin of meal leavens the entire contents (Matt. 13:33; Lk. 13:20-21). The element of growth and development in these parables should probably not be emphasized in the manner that was common when an evolutionary interpretation of the kingdom of God was popular; this element may be present from the very nature of the aspect of life or nature from which the comparison is drawn, but no weight is expressly attached to it in the teaching of Jesus.

Rudolf Otto (*Reich Gottes und Menschensohn,* 2nd ed. [1940]; English trans., *The Kingdom of God and the Son of Man,* 2nd ed. [1943]) stresses some of the parables of the kingdom as embodying Jesus' distinctive teaching about its "inbreaking," showing how "from its futurity it already extends its operation into the present" (p. 59). He cites particularly the parables of the seed growing secretly and of the four soils (pp. 113ff.). This approach to the parables was taken up and carried through in thoroughgoing fashion by C. H. Dodd in his *Parables of the Kingdom* (1935), one of the most influential books on this subject since Jülicher's. In terms of an exclusively "realized eschatology" (of which *Parables of the Kingdom* was Dodd's first full-scale exposition), the harvest in the parables of the seed growing secretly (Mk. 4:26-29), of the four soils (Mk. 4:3-8), and of the tares (Matt. 13:24-30) was the present ministry of Jesus. Insofar as the element of growth has any significance, it refers to the preparation for Jesus' ministry in, for example, the preaching of JOHN THE BAPTIST. The crop was now ripe; there was no need to wait for a restitution of all things before putting in the sickle. No farmer delays because some of his seed has been wasted and has not

produced grain. Where there is a plentiful harvest in good ground waiting to be reaped, reaped it must be forthwith. Again, no farmer postpones harvest until he has weeded out all the tares among the wheat; so the kingdom of God cannot wait until there are no more sinners in Israel. The kingdom of God in the ministry of Jesus does its own work of weeding. Such parables convey the message of Jn. 4:35-38, where Jesus described the fields as "ripe for harvest" and sent the disciples out not to sow but to reap, since the sowing had already been done by others.

In dealing with the parables of crisis—the faithful and unfaithful servants (Matt. 24:45-51; cf. Lk. 12:42-46), the waiting servants (Mk. 13:33-37; Lk. 12:35-38), the thief at night (Matt. 24:43-44; cf. Lk. 12:39-40), and the ten virgins (Matt. 25:1-13)—Dodd argues that, whereas they were increasingly interpreted as the PAROUSIA during the formation of the gospel tradition, they originally referred to a crisis within the period of Jesus' ministry. The critical day will break in like a thief, or it will spring like a trap, and those who are not vigilant will be caught unaware. The call then is to stay awake, like servants who sit up late to be ready when their master returns home. This latter simile, he finds, has been gradually transformed into an allegory, in which the returning master is Christ and the homecoming his parousia. In the original setting, the present ministry of Jesus was the supreme crisis of world history; these parables therefore meant that his hearers should be prepared for any development, however unexpected, in the times of decision amid which they were living. The inner group of his disciples, however, might be intended to recognize a more specific reference—perhaps to the test with which his impending arrest in GETHSEMANE would present them, in the light of his express warning in Mk. 14:38. Those who failed to keep awake and so were unprepared would be overwhelmed by the catastrophe as the people of NOAH's day were by the flood.

Much of this was well founded in the setting of Jesus' ministry. It may be said that, as tends to happen in a pioneer work where new insights are stressed to the overlooking of others that need to be borne in mind, Dodd's exclusion of allegory is too absolute and his realized ESCHATOLOGY too rigidly drawn. In the parable of the four soils, for example, there is some emphasis on the four different kinds of ground on which the seed fell, and Jesus may well have had in mind the different kinds of reception that the message of the kingdom received. The statement that the seed in the good soil was multiplied thirty-, sixty-, and a hundredfold would have filled a Palestinian farmer with amazement; tenfold or twelvefold would be a very good harvest. Jesus imported into the story features of the spiritual situation that he wished to illustrate, which is the essence of allegory. To interpret this parable to mean that the sowing is already past and that nothing remains but the reaping is natural if one applies to it the exegetical principle of realized eschatology, but it is not an interpretation that arises out of the story as it stands. Still less do the parables of the seed growing secretly and of the leaven lend themselves *prima facie* to interpretation along this line. Rather, the seed is being sown, the leaven being placed among the meal, in the course of Jesus' ministry: "now let it work!" As surely as harvest follows sowing, as surely as the whole basin of meal will be leavened, so surely will the message of the kingdom by word and action fulfill God's purpose.

Insofar as the parables of crisis point to an emergency imminent at the time of speaking, they should be examined against the contemporary political background. If the fifth and everlasting kingdom of Daniel's vision (Dan. 7:14, 18, 22, 27)

Greek relief of a boar. In the parable of the lost son, the Jewish boy was hired to feed pigs (Lk. 15:15).

had drawn near, what of the four kingdoms that it was destined to displace, and especially, what of the fourth? Many of Jesus' contemporaries were prepared to bring in the new kingdom by waging war against Rome, and if they would not listen to his dissuasion, disaster was inescapable. Much of the apocalyptic language in his parabolic and other teaching has reference to the current crisis; only by an effort of supreme decision could his hearers avert the day of doom when the eagles would be gathered together (Lk. 17:37).

The process of reinterpreting the parables of crisis in terms of the parousia and a futurist eschatology can be traced even more clearly in the transmission of the gospel text than in the earlier, preliterary formation of the tradition: the parable of the ten virgins, for example, which ends with the warning, "Therefore keep watch, because you do not know the day or the hour" (Matt. 25:13), is given a futurist reference in later witnesses to the text, which add, "…when the Son of man comes" (cf. KJV). That this futurist element was present in some parables from the start, as in Jesus' general teaching about the kingdom, is antecedently probable. If the similes of a thief by night and of a woman in birth pangs were used to show the suddenness of the day of the Lord and the destruction that will then overtake the sons of darkness (1 Thess. 5:2-3), one should not rule out the possibility that the same themes might have occurred in the teaching of Jesus twenty years earlier.

The parable of the sheep and of the goats in its present form (Matt. 25:31-46) has manifest reference to the future judgment; the form, though not the content, approximates quite closely the parables of Enoch. Whatever success may be thought to attend attempts to reconstruct a more primitive phase of this parable, like that of J. A. T. Robinson *(Twelve New Testament Studies* [1962], 76–93), "it contains features of such startling originality that it is difficult to credit them to anyone but the Master himself" (T.W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus [1949],* 249). Moreover, in view of the role predicted for the SON OF MAN elsewhere in the teaching of Jesus, as advocate for the defense or counsel for the prosecution in the presence of God (Lk. 12:8-9; Mk. 8:38), it is not difficult to interpret this parable in a similar sense, but it is the future consummation, not the present proclamation of the kingdom in the ministry, that forms its life setting.

The life setting of the synoptic parables has been studied preeminently by Joachim Jeremias in *The Parables of Jesus* (English trans., 2nd ed. [1963], from *Die Gleichnisse Jesu,* 6th ed. [1961]). This is a complex study, for it aims at distinguishing the life setting in the ministry of Jesus, which determined the original purpose of each parable, from the life setting in the early Palestinian or Hellenistic church that found each parable still of great use, not always for its original purpose but for

the conditions of primitive Christianity. It may even be necessary to distinguish further the life setting in the activity of the evangelist to whom we owe the parable in its present form. The parables of Jesus lend themselves more readily to this kind of study than much of his other teaching does. Jeremias pursues his task in a manner that shows how FORM CRITICISM can be constructive rather than destructive of the gospel tradition, increasing as it does the reader's appreciation of the history both of Jesus' ministry and of the early church. The upshot of his study is that the parables "are all full of 'the secret of the Kingdom of God'…, the recognition of 'an eschatology that is in process of realization'…God's acceptable year has come. For he has been manifested whose veiled kingliness shines through every word and through everyp arable—the Saviour."

Jeremias's reference to "the secret of the Kingdom of God" calls attention to Mk. 4:11-12, where this expression occurs. The quotation from Isa. 6:9-10 that appears in this passage in Mark belongs to Isaiah's inaugural vision, where he was warned that for all his prophetic ministry, the people to whom he is sent will pay him no heed, this result being expressed, in accordance with OT idiom, in terms of purpose. If one remembers this, and also the fact that in Mk. 4:12 it is the Targumic form of Isa. 6:9-10 rather than the Hebrew or SEPTUAGINT form that is quoted, Jesus' meaning appears to be: "To you [the disciples] has been given the secret of the kingdom of God, but for those outside everything takes the form of riddles—to those, namely, who see but do not perceive, and hear but do not understand; unless they turn again and be forgiven." The *word parabolē,* in this saying, takes on something of the sense of Hebrew *ḥîdâ* (see section I above); to those who were willing to receive the message of Jesus, his parables helped to make it clear; to those whose ears were stopped, the parables were so many riddles that obscured the truth, which an honest and good heart would have welcomed. In the situation of the early church, as is evident from Acts 28:25-27 (cf. Jn. 12:40), the words of Isaiah and their use by Jesus were applicable to the problem of Jewish refusal to accept the gospel.

One should not overlook the incidental light that the synoptic parables throw on the circumstances of everyday life in the Palestinian countryside in the twenties and thirties of the 1st Christian century. Part of their effectiveness was due to their hearers' familiarity with the kind of situation described—they all knew how the loss of a coin turned the house upside down; many of them could think of a prodigal son who had gone to seek his fortune in a far country, and the dangers of the Jericho road were notorious. That God should put himself to trouble over a lost sheep of the house of Israel, and welcome a returning prodigal with such extravagant joy, or that a Samaritan should show an example of love to a neighbor—this was the novelty.

**III. The Gospel of John.** The Greek word used for "parable" in John is not *parabolē* but *paroimia G4231* ("byword, proverb"), which the LXX uses twice as the rendering of Hebrew *māšāl* (Prov. 1:1; 26:7; also Sir. 6:35 et al.). In three of the four Johannine occurrences, the word refers to enigmatic utterances. In Jn. 16:25, Jesus concluded his discourse to the disciples on Passover eve with the words: "I have said these things to you in figures of speech; the hour is coming when I will no longer speak to you in figures *[en paroimiais],* but I will tell you plainly of the Father" (NRSV). If the "figures" are to be understood as parables in the usual sense, one might think of the short parable of the woman in childbirth in v. 21, or of the longer parable of the vine and the branches in ch. 15. The context implies that the "figures" are not so intelligible as unfigurative speech, for after a short statement (16:26-28) of the implications for the disciples of Jesus' impending departure, they said, as though enlightened, "Ah, now you are speaking plainly, not in any figure *[paroimian]!"* (v. 29 RSV). Perhaps the suggestion is that all Jesus' teaching, however expressed, remains enigmatic to his

hearers until the Spirit comes to make its meaning plain (14:26).

The one other place in John where *paroimia* appears is in Jn. 10:6, with reference to the parable of the sheep and the sheepfold. J. A. T. Robinson applies to this parable the form-critical method that J. Jeremias uses for the synoptic parables and discerns the authentic features of the true parabolic form in vv. 1–5 (*Twelve New Testament Studies,* 67-75). C. H. Dodd draws attention to parabolic forms elsewhere in this gospel, citing (in addition to those already mentioned) the grain of wheat (Jn. 12:24), the benighted traveler (11:9-10), slave and son (8:35), bridegroom and bridegroom's friend (3:29); he finds in them evidence for a primitive tradition lying behind both the Johannine and synoptic records (*Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel [1963],* 366ff.).

**IV. The Gospel Of Thomas.** The *Gospel according to Thomas,* one of the Coptic MSS found near NAG HAMMADI in Egypt about 1945, appears to be a 4th-cent. translation of a 2nd-cent. Greek collection of 114 sayings attributed to Jesus. (See THOMAS, GOSPEL OF.) Of these, several are parables—some identical with, or closely related to, those found in the Synoptic Gospels, and others unparalleled in the canonical writings but exhibiting the true parabolic form. The parables of the sower (no. 9), the rich fool (no. 63), the vineyard (no. 65), and the great feast (no. 64) reappear.

Saying no. 8 has reminiscences of the parable of the dragnet, but its lesson is that of the parables of the hidden treasure and the costly pearl: "Man is like a wise fisherman who cast his net into the sea. He brought it up out of the sea full of little fishes, in the midst of which this wise fisherman found a large, excellent fish. He threw all the little fishes back into the sea; without hesitation he chose the big fish. He that has ears to hear, let him hear!"

The synoptic parable of the stray sheep has been recast in no. 107 to serve a Gnostic motive: "The kingdom is like a shepherd who had a hundred sheep. One of them, the biggest, wandered away. He left the ninety-nine others and sought this single sheep until he found it. After taking this trouble, he said to the sheep, 'I love you more than the ninety-nine others!"' His seeking the lost sheep because it was the biggest changes the original point of the parable. The man who secured the hidden treasure then "began to lend at interest to whomsoever he would" (no. 109).

Two new "parables of the kingdom" are worth recording: "The kingdom of the Father is like a woman carrying a jar full of meal and walking along a long road. The handle of the jar broke, and the meal poured out behind her on the road without her knowing it or being able to do anything about it. When she reached home, she set down the jar and found that it was empty" (no. 97). "The kingdom of the Father is like a man who wishes to kill a ruler. In his own house he unsheathes his sword and thrusts it into the wall to make sure that his hand will be steady; then he kills his victim" (no. 98). The former may be a warning against imagining that one possesses saving knowledge when in fact one has lost it; the latter (drawn perhaps from a ZEALOT environment) urges that anyone who embarks on a hazardous enterprise must first make sure that he has the resources to carry it out (cf. Lk. 14:28-32).

Only by careful comparative study and form-critical analysis, with due regard to the Gnostic life setting of the final stage of the compilation, will it be possible to decide which parables (and other sayings) in the *Gospel of Thomas* can reasonably be held to go back to Jesus himself. (Cf. H. W. Mon-tefiore in *Thomas and the Evangelists,* ed. H. W. Montefiore and H. E. W. Turner [1962], 40-78.) See also GNOSTICISM; LOGIA.

**V. The writings of Paul.** The apostle PAUL was not given to parabolic teaching. Such well-established figures as the thief by night and the woman in childbirth (1 Thess. 5:2-3) appear incidentally in his letters, and the figure of the grain of wheat (cf. Jn. 12:24) is elaborated to illustrate

the RESURRECTION (1 Cor. 15:36-38, 42-44), perhaps under the influence of the firstfruits and harvest sequence in the earlier part of the chapter. Agricultural and architectural figures are used (e.g., in 1 Cor. 3:6-15) to illustrate the inauguration and sustenance of the CHURCH. The simile of the body and its parts illustrates the interrelation of members of the church (1 Cor. 12:12-27; Rom. 12:4-5); in Colossians and Ephesians this concept becomes much more than a simile (see BODY OF CHRIST).

The picture of the olive tree (Rom. 11:17-24) is an allegory more than a parable, since features of the real situation are brought into the picture. Whatever may be said about the practice of grafting a slip from a wild fruit tree on to a cultivated tree—and Paul himself described this process as "contrary to nature" (v. 24)—the idea of grafting back on to the parent stock branches that had been cut off (v. 23) is out of the question in horticulture. Paul, however, was talking about a miracle that God is to perform in the spiritual realm, and expressing it pictorially in terms of the olive branches.

Although this is an allegory, Paul did not use the word here; the one place where he did use it is in Gal. 4:24, where he referred to the Genesis story of HAGAR and SARAH and their sons to illustrate the contemporary contrast between those who adhered to the law and those who embraced the liberty of the gospel.

**VI. Hebrews.** Outside the Synoptic Gospels, *parabolē* occurs in the NT only in Hebrews, and in its two occurrences in this letter it is used of an OT picture of a NT truth. In Heb. 9:9 the arrangements of the Mosaic TABERNACLE are called "an illustration *[lit.,* a parable] for the present age," and in 11:19 ABRAHAM is said to have received ISAAC back from the dead "figuratively speaking" (i.e., "in a parable" of the resurrection of Christ).

**VII. Rabbinical parables.** The rabbinical writings are full of stories, allegorical or parabolic in character, meant to drive home some point of teaching or to illustrate some passage in the Hebrew Bible. A salutary moral is pointed, for example, by the story of the king who invited guests to a feast, but instructed them that they must each bring something to sit on. Some brought rough pieces of stone or wood and then complained about their discomfort, to the king's annoyance. This illustrates the plight of those who complain to God about the pains of Ge-Hinnom (GEHENNA) when it is they themselves who have prepared their abode by their conduct in this life (*Ecclesiastes Rabba* 3.9.1).

As for biblical exegesis, the following parable is told to explain why Abraham is called "the rock from which you were cut" (Isa. 51:1): "A certain king desired to build and to lay foundations; he dug ever deeper, but found only morass, until at last, having dug deeper still, he struck a rock [Aram. *petra,* a loanword from Gk.]. Then he said, "On this spot I will build and lay the foundations" *(Yalquṭ* on Numbers, 766). It is further explained that when God called Abraham, it was because in him he found a man on whom he could build and establish the world. The parallel with Matt. 16:18, "on this rock [Gk. *petra G4376]* I will build my church," leaps to the eye. When Jesus taught "many things in parables," he did not use a form unfamiliar to his hearers; the distinctiveness of his parables lies in their message and meaning.

(In addition to the works mentioned in the body of this article, see A.T. Cadoux, *The Parables of Jesus* [1931]; W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Gospel Parables in the Light of Their Jewish Background* [1936]; B.T.D. Smith, *The Parables of the Synoptic Gospels: A Critical Study* [1937]; J. A. Findlay, *Jesus and His Parables* [1950]; G. H. Lang, *Pictures and Parables* [1955]; R. S. Wallace, *Many Things in Parables* [1955]; A. M. Hunter, *Interpreting the Parables* [1960]; G. V. Jones, *The Art and Truth of the Parables* [1964]; E. Linnemann, *Parables of Jesus* [1966]; J. D. Crossan, *In Parables* [1973]; K. E. Bailey, *Poet and Peasant: A Literary-Cultural Approach to the Parables in*

*Luke* [1976]; M. Boucher, *The Mysterious Parable: A Literary Study* [1977]; K. E. Bailey, *Through Peasant Eyes: More Lucan Parables, Their Culture and Style* [1980]; R. W. Funk, *Parables and Presence* [1982]; B. B. Scott, *Hear Then the Parable: A Commentary on the Parables of Jesus* [1989]; C. Blomberg, *Interpreting the Parables* [1990]; I. H. Jones, *The Matthean Parables: A Literary and Historical Commentary* [1995]; J. W. Sider, *Interpreting the Parables: A Hermeneutical Guide to Their Meaning* [1995]; B. Young, *The Parables: Jewish Tradition and Christian Interpretation* [1998]; A.J. Hultgren, *The Parables of Jesus: A Commentary* [2000]; R. N. Longenecker, ed., *The Challenge of Jesus' Parables* [2000]; R. F. Capon, *Kingdom, Grace, Judgment: Paradox, Outrage, and Vindication in the Parables of Jesus* [2002; this work combines three previous books]; C. W. Hedrick, *Many Things in Parables: Jesus and His Modern Critics* [2004]; K. R. Snodgrass in *DJG,* 591-601.)

F. F. BRUCE

**Paraclete** pair'uh-kleet. Transliteration of the Greek term *paraklētos G4156,* which as an adjective meant, "called to the aid [of someone]," and as a noun, "legal assistant, advocate, mediator, helper" (from the verb *parakaleō G4151,* "to call [someone] to one's side, to summon for help," but also "to appeal to, encourage," etc.; see BDAG, 764-65 [verb] and 766 [noun]). John is the only author in the NT to use this term. In his gospel he employs it four times (Jn. 14:16, 26; 15:26; 16:7) to denote Jesus' description of the HOLY SPIRIT, who would be sent to continue the Lord's ministry to the disciples (KJV, "Comforter"; RSV and NIV, "Counselor"; NRSV, "Advocate"). In 1 Jn. 2:1 he applies it to the exalted Lord (most versions, including TNIV, "advocate"; NIV, "one who speaks…in our defense").

In the Hellenistic literature that constitutes the linguistic milieu of the NT, the word, as commonly used, referred to one who speaks (or intercedes) for someone in the presence of another, and it appears to have had a legal connotation (but note K. Gray-ston's qualifications in *JSNT* 13 [1981]: 67-82, esp. 75: it was "a word of general meaning which could appear in legal contexts, and when it did the *paraklētos* was a supporter or sponsor"). When John applied it to the exalted Lord, he thus may have been using a legal term to picture the role of Christ as one who pleads the sinner's cause before the Father. This mode fits well with the basic representation of Christ in the NT as exalted at God's right hand, there to make intercession for the saints (Rom. 8:34; see INTERCESSION OF CHRIST). Before the resurrection, Jesus himself claimed, in reference to the judgment of the world, that he would be the advocate of those who had confessed him, and the accuser of those who had denied him, before his Father in heaven (Matt. 10:32-33 and parallels). Closely related to this strand of revelation is the larger representation of Christ's high-priestly ministry in the presence of the Father, which the writer of Hebrews referred to as his entering into the holy place not made with hands, there to make intercession for us (Heb. 7-9). See INTERCESSION OF CHRIST.

Analyzing the meaning of the *term paraklētos* as applied to the Spirit is a more difficult task. When Jesus spoke of "another Counselor" (Jn. 14:16), it implies that the term is being used both of himself and the one who shall take his place. A few interpreters have understood Jesus' statement as follows: "And I will ask the Father, and he will give you another one, a counselor to be with you forever." Others have suggested a parallel between JOHN THE BAPTIST's relationship to Jesus and Jesus' relationship to the Paraclete. As John heralded the coming of the Messiah, so the Messiah heralded the coming of the Spirit. Such interpretations are forced and only marginally advocated.

Assuming, then, that Jesus himself is a Paraclete and that, when he departed, he sent the Spirit as "another Paraclete," the determination of the sense of this term with reference to Jesus would seem to

enable one to ascertain its meaning as applied to the Holy Spirit. However, matters are not quite that simple. The chief difficulty in following the analogy of 1 Jn. 2:1 and interpreting Paraclete as "Advocate" when applied to the Spirit is that the pronouncements in the Gospel of John about the ending, the activity, and the nature of the Spirit seem to move on a different plane. Should, then, another term be sought more in keeping with the description given by Jesus of the Spirit's ministry? What other term would be preferred? This problem has long plagued translators (cf. the various renderings noted above).

If an effort is made to solve this problem by the history of religions approach, one must choose between two possible sources of John's usage. There is, on the one hand, the figure of the "celestial Helper" found in GNOSTICISM (particularly in the MANDEAN literature) and, on the other, the tradition of an "advocate" for man before God found in the OT and late Jewish writings. When one makes a close comparison between the Mandean figure of the Helper and the Johannine description of the Paraclete, the analogy is not sufficiently great to suggest that the latter concept derived from the former.

If the key to the meaning of *paraklētos* is sought in the OT idea of an advocate who speaks for human beings before God, questions still remain. The puzzling fact is that the description of the Paraclete's work as delineated in John's gospel does not fit well with the idea of an advocate. In John he is described as the One who teaches the disciples and brings to their memory what Jesus had said (Jn. 14:26); he bears witness to the risen Christ (15:26); he convicts the world of sin, righteousness, and judgment to come (16:8-11). It would seem, then, that the term, when applied to the Spirit, has less a forensic and more a kerygmatic aspect. Some have sought to reduce the latter to the former by arguing that the Spirit leads the disciples into all the truth in the sense that he defends them, in their striving for the truth in the world, against the condemnation of unbelievers. He becomes their advocate, as they struggle with the world, by bearing an effectual witness in the hearts of their hearers —but this seems strained.

It is true that in Rom. 8:26-27 Paul writes of the Spirit's making intercession for us with sighs that cannot be uttered. Jesus promised (Mk. 13:11 and parallels) that in the decisive moment, when his disciples were asked to defend themselves, the Spirit would speak for them. When it comes to the meaning of *paraklētos* in the Gospel of John, it can only be said that it has taken on added shades of meaning that make it impossible to translate it exactly with any common English word, and most translators have wisely chosen not to use the strange-sounding word "Paraclete" (the Douay is the only major version to use it). The best one can do is to use a general term like "Helper" or spread out the meaning in a phrase like "One who stands by to help."

Although the traditional word "Comforter" is not to be altogether excluded from the broader connotation of Paraclete—its illustrious pedigree appears from time to time in the Greek and Latin fathers and was used by Luther and Wycliffe before the King James—this rendering does not fit the context best. Whereas it is true that Jesus spoke of the Paraclete in a discourse aimed at comforting his disciples (who were saddened by the thought of his leaving them) when he described the Spirit's ministry, it is not primarily in these terms that he spoke. (See further O. Betz, *Der Paraklet: Fürsprecher im häretischen Spätjudentum, im Johannes-Evangelium und in neu gefundenen gnostischen Schriften* [1963]; G. Johnston, *The Spirit-Paraclete in the Gospel of John* [1970]; E. Franck, *Revelation Taught: The Paraclete in the Gospel of John* [1985]; D. Pastorelli, *Le Paraclet dans le corpus johannique* [2006]; *NIDNTT,* 1:88-91;ABD, 5:152-54.)

P. K. JEWETT

**paradise.** This term derives from Greek *paradeisos G4137,* "park, garden" (itself borrowed from Pers. [Avestan] *pairidaēza,* lit., "beyond the wall," thus "enclosure"; cf. also Heb. *pardēs H7236* [only Neh. 2:8; Eccl. 2:5; Cant. 4:13]). Its common English meaning is "a place [or state] of bliss," but in biblical usage it has a specialized sense. The Greek translation of the OT uses this term most frequently with reference to Eden (Gen. 2:8-10 et al.; see EDEN, GARDEN OF). The word begins to take on an eschatological nuance in some prophetic passages (e.g., Isa. 51:3 LXX), and this idea becomes more prominent in the PSEUDEPIGRAPHA (e.g., *2 En.* 8.1-3; see *ABD,* 5:154-55).

In later Jewish literature, the term has a variety of uses. "Sometimes it is the general abode of the righteous dead; sometimes the happy side of sheol; sometimes the home of the specially privileged few, the abode of those who have never seen death, the place where Messiah himself waits for the time of his manifestation. Sometimes it is located in the distant East; sometimes it is identified with the third heaven; sometimes a distinction is drawn between a heavenly Paradise for the perfect and a terrestrial paradise for the imperfect. In later Judaism a complete topography of it was attempted; 'Abraham's bosom' was defined to be the place of highest honor in it; and strongly colored descriptions were given of its gates of rubies, its sixty myriads of angels, the 800,000 kinds of trees which flourished in it, and the way in which every one who entered it was renewed during the three night watches" (S. D. F. Salmond, *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality* [1913], 279-80). Although these details come from literature produced after the NT, the general conception no doubt reflects much earlier tradition.

The word *paradeisos* occurs only three times in the NT. (As Salmond notes [ibid., 281], "There is the greatest possible difference…between the sparing and restrained employment of the word in the New Testament, and the inordinate use which fancy makes of it in the Apocryphal Gospels, especially the Gospel of Nicodemus.") The first NT use refers to the abode of the righteous dead. Jesus said to the thief on the cross, "Truly I tell you, today you will be with me in Paradise" (Lk. 23:43 NRSV). In view of Christ's supposed descent into HADES and the NT emphasis on the RESURRECTION, some have taken "today" with the first phrase, rather than the second. The passage would read, "Truly I tell you today, you will be with me in Paradise." In that case, Jesus would not be teaching conscious existence in paradise immediately after death in the INTERMEDIATE STATE. However, the many other occurrences of the introductory formula, "Truly I tell you," do not include any additional terms such as "today," so this interpretation is not widely held.

What meaning did Jesus intend the thief to understand? Henry Alford *(The Greek Testament,* 4 vols. [1871-74], 1:662), following Grotius, suggested that Jesus spoke to the thief in terms of the Jewish belief in a portion of Hades for the righteous dead, but spoke with a fuller meaning knowing that the same day he would open paradise at God's right hand. On this view Christ announced his triumph to the SPIRITS IN PRISON (1 Pet. 3:18-19) and some little time after on the same day was with the thief in the presence of God. A conscious existence between death and the resurrection is consistent with Jesus' parable of LAZARUS AND DIVES (Lk. 16:19-31), as well as PAUL's teaching (2 Cor. 5:1-8; Phil. 1:23).

It is possible also to interpret 1 Pet. 3:18-19 as a reference to the time of NOAH and his preaching to the wicked (v. 20), who in PETER's day were in Hades. So Christ and the thief may have gone immediately to what had always been the abode of God. Jesus, on this interpretation, did not endorse the later Jewish tradition that paradise was at any time a compartment of Hades.

The second NT occurrence of the word appears in Paul's reference to his visions and revelations (2 Cor. 12:1-4). Whether these experiences took place "in the body or out of the body" he did not know, but he was caught up to "the third heaven" (v. 2), a term that is apparently equivalent to

"paradise" (v. 4). The Bible does not know of the seven heavens of the books of *Enoch.* Paul's "third heaven" is probably to be distinguished from the clouds, and the more distant stars, as the abode of God.

The third and last NT use of paradise occurs in the promise to the church in EPHESUS: "To him who overcomes, I will give the right to eat from the tree of life, which is in the paradise of God" (Rev. 2:7). Part of the Jewish hope was the restoration of the Edenic paradise (Isa. 51:3; Ezek. 36:35). The new Jerusalem in the new heavens and earth has on either side of the river of the water of life "the tree of life, bearing twelve crops of fruit, yielding its fruit every month. And the leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations" (Rev. 22:2). Through Christ paradise is regained.

These three NT passages are far from detailed and complete. At best, a scriptural doctrine of paradise must be stated with care. In defense of the view that paradise was originally a portion of Hades, Louis Sperry Chafer argued that "An illustration of this belief is given by Christ in the account of the rich man and Lazarus" (Lk. 16:19-31). That it was removed from Hades to the presence of God was, in his opinion, indicated by Eph. 4:8-10 *(Systematic Theology,* 8 vols. [1947-48], 7:247-48). The note on Hades at Lk. 16 in the original Scofield Bible distinguished between Hades before the ASCENSION OF CHRIST (which had a compartment called paradise, or ABRAHAM'S BOSOM) and Hades after the ascension. "The blessed dead were with Abraham, they were conscious and were comforted." No change has occurred for unsaved dead, but paradise has been removed from Hades and "is now in the immediate presence of God." It is believed that Eph. 4:8-10 indicates the time of the change.

The "great gulf" between Lazarus and the rich man may represent the difference between SHEOL and HEAVEN as well as two compartments of Sheol. The context of the passage in Eph. 4 on spiritual gifts may indicate only the incarnation and ascension of Christ, rather than a descent to Hades. Both views are possible and both views have scholarly advocates. Interestingly, the revisers of the Scofield Bible significantly moderated the note on Hades at Lk. 16. It now reads, "Some interpreters think that Eph. 4:8-10 indicates that a change in the place of the departed believers occurred at the resurrection of Christ. All who are saved go at once into the presence of Christ (2 Cor. 5:8; Phil. 1:23)."

There is little reason for dispute on a subject where the evidence is so scanty as to forbid dogmatism. Charles Hodge wisely said, "There can, therefore, be no doubt that paradise is heaven… The Fathers made a distinction between paradise and heaven which is not found in Scriptures… Whether paradise and heaven are the same is a mere dispute about words…it is where Christ is… Whether any, in obedience to patristic usage, choose to call this paradise a department of hades, is a matter of no concern. All that the dying believer need know is that he goes to be with Christ" *(Systematic Theology,* 3 vols. [1872-73], 727-28).

G. R. LEWIS

**paraenesis** pair'uh-nee'sis. Also *parenesis* (adj. *paraenetic or parenetic).* This technical term (from a common Gk. noun, *parainesis,* "exhortation"; cf. the cognate verb *paraineō G4147,* "to exhort, recommend, advise, warn") is used in biblical scholarship with reference to passages characterized by instructions and commands. It occurs most frequently in discussions of hortatory sections in the NT letters. (See *ABD,* 5:162-65, s.v. "Parenesis and Protreptic")

**Parah** pay'ruh (פָּרָה *H7240,* possibly from the verb פָּרָה *H7238,* "to be fruitful"). A town within the tribal territory of BENJAMIN (Josh. 18:23). It is generally identified with Khirbet ʿAin Farah (or nearby Kh. Abu Musarrah; cf. *Tübinger Bibelatlas* [2001], map B IV 6), c. 4.5 mi. NE of Jerusalem, although some believe it should be located farther N, near BETHEL and OPHRAH, with which it is grouped (see Z. Kallai, *Historical Geography of the Bible* [1986], 401).

**Paraleipomena Jeremiou.** See BARUCH, FOURTH.

**Paralipomenon** pair'uh-li-pom'uh-non. See CHRONICLES, BOOKS OF.

**parallelism.** See HEBREW POETRY II.

**paralytic.** Various passages in the NT record the miraculous cure of paralytics (Gk. adj. *paralytikos G4166* [Matt. 4:24; 8:6; Mk. 2:3-10; et al.]; pass. ptc. *paralelymenos,* from *paralyō G4168* [Lk. 5:18, 24; Acts 8:7; 9:33]). Paralysis refers to loss of motor function, and sometimes of sensory ability. It occurs in scores of different forms. The disease may be limited to a local area of the body or be generalized. It may be temporary or permanent. Almost everyone has experienced the temporary rigidity of ischemic palsy, due to interference with the flow of blood to the muscles involved. Progressive or wasting palsy is seen in muscular dystrophy with its gradual loss of muscular tissue. A striking example of generalized and usually permanent paralysis is seen in some cases of poliomyelitis.

The causes of paralysis are many and varied. The condition may be inherited. It may be due to injury at birth. Sicknesses, such as polio or syphilis, may be responsible. A common cause is injury to a major nerve, or to the spinal cord. Paralysis due to hysteria is seen occasionally. In biblical days sins of an individual were blamed for his paralysis, and this thought must have added greatly to the patient's misery. See also DISEASE (under *atrophy).*

R. H. POUSMA

**paramour.** This term, meaning "an illicit lover," is used once by the KJV and other versions to render the Hebrew noun *pilegeš H7108* (Ezek. 23:20; NIV, "lovers"). In this passage, where the symbolic women OHOLAH AND OHOLIBAH represent adulterous (i.e., idolatrous) Samaria and Jerusalem, the Hebrew word refers to males, but elsewhere it is properly rendered CONCUBINE (Gen. 22:24; Jdg. 8:31; et al.).

**Paran** pay'ruhn (פָּארָן *H7000).* A broad central area of desert in the SINAI Peninsula. It is to be distinguished from three smaller deserts that are peripheral districts: SHUR in the NW, bordering Egypt; Sinai, in the southern tip of the peninsula; and ZIN, in the NE between KADESH BARNEA and the ARABAH trough. Consequently, there is some overlap in the rather vaguely defined boundaries of Paran. (For the identification of Paran with REPHI-DIM and Tell el-Maḫarit, see *Tübinger Bibelatlas* [2001], Sinai map.)

The whole area is some 23,000 square mi., divisible into three main topographical sections. In the wilderness of Shur, to the N, lie wide open sandy plains and the dune-fringed coast. Paran is bordered to the S by ranges of hills or isolated groups such as the Moghara, Jelleg, and Hellal. The central area consists of elevated sedimentary tablelands, collectively called the Jebel et-Tih. This is the great "desert of the wanderings," rising from 3,900 to 5,290 ft. above sea level, terminating in the S in the high

The Desert, or Wilderness, of Paran.

plateau of Egma. All this area, over half of the total drainage area of the Sinai Peninsula, is drained by the Wadi el-ʿArish and its seasonal tributaries into the Mediterranean. To the S of these tablelands are the crystalline mountains of southern Sinai, a deeply dissected landscape of gorges and mountain blocks. The eastern edge of the Sinai Peninsula is intensely broken up into dissected hills, trough faults, and wadi floors—a wild assortment of landforms impossible to describe in detail.

Paran thus has been associated with wild desert conditions of both relief and climate, astride the trade routes, and also as an inhospitable refuge to those seeking isolation. It was the district settled by ISHMAEL (Gen. 21:21) and crossed by the Israelites at the exodus (Num. 10:12; 12:16; 13:3-26). From it the Israelites sent their spies into Palestine (13:26). DAVID fled into Paran after the death of SAMUEL (1 Sam. 25:1), possibly to the northern sector of the area, though the Greek rendering in the SEPTUAGINT reads, "wilderness of Maon."

Mount Paran (Deut. 33:2 and Hab. 3:3) could refer to any one of a number of prominent peaks in the mountains in the southern Sinai Peninsula. Y. Aharoni considers it a (poetic) equivalent of Mount Sinai, and comments that Feiran, "the main oasis of the Sinai peninsula," preserves the biblical name

The Wilderness of Paran.

(*The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], 199, with map on 197).
J. M. HOUSTON

**parapet.** This English word, referring to a structure that protects the edge of a platform or roof, is used to render Hebrew *ma(ăqeh H5111,* which occurs only once (Deut. 22:8; KJV, "battlement"). Houses in Palestine were built generally with flat roofs, which frequently were used as porches, so parapets were needed to prevent persons from falling off. Negligent homicide was to be avoided by the builder and owner. The English term is used also by the NIV in another context (Ezek. 40:13, 16).

**Paraphrase of Shem.** See SHEM, PARAPHRASE OF.

**Parbar** pahr'bahr. KJV transliteration of Hebrew *parbār H7232,* which occurs only in a verse indicating one of the stations of temple gatekeepers: "At Parbar westward, four at the causeway, *and* two at Parbar" (1 Chr. 26:18). However, the word *parwārîm* (only 2 Ki. 23:11; KJV, "suburbs") is apparently its plural form. The precise meaning of this term is uncertain, but it may be derived from a Persian word meaning "outer court, vestibule," so the rendering "court" (cf. NIV) is probably the most satisfactory. Some versions (e.g., NRSV) use "colonnade" in the first passage and "precincts" in the second.

**parchment.** The skin of a sheep (or goat) prepared in such a way that makes it suitable for writing;

also, a MS made of this material. This term (derived from the name PERGAMUM, because this city had a reputation for manufacturing the product) is often interchangeable with *vellum,* although the latter refers more specifically to the fine-grained skin of a young animal. Because parchment was more durable and expensive than PAPYRUS, it was used for particularly important or valuable documents. When PAUL asked TIMOTHY to bring him his scrolls *(biblia,* pl. of *biblion G1046,* "book"), he added the comment, "especially the parchments" *(membranas,* pl. of *membrana G3521),* which many think is a reference to the apostle's personal copies of the OT Scriptures. See TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (OT); TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (NT).

**parenesis, parenetic.** See PARAENESIS.

**parent.** See FAMILY; FATHER.

**Parmashta** pahr-mash'tuh (פַּרְמַשְׁתָּא *H7269,* possibly from Old Pers. *fara-ma-ištha,* "preeminent"). One of the ten sons of HAMAN who were put to death by the Jews (Esth. 9:9).

**Parmenas** pahr'muh-nuhs (Παρμενᾶς *G4226,* "steadfast," prob. short form of Παρμενίδης or a similar name). One of the seven men appointed by the early church to serve tables and thereby relieve the apostles for other duties (Acts 6:5). See also DEACON III; STEPHEN II.

**Parnach** pahr'nak (פַּרְנָךְ *H7270,* perhaps from Pers. *farnaces,* "success"). TNIV Parnak. Father of ELIZAPHAN; the latter was a leader from the tribe of ZEBULUN appointed to assist in dividing the land of Canaan among the tribes (Num. 34:25).

**Parosh** pay'rosh (פַּרְעֹשׁ *H7283,* "flea"). Ancestor of a family of 2,172 people who returned from the EXILE with ZERUBBABEL (Ezra 2:3; Neh. 7:8; 1 Esd. 5:9 [KJV, "Phoros"]). Subsequently, a leader of the same family named Zechariah, along with 150 other men, came up from Babylon with EZRA (Ezra 8:3; 1 Esd. 8:30 [KJV, "Pharez"]). Seven of the descendants of Parosh were among those who had married foreign wives (Ezra 10:25; 1 Esd. 9:26 [KJV, "Phoros"]). Another descendant, Pedaiah, joined the temple servants (NETHINIM) in making repairs to the wall of Jerusalem "up to a point opposite the Water Gate toward the east and the projecting tower" (Neh. 3:25). Finally, the name Parosh—referring possibly to the chief of his clan—is included in the list of "leaders of the people" who signed the covenant of NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:14).

**parousia** pah-roo-see'uh, puh-roo'zhee-uh. This term is a transliteration from the Greek *(parousia G4242,* "presence", then "coming, arrival"). In biblical and theological scholarship, it is used to denote the SECOND COMING of Christ.

1. The usage of the term
    1. In the NT
    2. Outside the NT
2. The related NT terms
3. III. The teaching in the NT
    1. The common teaching

2. The expectant attitude
4. The modern reactions

**I. The usage of the term**

***A. In the NT.*** The noun *parousia,* which occurs twenty-four times in the NT, is the substantival form of the verb *pareimi G4205,* "to be near, present, to arrive" (it is a compound form composed of the preposition para *G4123,* "alongside, beside," etc., and the verb *eimi G1639,* "to be"). Thus the noun basically means "[the state of] being alongside of" and conveys the sense of the English word "presence" (it is contrasted to *apousia G707,* "absence," Phil. 2:12). But it often includes the thought of the "coming" or "arrival" of a person as the first stage of his presence that is to follow. Six of the NT occurrences of the term have this general meaning of the arrival or presence of some individual or individuals (1 Cor. 16:17; 2 Cor. 7:6, 7; 10:10; Phil. 1:26; 2:12).

The remaining eighteen NT occurrences of the term (with the probable exception of 2 Pet. 1:16) have an eschatological connotation (see ESCHATOLOGY). In all of these passages the term is used with a genitive to identify the person whose "coming" or "presence" is in view. In 2 Thess. 2:9 it is used of "the lawless one" (the ANTICHRIST), whose parousia is a satanic parody of Christ's. The remaining occurrences all relate to Christ. The term parousia does not in itself denote a "return," and the exact phrase "the *second* coming" is not used in the NT or in early Christian literature until the time of JUSTIN MARTYR (c. A.D. 150). The entire teaching of the NT, however, makes it clear that Christ's eschatological parousia is indeed his second coming. This fact is expressly asserted in Heb. 9:26-28.

***B. Outside the NT.*** The SEPTUAGINT translation of the Hebrew OT does not use the term *parousia.* It does occur in some books of the APOCRYPHA that were originally written in Greek (Jdt. 10:18; 2 Macc. 8:12; 15:21; 3 Macc. 3:17), but always in a secular sense. It does not occur in PHILO JUDAEUS. JOSEPHUS uses it of the presence of God to help, but without eschatological import.

From Ptolemaic times onward, *parousia* was used as a "quasi-technical" term to denote the official visit of a king, emperor, or other governmental official to a province or city (MM, 497). In Hellenistic literature the term also was used in a cultic sense of the manifestation of some hidden deity who made his presence known by revelation or whose presence was celebrated in the ritual.

The opening pages of the NT make it clear that at the time of Christ's first advent there was a prevailing expectation among the Jews of the coming of the MESSIAH. The Hebrew nation had been established and preserved by the mighty manifestations of Yahweh on behalf of his people and the Jews confidently looked forward to a further divine manifestation with the coming of the Messiah. The nature of these messianic hopes was not uniform: political, ethical, and apocalyptic elements mingled in the expectations. They looked for the coming of the Messiah in history, but that coming was not without eschatological implications.

**II. The related NT terms.** The concept of the parousia, or "second coming," of Christ is also expressed in the NT by a number of other terms. The noun *apokalypsis G637,* "an unveiling, a disclosure," occurs eighteen times in the NT, seven of the occurrences being specifically eschatological (Rom. 2:5; 8:19; 1 Cor. 1:7; 2 Thess. 1:7; 1 Pet. 1:7, 13; 4:13). It is also the title of the last book of the Bible, the Apocalypse (Rev. 1:1). Eight of the twenty-six occurrences of the verb *apokalyptō G636,* "to reveal," have an eschatological import (Lk. 17:30; Rom. 8:18; 1 Cor. 3:13; 2 Thess. 2:3, 6, 8; 1 Pet. 1:5; 5:1). This term stresses the thought that the Christ who has now

withdrawn into the unseen world, where he is seated at God's right hand (Heb. 1:3; 12:2), will come again in visible glory. His return will be an unveiling of his glory and true nature.

Another synonym is *epiphaneia G2211,* "manifestation, appearance, epiphany." It was used in Koine Greek of the visible manifestation of a deity either in person or through some act of power. In the NT it is used only by PAUL, once of Christ's first appearing (2 Tim. 1:10), but elsewhere of the second coming (2 Thess. 2:8; 1 Tim. 6:14; 2 Tim. 4:1, 8; Tit 2:13). This term draws attention to the actual presence of the returning Christ through the visible manifestation of his person.

The thought of the second coming is expressed four times by the verb *phaneroō G5746* in the passive, "to be manifested" (Col. 3:4; 1 Pet. 5:4; 1 Jn. 2:28; 3:2). The common verb *erchomai G2262,* "to come," occurs sometimes in eschatological contexts (cf. Matt. 16:27; 24:30; 25:31; Mk. 13:36; et al.), while *hēkō G2457,* "to have come, be present," is used in the NT "predominantly of the eschatological coming to salvation and judgment" (*TDNT,* 2:928; cf. Matt. 8:11; 24:14, 50; Lk. 12:46; Rom. 11:26; 2 Pet. 3:10; Rev. 2:25; 18:8).

The eschatological concept is expressed through various phrases using the term *day:* "the day of the Lord" (Acts 2:20; 1 Thess. 5:2; 2 Thess. 2:2; 2 Pet. 3:10); "the day of Jesus Christ" (Phil. 1:6); "the day of visitation" (1 Pet. 2:12 KJV); "that day" (Matt. 7:22; 2 Thess. 1:10); or "the last day" (Jn. 6:39, 40; 11:24; 12:48). See DAY OF THE LORD.

## III. The teaching in the NT

***A. The common teaching.*** The eschatological coming of Christ is a prominent theme in all parts of the NT. The Messiah who has already come to achieve redemption through his death and resurrection is expected to return to consummate his redemptive work. In the Synoptic Gospels the term *parousia* occurs only in Matt. 24 (vv. 3, 27, 37, 39), but the concept appears in all three. It pervaded the thinking and teaching of Jesus (Matt. 13:40-43; 19:28; 24:30-31; 25:1-12, 31-46; Mk. 8:38; 13:6-7,24-26; 14:62; Lk. 12:35-40; 18:8; 21:36). Form critics acknowledge that the concept is present in all the strands of the synoptic tradition.

The term does not occur in Acts, but it is clear that the hope of Christ's return was central in the faith and teaching of the early church (Acts 1:10-11; 3:20-21; 10:42; 17:31). Nearly all of the letters of Paul bear explicit testimony to the hope of Christ's return (Rom. 8:19-24; 1 Cor. 15:22-28, 51-57; 2 Cor. 5:9-10; Eph. 4:30; Phil. 3:20-21; Col. 3:4; 1 Thess. 4:13-17; 5:1-11; 2 Thess. 1:7-10; 2:1-14; 1 Tim. 6:14; 2 Tim. 1:18; 4:1, 8; Tit. 2:13). James twice mentions the parousia (Jas. 5:7-8), and the thought of the return of the Lord is a vital part of the teaching in 1 Peter (1 Pet. 1:7; 4:5, 13; 5:4-10). In 2 Pet. 3 the hope of the parousia is discussed and defended against the skeptical doubts of false teachers (vv. 3-15). Even in the brief epistle of Jude there are references to the eschatological return (Jude 6, 21, 24). The book of Hebrews places strong emphasis upon the present exaltation of Christ at the right hand of God, but the epistle explicitly asserts the eschatological hope (Heb. 9:28; 10:25), although the word *parousia* does not occur in this letter.

The word occurs in the Johannine writings only once in an important passage (1 Jn. 2:28). Both the fourth gospel and the Johannine epistles stress the present possession of eternal life (Jn. 3:18, 36; 5:24; 15:3; 17:3; 1 Jn. 2:5; 3:14; 4:13; 5:13, 19) and teach a present judgment that is inward (Jn. 3:19; 5:24; 9:39; 12:31; 1 Jn. 3:14). This stress upon what might be called "inaugurated eschatology" is consistent with explicit eschatological statements (Jn. 5:28-29; 6:39-40,44; 12:48;21:22-23). The term *parousia* does not occur in Revelation, but from its opening statement in Rev. 1:1 to the closing prayer in 22:20 the book is filled with this truth. It paints an elaborate picture of end-time events and

gives a glorious view of the returning Christ in open triumph over all enemies (19:11-21).

***B. The expectant attitude.*** It is clear that the NT writers anticipated the return of the Lord, but they neither knew nor expressly asserted that he would or would not come during their lifetime. They maintained an attitude of expectant preparedness. They urged believers to look for and be prepared for his coming (Matt. 24:44; 25:1-12; Lk. 12:40; Phil. 3:18-21; Jas. 5:9; 2 Pet. 3:11-12; Jude 21). It was regarded as the normal attitude for believers (1 Cor. 1:7; 1 Thess. 1:9-10). They found in the hope of the Lord's return a source of inspiration and cheer in affliction (Lk. 21:28; Phil. 3:20-21; 1 Thess. 1:3-10; 4:18; 2 Thess. 1:6-10), a challenge to personal purity (2 Pet. 3:11-12; 1 Jn. 3:2-3), and a stimulus to active duty (Lk. 12:35-37; 2 Cor. 5:8-11; 2 Tim. 4:1-2). They looked forward to the parousia not with dread but with joyous expectancy as a "blessed hope" (Tit. 2:13) because of what the returning Lord would do (1 Cor. 15:23-28; Phil. 3:20-21; 1 Jn. 3:2).

The NT writers knew and taught that the return of the Lord was certain but the time unknown (Matt. 24:36; Acts 1:7; 1 Thess. 5:2-3; 2 Pet. 3:10; Rev. 3:3; 16:15). His coming would be personal (Jn. 14:3; 1 Thess. 4:16), sudden, and unheralded by special warnings (Matt. 24:23-27, 42-44; 1 Cor. 15:52; 1 Thess. 5:1-3), yet preceded by definitely foretold signs (Matt. 24:14; 2 Thess. 2:1-2; 1 Tim. 4:1-3; 2 Tim. 3:1-5; 2 Pet. 3:3-4). It would be visible (Lk. 17:23, 24; Rev. 1:7), in glory and with great power (Matt. 24:30; 25:31; 2 Thess. 1:7), resulting in the final defeat of all enemies and the glorification of the saints (1 Thess. 5:3-5; 2 Thess. 1:7-10; Rev. 19:14). Jesus' saints will share his rule with him (Rom. 8:17; 2 Tim. 2:12; Rev. 1:6; 2:26-28; 5:10; 20:4-6). Efforts to unify the various aspects of the eschatological picture have led to strongly divergent views among biblical interpreters, but all are agreed that the Bible teaches the sure hope of the parousia.

**IV. The modern reactions.** Modern interpretations of the scriptural teaching concerning the parousia include three basic reactions. The liberalism of the 19th and early 20th century chose to discard the eschatological hope as a mistaken feature of the message of the early church. Neoorthodox theologies have sought to reinterpret the eschatological message by demythologizing it in terms of acceptable modern categories. Conservative interpreters continue to accept the biblical teaching as a valid part of the eternal revelation and hold that it will yet have its fulfillment in the personal return of Christ as the climax of history. (See further *TDNT, 5:858-71;NIDNTT,2:898-935;ABD,5:166-70;* and the bibliography under SECOND COMING.)

D.E. HIEBERT

**Parshandatha** pahr-shan'duh-thuh (פַּרְשַׁנְדָּתָא *H7309,* a Persian name of uncertain meaning, though H. S. Gehman, in *JBL* 43 [1924]: 327, suggested "the inquisitive one"; see further R. Zadok in *ZAW 98* [1986]: 108-9). One of the ten sons of HAMAN who were put to death by the Jews (Esth. 9:7).

**parsin.** See MENE, MENE, TEKEL, PARSIN.

**Parthians** pahr'thee-uhnz (Πάρθοι *G4222).* On the day of PENTECOST, some of the people who

Persian ceramic representation of Parthian warriors.

heard the apostles speak in foreign languages were Parthians (Acts 2:9). Parthia was the name of a Persian satrapy lying to the SE of the Caspian Sea and corresponding to the NE section of modern Iran. Originally, its inhabitants were the Parni, but in the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C. they successfully rebelled against the SELEUCIDS and formed what came to be known as the Parthian empire. During the next century, under Mithradates I and II, their territory expanded greatly, from the Indus River to as far W as the EUPHRATES. The Parthians became a constant threat to the ROMAN EMPIRE and were not subdued until the time of TRAJAN (c. A.D. 116). Some have thought that the vision of the two hundred million mounted troops in Rev. 9:13-19 alludes to the dreaded Parthian cavalry. See PERSIA III.E.

**partition, middle wall of.** See WALL OF PARTITION.

**partridge.** This well-known bird is mentioned twice in the OT (1 Sam. 26:20; Jer. 17:11; Heb. *qōrē)* *H7926,* "calling one, crier"). Two species are found in Palestine. (1) The rock partridge (*Alec-toris graeca* or the variety *Caccabis chukar),* which lives in a wide range of country from the coastal plains to the dry hills of Judea and the mountains of Lebanon. It is similar in size and appearance to the closely related red-legged partridge (*Alectoris rufa),* a native of SW Europe that has been widely introduced to other parts of Europe and into N America. The white cheeks, bordered with black, and the strikingly barred flanks make it easily recognizable. It is about 14 in. long. (2) The desert or sand partridge (*Ammoperdix heyi),* which is half the size and found only in the rocky regions around the DEAD SEA and in the NEGEV and SINAI deserts. It is plentiful around such oases as EN GEDI. Living in bare country with little cover, it is sandy-colored and very hard to see when it squats.

Both kinds are more often heard than seen. Reluctant to fly, they run fast until forced to get up; they then drop into the next available bit of cover. This habit is reflected in DAVID's reproachful comment to SAUL, who was pursuing him from one hiding place to another "as one hunts a partridge in the mountains" (1 Sam. 26:20). The other biblical reference is a figurative passage quoting a curious natural history belief, "Like a partridge that hatches eggs it did not lay / is the man who gains riches by unjust means" (Jer. 17:11). This notion is given in more detail by the Arabic historian al-Damir (see S. Bochart and E. F. C. Rosenmüller, *Hierozoicon,* 3 vols. [1793-95], 2:85). The mother bird is said to remove eggs from another nest and incubate them only to find that the birds return to their own mother when reared. There may be some basis for the story, though the deduction is

probably wrong.

Partridge in a Byzantine mosaic from the floor at the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem.

Arabs today believe that the hen lays in two separate nests, one of which is looked after by the cock, and there is some evidence that this may also be true of the red-legged partridge.

The partridge is possibly alluded to in the place name EN HAKKORE, "the spring of the one who calls" (Jdg. 15:19; cf. also the personal name KORE). Game birds are universally regarded as good eating, and it is presumed that partridges were among the birds taken in "the fowler's snare" (Ps. 91:3, etc.). (See further G. R. Driver in *PEQ* no vol. [1955]: 132; P. Arnold, *Birds of Israel*[1962]; *FFB,* 64-65.)

G. S. CANSDALE

**party.** This English term, in the sense of an organized group taking one side of a dispute, is used a few times by the NIV and other versions to render Greek *hairesis G146* ("choice," but also "sect"). It occurs, for example, with reference to the SADDUCEES (Acts 5:17) and the PHARISEES (5:17). See SECT. The Greek term sometimes has a negative connotation, such as "faction" (1 Cor. 11:19 [NRSV]; Gal. 5:20) or even HERESY (2 Pet. 2:1).

P. A. VERHOEF

**Paruah** puh-roo'uh (פָּרוּחַ *H7245,* "happy"). Father of Jehoshaphat, who was one of SOLOMON's twelve district officers, with ISSACHAR as the territory assigned to him (1 Ki. 4:17).

**Parvaim** pahr-vay'im (פַּרְוַיִם *H7246,* meaning unknown). The place from which SOLOMON obtained gold for the TEMPLE (2 Chr. 3:6). The name is unknown elsewhere, but it is generally thought that it refers to some place in the Arabian peninsula, such as Saq el-Farwein (NE ARABIA) or Farwa (Yemen). It has moreover been suggested that Parvaim is an alternate form for SEPHAR (Gen. 10:30),

which also is unknown, though it was probably in Arabia as well. (Cf. the discussion of OPHIR.)

Parvaim figures in postbiblical tradition. According to the GENESIS APOCRYPHON (1QapGen II, 3), METHUSELAH went to look for his father ENOCH in Parvaim *(prwyn),* evidently a mysterious place far away (but the difficult line is translated, "he went to the highest heaven, to Parvain," in M. Wise et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* [1996], 76). The TALMUD, in a discussion regarding different types of GOLD (*b. Yoma* 44b –45a), records the view of R. Hisda, who said that there were seven kinds and that the gold of Parvaim bore that name "because it looked like the blood of a bullock *[Heb. par H7228]."* The further comment is made: "On other days the gold was yellowish, but [on the Day of Atonement] it was red and that was the Parvaim gold, which looks like the blood of a bullock." A parallel passage in the MIDRASH adds, "others say because it produced fruit *[Heb. pĕrî H7262]" (Exod. Rab.* 35.1; similarly *Num. Rab.* 11.3; 12.4).
R. L.ALDEN

**Pasach** pay'sak (פָּסַח *H7179,* derivation uncertain). TNIV Pasak. Son of Japhlet and descendant of ASHER (1 Chr. 7:33).

**paschal** pas'kuhl. Adjectival form of Pasch (or Pascha), which in turn is derived from *Greek pascha G4247,* meaning PASSOVER. The NRSV and other versions render this Greek word with the phrase "paschal lamb" (NIV, "Passover lamb") in a passage where PAUL says that Christ is "our Passover" (lit. trans.) that has been sacrificed (1 Cor. 5:7).

**Pas Dammim** pas-dam'im. See EPHES DAMMIM.

**Paseah** puh-see'uh (פָּסֵחַ *H7176,* "one who hobbles, lame"). (1) Son of Eshton and apparently a descendant of JUDAH, though the precise genealogical connection is not given (1 Chr. 4:12).

(2) Ancestor of a family of temple servants (NETH-INIM) who returned from the EXILE with ZERUBBA-BEL (Ezra 2:49; Neh. 7:51 [KJV, "Phaseah"]; called "Phinoe" in 1 Esd. 5:31 [KJV, "Phinees"]).

(3) Father of JOIADA; the latter was one of those responsible for repairing the Jeshanah Gate (OLD GATE) when NEHEMIAH rebuilt the walls of JERUSALEM (Neh. 3:6). Some have speculated that this Paseah may be one of the descendants of #2 above.

S. BARABAS

**Pashhur** pash'hur (פַּשְׁחוּר *H7319,* possibly an Egyp. name meaning "son [or portion] of [the god] Horus"). KJV Pashur. (1) Son (or descendant) of IMMER; he was a priest and the chief officer of the TEMPLE in the time of JEREMIAH (Jer. 20:1-6). When Pashhur heard about Jeremiah's predictions of the destruction of Jerusalem, he struck the prophet and had him put in the stocks for a day. Upon being released, Jeremiah strongly rebuked him and made a prophecy that was probably a play upon Pashhur's name. Since the name apparently was not Hebrew, some have thought that it may have been interpreted as a combination of the Hebrew word *pesaḥ H7175* ("Passover," suggesting the idea of deliverance) and a root meaning "going about," hence, "deliverance is round about" (but see KD, *Jeremiah,* 1:313-14; W. McKane, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah,* ICC, 2 vols. [1986-96], 1:461-64). If so, Jeremiah in his rebuke may have reversed the popular etymology of the name when he said that the Lord would give Pashhur a new name, MAGOR-MISSABIB, meaning "terror

all around." He further announced that Pashhur and his friends would be carried into captivity to Babylon and would die there.

(2) Son of Malkijah; he was one of the men that King ZEDEKIAH sent to inquire from Jeremiah as to the ultimate fate of the city (Jer. 21:1-2). This Pashhur was also one of a group—including GEDALIAH son of Pashhur, thus probably his own son—who complained to Zedekiah about the unfavorable predictions of Jeremiah (38:1-4); upon receiving the king's permission, they put the prophet in a dungeon (vv. 5-6). These incidents probably took place more than fifteen years after the events described above, under #1. Some have speculated, however, that the same Pashhur is in view and that Immer may have been an ancestor (perhaps founder of the family) rather than the immediate father. In any case, this Pashhur son of Malkijah is probably the same one who is included in the genealogy of ADAIAH son of Jehoram, a priest who resettled in Jerusalem after the EXILE (1 Chr. 9:12; Neh. 11:12).

(3) Ancestor of a family of 1,247 priests who returned from Babylon with ZERUBBABEL (Ezra 2:38; Neh. 7:41; 1 Esd. 5:25 [KJV, "Phassaron"]). Six of his descendants are listed among those who had married foreign women (Ezra 10:22; 1 Esd. 9:22 [KJV, "Phaisur"]). The name Pashhur—referring possibly to the chief of his clan—is included in a list of priests who signed the covenant of NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:3). Some think he is the same as #2.

A. A. MACRAE

**Pashur** pash'uhr. KJV form of PASHHUR.

**pass, passage.** These English terms are used variously in the Bible versions to render a large number of Hebrew and Greek words, including the very common verbs *ʿābar H6296,* "to cross over" (e.g., Gen. 32:10 KJV), and *ginomai G1181,* "to become, happen" (esp. in the expression "it came to pass"; e.g., Matt. 7:28 KJV). Other examples are Hebrew *pāsaḥ H7173,* "to pass over" (Exod. 12:13 et al.; see PASSOVER), and Greek *parerchomai G4216,* "to go by" (Matt. 8:28 et al.). The KJV uses "passage" to render, for example, Hebrew *maʿbārâ H5045,* "a crossing," with reference to the fords of the Jordan River (e.g., Jdg. 12:6).

B. C. STARK

**passengers, valley of the.** See TRAVELERS, VALLEY OF THE.

**passion.** This English term, which in modern usage means primarily "emotion, ardent affection," and the like, used to have other senses, including "suffering." The word is derived from Latin *patior,* "to experience, undergo, suffer" (pf. pass. *passus).* Similarly, the related Greek verb *paschō G4248* (aor. inf. *pathein)* communicates primarily the notion "to receive an impression, to undergo," so that depending on the context it can refer to good or evil happenings; in the absence of a modifying term, however, it consistently refers to a bad experience, thus, "to suffer." The cognate *noun pathos G4079* ("incident, experience, suffering, emotion") occurs in the NT only with the negative sense of LUST (Rom. 1:26; Col. 3:5; 1 Thess. 4:5; but cf. *homoiopathēs G3926,* "having similar experiences or feelings," Acts 14:15 and Jas. 5:17 [KJV, "like passions"]); while *pathēma G4077* (almost always plural) sometimes refers to lusts (Rom. 7:5; Gal. 5:24), but usually to sufferings (Rom. 8:18; 2 Cor. 1:5-7; et al.).

The most important and far-reaching expression is a phrase in the prologue to Acts that describes Jesus as presenting himself *zōnta meta to pathein auton,* lit., "alive after he suffered"

(Acts 1:3). This phrase was translated by JEROME in the Latin VULGATE with *vivum post passionem suam.* This same style was followed by John Wycliffe (1320-1384) and by subsequent English translations, including the KJV, which retained the term *passion* in this special sense. Consequently the English word, especially when capitalized, can refer specifically to the last sufferings and death of Christ—the betrayal, arrest, trial, scourging, journey to GOLGOTHA, and CRUCIFIXION. See also DEATH OF CHRIST; JESUS CHRIST V.G.

An analysis of the contents of any or all of the four Gospels will demonstrate that the broadest coverage is given to these events. The fact that the passion is mentioned in the opening of the Acts shows that it was the central core of the message taught throughout the apostolic period. The often repeated notion that the early church in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. concocted the substitutionary character of Jesus' death is specious in the light of this early statement. It is clear in the gospel narratives that Jesus taught that his suffering was to be the messianic suffering, although it is equally clear that this insight was not understood by the disciples when they heard it (Matt. 16:21; 17:22, 23; 20:17-19; Mk. 8:31, 32; 9:31, 32; 10:32-34; Lk. 9:22, 43-45; 18:31-34).

It is at the time of the passion that Jesus' words carry the fullest import concerning the ATONEMENT being accomplished (Matt. 20:28; 26:28; Mk. 10:45; 14:24). It must be asserted, however, that without the principle of God's gratuitous substitution of Christ's atonement for the sins of the believers, a concept that is repeated over and over in Scripture, the passion is meaningless. Recent attempts at explaining the crucifixion in terms of dialectic philosophy or as an act of sublime sympathy to be imitated in society, utterly disregard the text of the NT. Through the epistle to the Hebrews, the ancient cult practices of the Jewish sacrifices are disclosed in terms of their completion and satisfaction in the passion (Heb. 2). The suffering of the Christian for his faith is nowhere imitative, but is a sign of keeping faith with Christ (1 Pet. 2:21-23). In the patristic writers the concept of the passion became a central theme, and throughout the Middle Ages the art from the passion, the passion plays, and the Passionist Fathers expanded the importance of the concept as annunciated in Acts.

(See further D. P. Senior, *The Passion Narrative according to Matthew: A Redactional Study* [1975]; W. H. Kelber, ed., *The Passion in Mark: Studies in Mark 14-16* [1976]; V. Taylor, *The Passion Narrative of St. Luke: A Critical and Historical Investigation,* ed. O. E. Evans [1972]; D. P. Senior, *The Gospel of Jesus in the Gospel of John* [1991]; R. E. Brown, *The Death of the Messiah: From Gethsemane to the Grave: A Commentary on the Passion Narratives in the Four Gospels,* 2 vols. [1994]; G. W. E. Nick-elsburg, "Passion Narratives," in *ABD,* 5:162-77.)

W. WHITE, JR.

**Passover.** An ancient spring festival associated with the historical episode of Israel's departure from Egypt (see EXODUS, THE).

1. Introduction
2. The festival of freedom
3. Ordinances regarding Passover
4. The exodus theme in the OT V. The Passover theme in the NT
5. The Last Supper
    1. The date of the crucifixion
    2. The memorial meal
    3. The Last Supper and Passover

4. The Christian exodus

**I. Introduction.** The biblical narrative (Exod. 12:11-13) explains the term *Passover* (Heb. *pesaḥ H7175,* transliterated by the LXX with Gk. *pascha G4247)* etymologically: "when I see the blood I will pass over *[from pāsaḥ H7173]* you." That is, God would spare the Hebrew families living in houses that showed the sign of blood when the Lord smote the land of Egypt. The blood of the lamb to be killed on the fourteenth day of the first month was to be put upon the two doorposts and the lintel of the houses to protect the FIRSTBORN of the Hebrews (vv. 14-20).

Some scholars have questioned the etymological meaning of the word and point, for example, to Assyrian, where the *word pašāhu* means "to soothe, placate" (i.e., the gods; cf. BDB, 820). In Hebrew the verb can also mean "to limp, skip" (1 Ki. 18:21, 26). It has been therefore suggested that originally the festival was of different origin and had something to do with the pagan custom of "hopping" performed by professional mourners. Such a limping dance would be performed in token of mourning for the dying god in connection with the annual cycle (cf. T. H. Gaster, *Passover: Its History and Traditions* [1949], 23ff.; J. B. Segal, *The Hebrew Passover from Earliest Times to A.D. 70* [1963], 95–101; *HALOT,* 3:947-48). These and other ideas, however, are mere speculation.

Another complication is the fact that Passover appears to be a conflation of two separate rites, one connected with the paschal lamb, and the other one being the Feast of Unleavened Bread *[ḥag hammaṣṣôt [ḥag H2504* + pl. of *maṣṣâ H5174]).* This becomes apparent from the OT texts that treat these two rites in the order of sequence but as separate (cf. Lev. 23:5-6; Num. 28:16-17; 2 Chr. 35:1, 17; Ezra 6:19-22; Ezek. 45:21). It has therefore been suggested that originally these were two distinct festivals. Occasionally, the OT uses either designation with reference to the same feast (Exod. 34:25; Num. 28:16; 2 Chr. 30:13, 21; Ezra 6:22; Ezek. 45:21). This twofold designation survived into NT times, for the Synoptic Gospels use both *to pascha* and *ta azyma* (or *tōn azymōn* [pl. of *azy-mos G109],* Matt. 26:2, 17; Mk. 14:1, 12; Lk. 2:41; 22:1, 7). JOSEPHUS too uses both terms: "the feast of unleavened bread…which we call the Passover" *(Ant.* 14.2.1; *War* 6.9.3; 5.3.1).

Some scholars have speculated that the original rite was connected with the superstitious fear of evil

A door with blood in modern Tell el-Dabʿa, Egypt.

spirits, pointing to the phrase "a night of watchings" (Exod. 12:42, lit. trans.) against the "destroyer" (v. 23). It is therefore suggested that the festival was taken over by the Israelites from a pre-Yahwist cult (in Kadesh) and was originally a rite performed for protection from a night demon (cf. C. A. Simpson, *The Early Traditions of Israel* [1948], 437-38). That some superstitions have attached themselves to the midnight ritual can be seen from the remark by Rab Naḥman, who calls it "a night of the preserved one, i.e. from malignant spirits" (cf. *b. Pesaḥ*. 109b). Nonetheless in the OT the significance of Passover, whatever its prehistory, is entirely associated with a historic event in the life of the Hebrew people.

There is reason to suspect that the sacrifice of the lamb and the festival of unleavened bread were also of agricultural origin and were meant as annual offerings of flock and field. The Feast of Unleavened Bread coincides with the spring harvest of barley, and the ordinance of waving "the sheaf before the LORD" on the day after the Sabbath (the day after Nisan 15?) confirms the agricultural connection with Passover (cf. Lev. 23:11). This connection has been preserved in the synagogue liturgy to this day. On the first day of Passover, in the afternoon liturgy, a lengthy prayer for dew is inserted (cf. D. A. Sola, *Passover Service* [1860], 153ff.; also L. N. Dembitz, *Jewish Services in Synagogue and Home* [1898], 124; cf. also *m. Pesaḥ*. 2:5).

Corresponding to the unleavened bread is the male lamb, without blemish, one year old (Exod. 12:5). This agricultural festival is pre-Mosaic and belongs to the earliest Israelite tradition. When MOSES appeared before PHARAOH in the name of Yahweh requesting, "Let my people go, so that they may hold a festival" (5:1), the festival was not an invention but the traditional spring celebration (12:3).

**II. The festival of freedom.** Passover offers a wide field for speculation by reason of the great variety of its features: smearing of blood, "a night of watchings," the sacrificial lamb, the firstfruits of

barley, the sacred meal, etc. These features are suggestive of similar rites outside Israel. No wonder that scholars find the festival puzzling. Some regard Exod. 1-14 not as a record of events but as a cultic legend attempting to glorify the flight from Egypt (J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture*, 2 vols. [1926-40], 2:726ff.). The assumption rests upon a misunderstanding: the real purpose of Passover was to glorify the God of Israel. It would be futile to expect historical data except on the writer's own terms. In the center of Exod. 1-14 is the God of Israel who performs mighty deeds on behalf of his people (cf. G. von Rad, *The Problem of the Hexateuch* [1965], 52). Biblical history is written with a purpose, and the purpose is to attest God's gracious acts. Israel understands his freedom as a miracle wrought by Yahweh, who "with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm" brought his people out of Egypt (Deut. 26:8). To understand the meaning of Passover one must therefore ask for the biblical interpretation; it is fruitless to inquire what the festival was in pre-Mosaic times.

It is possible that Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread were agricultural feasts (cf. Exod. 23:15-16). Some evidence of the cultic connection between Passover and the firstfruits is preserved (Josh. 5:10-12; cf. C. W. Atkinson in *AThR* 44 [1962]: 82). But the festival underwent a radical reinterpretation as a result of the great event in Israel's history, namely deliverance from the Egyptian house of bondage. Scholars have no answer to the puzzle how a primitive rite rooted in superstition became the festival of freedom. It is in keeping with OT practice to reinterpret ancient traditions in the light of Israel's own history. Thus the SABBATH law is associated with the story of CREATION (Gen. 2:3), but it appears also as the sign of Israel's liberation from slavery (Deut. 5:15; cf. P. R. Ackroyd, *The People of the Old Testament* [1959], 48). The same may have happened with the original spring festival: in the light of the exodus it acquired a new dimension, namely the dimension of freedom linked to a historic event.

**III. Ordinances regarding Passover.** The OT refers to a set of statutes or regulations that are obligatory for the keeping of the feast (Exod. 12:43; Num. 9:12, 14; 2 Chr. 35:13). These statutes define in detail the date, the time, the duration of the festival, the manner of eating the paschal lamb, etc.

Preparations for the festival were to begin on the tenth day of the first month (i.e., ABIB, cf. Deut. 16:1; later the Babylonian name of NISAN was substituted, cf. Neh. 2:1; Esth. 3:7). A paschal lamb was selected according to the number in the household. The lamb was to be without blemish, a yearling and male. The animal was to be kept under special care until the fourteenth day of the month when it was to be killed "at twilight" (lit., "between the evenings," Exod. 12:6; Lev. 23:5). This is understood to mean "in the evening, when the sun goes down" (Deut. 16:6). The blood of the animal was to be smeared upon the two doorposts and the lintel of the house. A later development was to have the blood sprinkled on the altar or poured at its base (cf. 2 Chr. 35:11; *Jub.* 49:20; *m. Pesaḥ.* 5:6).

The flesh was to be roasted by fire with its head, legs, and inner parts, and no bone was to be broken (Exod. 12:46; Num. 9:12). It was not to be eaten raw or boiled with water (Exod. 12:9; the parallel Deut. 16:7 seems to contradict this rule, but cf. 2 Chr. 35:13 [the verb *bāšal H1418* piel can mean "roast" as well as "boil"]). The roasted meat was to be eaten with unleavened bread and bitter herbs and was to be consumed so that nothing was left over until the morning; any remains were to be burned (Exod. 12:10; 34:25). The meal was to be eaten in haste, with loins girded, shoes on, and staff in hand.

The festival of Passover was a day of memorial and therefore to be observed by all generations as an ordinance forever (Exod. 12:14). The Festival of Unleavened Bread, as distinct from the

paschal lamb, was to be observed for seven days (Exod. 12:15; 13:6; 34:18; Lev. 23:6; Num. 28:17; Deut. 16:3; the one exception is Deut. 16:8, but the difference derives from the mode of reckoning the days, cf. S. B. Hoenig in *JQR* 49 [1958-59]: 271-77). Israelites who were prevented from keeping the feast for reasons of Levitical uncleanness or travel were to celebrate a month later (Num. 9:10-11; cf. *m. Pesaḥ*. 7:6 et al.).

The obligation to explain the meaning of Passover rested upon the *pater familias:* "On that day tell your son, 'I do this because of what the LORD did for me when I came out of Egypt'" (Exod. 13:8; cf. 12:26). Only Israelites and those who by CIRCUMCISION were joined to the community were allowed to eat the paschal lamb. Foreigners and sojourners, that is, resident strangers, were normally excluded (12:45), but the rule was relaxed for those circumcised strangers and sojourners who showed a real desire to identify with Israel. They were permitted to share in the Passover celebration (Num. 9:14). The lamb was to be eaten inside the house and was not to be carried outside.

**IV. The exodus theme in the OT.** With the change of circumstances, ancient rules had to be modified. The centralized cultus in Jerusalem made some practices difficult. The smearing of blood on the doorpost had to be supplemented by the requirement of sprinkling on the altar (cf. 2 Chr. 30:16; 35:11). The originally agricultural features of the festival gave way to more cultic aspects. One characteristic feature survives to this day: it was and remains a communal rite. The rabbis laid down the rule that the paschal lamb may not be slaughtered for one single person (though Rabbi Jose permits it; cf. *m. Pesaḥ*. 8:7).

Another feature coming down from ancient times was that the slaughter of the lamb was performed by ordinary Israelites acting on behalf of their households and not by priests as in the case of the other sacrifices; all that the priests had to do was to collect the blood and toss it against the base of the altar (cf. *m. Pesaḥ*. 5:6). Passover was the only occasion when an Israelite performed a priestly function (from 2 Chr. 30 and 35 it is not clear whether the "laypeople" or the priests killed the Passover lamb). Other features remain obscure; for example, Exod. 12:10 directs that the burning of the remains be done the following morning, whereas 23:18 (cf. also 34:25 and Deut. 16:4) specifies that it be done before daybreak. There may have been no uniform tradition in some matters; some "ate the Passover, contrary to what was written" (2 Chr. 30:18). A uniform tradition evolved gradually, but the main facts regarding the exodus never varied.

The OT abounds in references to the miracle of redemption from Egypt. Especially the PSALMS delight to dwell on the theme of the exodus with its attending MIRACLES. Psalm 78 rehearses Israel's history focusing on the exodus as the central theme. God's redemptive act consisted in bringing a vine out of Egypt and planting it in the Promised Land (Ps. 80:8). Some psalms contrast God's faithfulness toward his people with Israel's rebellious behavior in the wilderness (cf. Pss. 95; 106). The main purpose of retelling the story of redemption was to praise God for his mighty acts (cf. Pss. 135; 136). The ancient singers exulted in the privilege of Israel's calling as God's people and connected it with the flight from Egypt (Ps. 114:1).

The prophets make frequent allusions to the story of redemption from Egypt and the trek through the wilderness. Israel's alliance with Egypt for political expediency was the more heinous to them as it seemed to contradict God's original purpose (cf. Jer. 2:18-19; Hos. 11:5). In times of danger, when Assyria pressed hard upon Israel, the prophet called to memory what God did for his people in Egypt: "do not be afraid of the Assyrians" (Isa. 10:24, 26-27; cf. 52:4). Jeremiah bewails the fact that Israel fails to ask: "Where is the LORD, / who brought us up out of the land of Egypt / and led us through the barren wilderness" (2:6). He reminds them that from the day when the fathers came out of

Egypt the Lord has persistently sent prophets to his stiff-necked people (7:25 –26), warning them (11:4), but they would not listen (vv. 7-8).

This reference to Yahweh who brought Israel out of Egypt is a frequent refrain in the prophetic writings (cf. Jer. 16:14; 23:7; 31:32; 32:21; 34:13; Ezek. 20:6, 9-10, 36; Dan. 9:15; Hos. 2:15; 11:1; 12:9, 13; Amos 2:10; 3:1; 9:7). For the prophets the exodus is a central fact in Israel's history. Israel knows Yahweh chiefly as the One who brought his people out of the Egyptian bondage, led them through the wilderness, and gave them statutes and ordinances (Ezek. 20:9-11). Ezekiel appears to associate the Sabbath institution with the story of redemption from Egypt (20:12), and Israel's "lewdness and prostitution" is a sad heritage brought from the house of bondage (23:27).

The historic books are equally aware of the meaning of the exodus for Israel's relation to Yahweh. God has made himself known to his people by freeing them from the house of slavery and by settling them in the land of promise (1 Sam. 8:8; 2 Sam. 7:23; 1 Ki. 8:53; et al.). The exodus dominates in a very real sense the OT perspective, and the Passover is the reminder of what God has done for his people. Liberation from Egypt and settlement in the land of Israel is regarded as the seal of Yahweh's loyalty to the covenantal promises (cf. Mic. 6:3-5). The theme of Passover as the festival of liberation is carried over to the NT.

**V. The Passover theme in the NT.** Jesus' messianic activity reaches a climax in the events of his last Passover. According to John, the CRUCIFIXION took place on the first day of "Passover" (cf. Jn. 18:28; 19:14; here apparently the term is used as a designation of the Feast of Unleavened Bread). The synoptics make it clear that it was on the first day of the feast. John, who appears to be specially concerned with chronological data, makes explicit reference to three Passovers during the ministry of Jesus (Jn. 2:13; 6:4; 12:1; cf. W. F. Howard, *The Fourth Gospel,* rev. C. K. Barrett [1955], 122). Contrary to C. H. Dodd (*The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* [1953], 234), there is good reason to believe that John attached special importance to the Passover theme. His gospel, which stresses that the Messiah is the true bread of life (cf. Jn. 6:31-59), fits remarkably well into the paschal context (cf. V. Ruland in *Int* 18 [1964]: 450-62). The Passover is equally important to the Synoptic Gospels; so much so that it is possible to view the Gospel of Mark as a Christian Passover HAGGADAH written with the purpose of reinterpreting the paschal theme in messianic terms as the new exodus (cf. John Bowman, *The Gospel of Mark* [1965]).

A somewhat similar case is 1 Peter, which makes so many allusions to Passover that some scholars feel justified in regarding it as a paschal liturgy. The suggestion is made that 1 Peter is a liturgy connected with the paschal vigil in preparation for Easter baptism, a custom widely practiced in the early church (cf. F.L. Cross, *1 Peter* [1954]; Roger Le Déaut, *La Nuit Pascale* [1963], 297; A. R. C. Leaney in *NTS* 10 [1964]: 238ff.). This may prove too restricted a view and has been contradicted by some (C. F. D. Moule, T. C. G. Thornton), but it nevertheless shows how deeply embedded is the paschal theme in the NT. Other NT books make similar allusions to Passover in connection with the Christian message. PAUL plainly associates the Messiah with the Passover and equates the Christian life with the symbol of unleavened bread *(azyma)* that stands for sincerity and truth (1 Cor. 5:7-8).

A similar association between Messiah and Passover exists in rabbinical Judaism. The 15th of Nisan is declared a time of rejoicing for all Israelites because God performed a miracle (sign) on that night, but in the age to come (i.e., in Messiah's time) he will turn the night into day (cf. Str-B, 4:55). In the *Haggadah shel Pesaḥ,* the messianic expectation is linked to the *seder* both by direct reference to the Messiah and by the part that Elijah plays in the Passover tradition. The custom of opening the

door at midnight on the first night of Passover was already practiced in the temple at Jerusalem (cf. Jos. *Ant.* 18.2.2), and has definite messianic overtones. Le Déaut (*Nuit Pascale,* 281, 283) has shown the close association between the paschal ritual and the messianic expectations in rabbinic Judaism of the 1st cent.; this applies even to the SAMARITANS, who expected their *Taheb* (Messiah) to make his appearance on the day of Passover.

The paschal theme of the NT, and most specially of John (cf. A. Guilding, *The Fourth Gospel and Jewish Worship* [1960], 58ff.), was taken over by the Gentile church. The liturgy of the paschal vigil and the Quartodeciman tradition of making Easter coincide with Passover persisted in the church for centuries (cf. B. Lohse, *Das Passafest der Quartodecimaner* [1953], and *Die Passa-Homilie des Bischofs Meliton von Sardes* [1958]). The phrase "the Passover of salvation" *(to pascha tēs sōtērias)* entered the church vocabulary and was used widely in the liturgy (cf. Le Déaut, 296; though contradicted by Lohse). The identification of Christ with the Christian Passover was accepted as a theological premise: "the festival of the Savior's Pascha," *tou sōtēriou Pascha heortēs* (Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* 5.23.1), refers both to the Last Passover that Jesus celebrated and to the Christian Passover when the church celebrates Christ's resurrection. In a play of words, which is possible only in Greek, *pascha* is interpreted as an allusion to the verb *paschō G4248* ("to suffer"): "And on the following day our Saviour *suffered,* he who was the *Passover*—propitiously sacrificed by the Jews" *(Ante-Nicene Christian Library,* 24:167). Thus Passover and Easter are closely held together so that the paschal theme of the OT continued though centered upon the RESURRECTION OF JESUS CHRIST.

**VI. The Last Supper.** The tradition that Paul received and put down in writing belongs to the earliest accounts of what took place the night when Jesus was betrayed (1 Cor. 11:23-26). This account states that it was at night, that there was a meal, that he took bread and broke it and said, "This is my body which is [broken] for you; do this is remembrance of me." The same with the cup: "This cup is the new covenant in my blood; do this, whenever you drink it, in remembrance of me." There is no mention of Passover in Paul's account, except in a circumstantial way: there are clear paschal overtones in the breaking of bread in a solemn manner, the drinking of the cup of wine, the reference to the covenant, and above all the "remembrance" (Gk. *anamnēsis G390,* Heb. *zikkārôn H2355* [Exod. 12:14]). The synoptic account does not differ in essence from the Pauline tradition, except that it is presented as a Passover meal (cf. Matt. 26:17; Mk. 14:12; Lk. 22:7). See LORD'S SUPPER.

***A. The date of the crucifixion.*** If John's reference to the sacrificing of the Passover lamb (Jn. 18:28) refers to the actual Passover meal, then the Last Supper itself could not have been a paschal meal. The synoptics are explicit in stating that the crucifixion took place on the first day of Passover (Nisan 15). There are two possible problems in this connection: the events described in the story of the passion would have to be compressed within a very short time; the involvement of the Jewish authorities in the sordid business of a crucifixion on the first day of a high festival is difficult to accept.

J. Jeremias rejects the difficulties that arise in connection with the crucifixion on Nisan 15 *(The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* [1955], 46ff.), but on the Jewish side this is held to be a sheer impossibility (cf. J. B. Segal, *The Hebrew Passover* [1963], 244 n. 8; cf. also D. Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinical Judaism* [1956], 312). D. Chwolson tried to solve the difficulty by presupposing two dates for Passover, one to suit the Pharisaic calendar, and the other the Sadducean *(Das letzte Passamahl Christi und der Tag seines Todes* [1892, rev. 1908]). From the QUMRAN literature we now know that calendrical differences were a cause of dissent (cf. M. Black, *The*

*Scrolls and Christian Origins* [1961], 199ff.). There is no evidence that the Sadducees, who had the oversight of the temple, ever compromised on so important an issue as to allow two different dates.

Annie Jaubert (*La date de la Céne* [1957]) has worked on the premise of two different calendars: an old sacerdotal calendar based on the solar system, and the official lunar calendar in force at the time. According to the solar system, Passover would always fall on a Wednesday; the lunar system would make it a movable feast. It is therefore suggested that the discrepancy in the Gospels derives from the double system. According to an ancient church tradition, Jesus was arrested on Wednesday (cf. Epiphanius, *De fide* 22.1), which means that the Last Supper would have taken place on a Tuesday. Jaubert's theory has received wide acceptance (cf. G. R. Driver, *The Judaean Scrolls* [1965], 330ff.; John Bowman, *The Gospel of Mark* [1965], 257ff.; Norman Walker in *NovT 2* [1959]: 317ff.). But the theory stands and falls with the assumption of two paschal celebrations. If the synoptics and John are thinking of the same Passover, "the discrepancy cannot be reconciled" (Driver, *Judaean Scrolls,* 331). George Ogg has shown why the theory is untenable (cf. *Historicity and Chronology in the New Testament[1965], 82-83).*

At the same time there is wide consensus of opinion that the Last Supper was a paschal meal: neither the *kiddush* nor the *ḥaburah* theory is adequate (cf. Bowman, *Mark,* 274-75). Jeremias provides some fourteen features suggestive of a paschal meal (*Eucharistic Words,* 136ff.) yet he admits that from the NT evidence no uniform answer is possible (*TWNT,* 5:899-900). One way out of the dilemma would be to assume that the Last Supper was a paschal meal but in anticipation of the festival, which would mean that the paschal lamb was missing; at least the paschal lamb is never mentioned in any of the NT documents (though Bowman *[Mark,* 266] assumes its presence). Such a simple solution makes it possible to reconcile the two traditions: John was right, for Passover began on Friday night; the synoptics were right, for the Last Supper was a paschal meal though without the lamb (cf. J. Jocz, *A Theology of Election* [1958], 37; Ogg, *Historicity,* 85 –86).

***B. The memorial meal.*** *Remembrance* is the keynote of Passover: Israel is to call to memory what God has done for his people (cf. Hans Kosmala in *Nov T* 4 [1959]: 81ff.). In the paschal context, the words of the institution of the Last Supper fit well with the purpose of the festival. But the call to REMEMBER is missing in the synoptics, except in the longer version of Luke (cf. Lk. 22:19). This raises the question as to which is the original text. The question is complicated by the fact that the longer version is under suspicion of having assimilated the text from 1 Cor. 11:24-25. Jeremias (*Eucharistic Words,* 91, 102), after careful study, decided in favor of the longer version of Luke and attributes the verbal similarities to the fact that it derives from liturgical formula. This coincides with Paul's own testimony that he received the tradition (cf. Bir-ger Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript* [1961], 321ff.). In favor of Luke's longer version is the mention of two cups, one before and one after the meal. This is in full agreement with Jewish custom to have the *kiddush* cup at the beginning of the festival.

The fact that the *anamnēsis* is not mentioned in Mark does not mean that the institution of the Last Supper was unknown to that gospel, as Bowman infers *(Mark,* 266). Once the paschal context is granted, *anamnāsis* is already implied as a matter of fact—the whole festival is "for remembrance" (*lĕzikkārôn,* Exod. 12:14). The interpretative words accompanying the manual acts are in compliance with the obligation to explain the meaning of the "rite" (*ʿăbōdâ H6275,* Exod. 12:26 NJPS; *m. Pesaḥ.* 10:4). Jesus followed custom but reinterpreted the Passover in terms of the messianic event: the Messiah took the role of the paschal lamb. It is therefore correct to say that the Last Supper provides Passover with a new content (cf. J. Steinbeck in *Nov T* 3 [1959]: 73). From henceforth the bread and

the wine of the *seder* become the signs of the Messiah's sacrifice upon the cross. The paschal meal becomes a messianic meal.

Scholars have suspected Paul of Hellenistic influence in view of the practice of cultic meals in pagan religions. The paschal context of the Last Supper makes such suspicions unfounded (cf. E. Käsemann, *Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen* [1960], 11). Sverre Aalen denies any connection with non-Jewish rites and points to the fact that in the Last Supper there is no hint of sharing a meal between God and man (*Nov T 6* [1962]: 151).

***C. The Last Supper and Passover.*** At the time of the temple, the paschal meal consisted not only of the lamb but also of the special festive sacrifice of which everyone partook (cf. 2 Chr. 35:13). Such eating of the sacrifice was a joyous occasion and gave cohesion to community life. This is to be distinguished from the sin offering that was totally burned and never consumed. For the Hebrew, eating the sacrifice never meant eating his God. Participation in the blood and body of the Messiah creates a problem if the Last Supper is conceived in purely sacrificial terms. For this reason, the emphasis in the Last Supper must be placed as much upon the COVENANT as upon the sin offering, if not more so (cf. S. Aalen in *Nov T 6* [1962]: 148-49). The blood that sealed the covenant is not the blood poured upon the altar but the blood sprinkled upon the people. There is a correspondence between the Last Supper and Exod. 24:11; the elders of Israel beheld God and ate and drank.

The covenant is at the core of the Passover account. On the eve of the exodus, God revealed himself as the God of the Fathers who remembered his covenant (Exod. 2:24; 3:15). On the eve of the crucifixion, this covenant was reaffirmed by the Messiah's willingness to shed his blood. The paschal lamb is therefore not sufficient to explain the full meaning of the Last Supper; the covenant intrudes as the overarching theme.

This raises the problem of the meaning of *hē kainē diathēkē:* in what sense is it a *new* covenant? See COVENANT, THE NEW. The writer of Hebrews and sometimes Paul give the impression of a radical break: the former commandment is set aside "because it was weak and useless" (Heb. 7:18); had the first covenant been faultless there would have been no need for a second (8:7); "By calling this covenant 'new,' he has made the first one obsolete" (8:13); those who are in Christ are a new creation—"the old has gone, the new has come!" (2 Cor. 5:17).

Since MARCION, there has persisted a tendency to separate the two Testaments and to understand the "new" in the radical sense. From Paul's exposition of Israel's destiny (Rom. 9-11), such a break becomes impossible. The church fathers who spoke of a "change of covenant" (cf. Lactantius, *Divinae institutiones* 4.11) did violence to the continuity of revelation. The LOGOS doctrine allows no such break; the preexistent Christ spoke already in the OT (cf. 1 Pet. 1:11). The writer of Hebrews bases his argument on the premise that the preincarnate Christ was present in Israel's history (cf. W. Man-son, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* [1951], 79-80, 82, 96, 184ff.). The *novum* therefore must be understood in connection with the messianic event. The new covenant brings the old covenant to the brink of eschatological fulfillment, but the people of God are one continuum from Abel to this day (cf. Melanchthon, *On Christian Doctrine* [1965], 232). Christ as the *telos G5465* of the law (Rom. 10:4) brings in the new age but does not change God's promises. The new covenant is called "better" than the old (Heb. 8:6) because God in Christ fulfills his promise to write his law upon the believer's heart (vv.8-12).

The Last Supper therefore continues the Passover theme in the new messianic context: (1) It is a memorial feast of the person and work of the Messiah. The *anamnēsis* goes beyond the historical events and becomes a proclamation and confession of faith (cf. 1 Cor. 11:26). (2) It is an avowal of

loyalty between Master and disciples, expressing the cohesion and the mutual interdependence of the Christian brotherhood. (3) It reaffirms the covenant of old and seals it in the blood of the Messiah. (4) It expresses the joy of salvation and the eschatological hope of the Messiah's ultimate triumph (cf. J. Steinbeck in *Nov T* 3 [1959]: 71ff.).

***D. The Christian exodus.*** The keynote of the NT message is messianic fulfillment; Jesus is the One of whom Moses and the prophets have written (Jn. 1:45). The Messiah, by his life, work, death, and resurrection has accomplished "eternal salvation" (Heb. 5:9). This the law was unable to do, for the law made nothing perfect (7:19); it only served as a "tutor" or "guardian" *(paidagōgos G4080)* until Christ came (Gal. 3:24). The salvation of Yahweh as demonstrated in the story of the exodus (cf. Exod. 14:13) is thus only a foreshadowing of what was to come. All God's acts in the OT point to an ultimate future. A day will come when the Lord will reveal himself as "a warrior who gives victory" (Zeph. 3:17 NRSV). The difference between the redemption from Egypt and messianic salvation is not that the one is in time and the other beyond it. Biblical salvation is always rooted in time and in history; this is its most peculiar feature (cf. Daube, *New Testament and Rabbinical Judaism,* 271). Also, the distinction is not that the one is physical (or political) and the other spiritual. The distinction rather lies in the area of eschatology; messianic salvation is ultimate. The rabbis regarded redemption from Egypt as foreshadowing final redemption (ibid., 191), the NT claims it an accomplished fact. Passover is the beginning of the journey that the Messiah completes by reaching the goal.

"Eternal salvation" (Heb. 5:9) means that there can be no other salvation after the messianic event, which is the ultimate. The eternal covenant (*bĕrît ʿôlām)* that God promised to the fathers (Jer. 32:40; 50:5; cf. Isa. 55:3; Ezek. 16:60) has now been established and sealed in the blood of the Messiah (Heb. 13:20). In Hebrews the dissolution of the cult, the change of the priesthood, and the removal of the law are the consequence of the messianic event. Christ has become the living way (10:20) to the inner sanctuary (6:19), the new High Priest who by his sacrifice has made it possible for man to draw near into the presence of God himself (10:19-22).

Bowman *(Mark,* 157) detects a parallel drawn in Mark between Moses and Jesus. But the resemblance is not, as he suspects, artificially created. It rather derives from the paschal theme; the exodus spells salvation and redemption (cf. *gāʾal H1457,* Exod. 6:6; 15:13). Jesus completes what Moses began but could never accomplish in the ultimate sense. True freedom is freedom from sin (see LIBERTY). No one is truly free who is a slave to sin. Only the one whom the Son makes free is free indeed (Jn. 8:34-5). Paul arrives at a similar conclusion: the fathers were all under the cloud, passed through the sea, were baptized into Moses, ate spiritual food, and drank spiritual drink, yet they perished in the wilderness (1 Cor. 10:1-5).

The exodus had a limited goal, which was not reached until a new generation grew up. It is therefore only a parable of the journey to ultimate destiny—the Promised Land. This journey sinners cannot make in their own strength. The slave has to become the freedman of the Lord (1 Cor. 7:22), and the manumission takes place at the cross of Jesus Christ. In him human begins become sons of God (Gal. 4:4-6) and enjoy the freedom of the children of God (Rom. 8:2, 14-17). The exodus from Egypt to the land of Canaan leads beyond history to the "city" that has foundations and "whose architect and builder is God" (Heb. 11:10). Whereas the historic exodus was limited to the experience of one people, the Christian exodus is open to the nations of the world. Our ultimate destiny is the heavenly Jerusalem, the city of the freed (Gal. 4:26).

(In addition to the titles mentioned in the body of this article, see *Haggadah of Passover,* trans.

M. Sumnel [1942]; P. Goodman, *The Passover Anthology* [1961]; B. M. Bokser, *The Origins of the Seder* [1984]; A. Saldarini, Jesus *and Passover [1984]; ABD,* 6:755-65, s.v. "Unleavened Bread and Passover, Feasts of"; C. Leonard, *The Jewish Pesach and the Origins of the Christian Easter* [2006].)
J. JOCZ

**pastor.** This English term *(Lat. pastor,* "herdsman, shepherd"; cf. Vulg. Gen. 4:2 and often) is used by the KJV several times in Jeremiah (Jer. 2:8 et al.; Heb. *rāʿâ H8286)* and once in the NT (Eph 4:11; Gk. *poimēn G4478).* In all of these instances the reference is not to shepherds in the literal sense but to rulers or spiritual leaders. Modern English versions usually retain the term *pastor* only in Eph. 4:11, and this word has come to be one of the most common and preferred designations of Protestant clergymen. See ELDER (NT); SHEPHERD.

**Pastoral Epistles.** A common designation applied to three letters written by the apostle PAUL to two Christian pastors probably in the early 60s. Two of these epistles were addressed to TIMOTHY and one to TITUS. The Pauline authorship of these documents is disputed by many modern scholars who believe they were written very late in the 1st cent. or in the first decades of the 2nd.

1. Background
2. Unity
3. Authorship
    1. The claims of the epistles themselves
    2. The opinion of the ancient church
    3. The objections raised against Pauline authorship
4. Date
5. Place of origin
6. Destination
7. Occasion
8. Purpose
9. Canonicity
10. Content and outline
    1. 1 Timothy
    2. 2 Timothy
    3. Titus
11. Theology

**I. Background.** The letters to Timothy and Titus have been known as the Pastoral Epistles since the early 18th cent. It is not a particularly accurate description because they are not manuals of pastoral care. Nevertheless, they have a pastoral character, and the title is not altogether inappropriate.

These documents are valuable as examples of all early epistles of a semipersonal character. They are specifically addressed to individuals, but they do not belong to the category of purely private correspondence. They draw attention to a class of literature especially adapted to the needs of the primitive church. Early comment on them is found in the MURATORIAN CANON, an early list that represented the views of the church of Rome. It states they were written "from personal feeling and affection" and are "still hallowed in the respect of the Catholic Church, for the arrangement of

ecclesiastical discipline." Because of their value for a wider purpose than for the personal use of the addressees, they were preserved among the Pauline epistles.

The background of the personalities to whom these letters were addressed is important. Timothy was in all probability a convert of the apostle's first

Remains of a gate on the acropolis of Lystra, Timothy's hometown.

missionary journey, for he was a native of LYSTRA. While in Lystra, Paul suffered persecution that Timothy evidently witnessed (2 Tim. 3:11). On the second journey, the apostle passed through the same region and added Timothy to his party as an associate, the beginnings of a relationship that was to deepen. This choice of Timothy was supported by some kind of prophetic utterance through the elders when they laid their hands on him (1 Tim. 1:18; 4:14). At the time of Timothy's call to the work, he underwent CIRCUMCISION. His mother was Jewish although his father was a Greek, and Paul wished to avoid the possibility of offending the Jews.

On the second and third journeys, Timothy was closely associated with the apostle, sometimes entrusted with subsidiary missions, as when he and ERASTUS were sent from EPHESUS to MACEDONIA (Acts 19:22). The warm regard the apostle held for him is reflected in no fewer than five of Paul's letters, which link Timothy with Paul in the opening salutation (2 Cor. 1:1; Phil. 1:1; Col. 1:1; 1 Thess. 1:1; 2 Thess. 1:1). Moreover, in the epistle to the Philippians, Paul specifically states he knew of no one else so genuinely anxious for the welfare of the readers as Timothy was (Phil. 2:20). This young man, however, was evidently timid, and it may be that Paul was not sufficiently confident that Timothy would be able to cope with the difficult situation at CORINTH, for he sent Titus to follow him up (cf. 2 Cor. 7:6 et al.). The two epistles addressed to Timothy bear witness to the apostle's awareness of this pastor's timid nature.

Titus, in contrast to Timothy, is nowhere mentioned in the book of Acts, although he was a close associate of the apostle. The reason for this silence is not apparent. Little is known about him except for his part in some of Paul's mission work. He was with Paul on his visit to Jerusalem at the time of the Jewish-Gentile controversy, and the apostle points out that although Titus was a Greek, he was not compelled to be circumcised (Gal. 2:1-3). It is mainly for his work at Corinth as the apostle's representative there that Titus is best known. He had much to do with that church during the interval between the writing of 1 and 2 Corinthians. It was as a result of the anxiously awaited report that Paul received from Titus that the apostle wrote 2 Corinthians with some relief. Titus had evidently handled a very delicate situation well. Paul describes him as his "partner and fellow worker" (2 Cor. 8:23). There was no question of his taking advantage of any situation (12:18). Such was the man to whom

the apostle addressed this "pastoral" letter.

**II. Unity.** In the early 19th cent. Friedrich Schleiermacher questioned the authenticity of 1 Timothy while maintaining the genuineness of the other two epistles. His principles of criticism soon involved the others, however, and it has been almost universally assumed that the three letters stand or fall together. Nevertheless different ideas have arisen regarding the unity of each epistle individually.

When the epistles were first subjected to adverse criticism, it was thought that only two alternatives faced the NT critics. Either each epistle was wholly genuine, or else it was wholly fictitious. The internal unity of 2 Timothy and Titus was questioned by some scholars who did not accept the Pauline authorship of the whole (for reasons to be given in the next section), but who could not escape from the genuine Pauline flavor of some of the material. This gave rise to theories of genuine notes or fragments that came to be incorporated into fictitious productions. Among many such theories, the most notable is that of P. N. Harrison *(The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles* [1921]), who initially identified five genuine portions in 2 Timothy and Titus: (1) Tit. 3:12-15; (2) 2 Tim. 4:13-15, 20-21a; (3) 2 Tim.4:16-18a; (4)2Tim. 4:9-12,22b; (5)2Tim. 1:16-18; 3:10-11; 4:1-2a, 5b, 6-8, 18b-19, 21b-22a.

Such extreme fragmentation was the theory's main undoing, and Harrison himself modified the number of fragments to three to make it more tenable—by joining (2) with (4) and (3) with (5). This hardly makes the theory more credible. It is exceedingly difficult to imagine how such scrappy fragments could ever have been preserved. If the possibility be conceded, there is the added difficulty of conceiving how any editor worked out the plan by which the fragments could be incorporated into the mass of his own material. Why, for instance, did he choose not to include any in 1 Timothy? Why did he tack one on the end of Titus but intersperse them in three different places in 2 Timothy? In view of the absence of any adequate explanation of the processes in compilation, it seems reasonable to challenge the validity of this theory. In any case, it is wholly unnecessary if the apostolic authorship of the epistles be maintained.

**III. Authorship**

***A. The claims of the epistles themselves.*** All three epistles claim authorship by the apostle Paul; in each letter, appeal is made to his apostleship. These claims must be seriously considered and cannot at once be rejected as no more than a pseudonymous device. Those who maintain that Paul was not the author must bear the burden of proof, and they must furnish some adequate explanation of the use of Paul's name in the salutation.

***B. The opinion of the ancient church.*** It may be confidently asserted that whatever express evidence there is on the question of authorship, it is wholly in favor of Pauline authorship. There is no evidence that any churches ever considered these epistles as written by anyone other than Paul. If the issue of authorship were to be decided on external attestation alone, there would be no room for questioning the Pauline authorship. Those who dispute it, however, resort to various ways of getting around the external evidence. If the epistles were originally pseudepigraphic, it would be possible to assume that they were handed down as Paul's, although they were on this theory not strictly so. This explanation would need the corroborating support of evidence to show that it was the probable procedure. It is far more difficult to account for the external evidence on any theory of fictitious origin than on acceptance of apostolic authorship, and this factor must be fairly faced.

***C. The objections raised against Pauline authorship.*** These objections may be considered under four main divisions. Care must be taken to survey the objections as a whole, although the force of each will be considered separately.

**1. Historical objections.** Many attempts have been made to fit the various historical data mentioned in these epistles into the historical framework of Acts (see details below, section V). The difficulty is not to fit the individual allusions into individual situations in Acts, but to fit them all in as a sequence, since these epistles clearly form a closely connected group. Three proposals have been put forward to account for these allusions.

First, those who maintain the Pauline authorship fit them into a sequence *subsequent* to the Acts narrative, that is, after the two years of house arrest to which Acts 28:30 refers. This involves the supposition that Paul was released and then pursued further mission work in the E. It also involves a subsequent rearrest, of which there are no details, that led to his martyrdom in Rome. In support of this approach, it may be said that the charges laid against Paul in the various trials recorded in Acts were not of such a character as to warrant certain condemnation in a Roman court of law, and it is not an unreasonable assumption that he was released. Moreover, if no witnesses arrived to support the charges, the case may have been won by default.

Second, objectors to Pauline authorship make much of the fact that no evidence outside the pastorals themselves supports the release theory. This prompted the suggestion that genuine fragments were incorporated in the epistles. In favor of this proposal is the fact that it attempts to fit the pieces into the Acts story individually, thus dispensing with the necessity for the release theory. The problems this suggestion raises regarding composition, however, are greater than those it presumes to supplant.

The third possibility assumes that all the historical allusions were fictitious inventions to add an air of veracity to the pseudepigraphical productions. Although literary inventions of this kind are not unknown from the ancient world, there are no parallels of pseudonymous epistles with such genuine-looking historical data. Indeed, the paucity of such epistles in the ancient Christian world militates against the probability of this theory. The only two extant examples are *3 Corinthians* (incorporated into the *Acts of Paul)* and the *Epistle to the Laodiceans* (which goes back to the work of a 4th-cent. forger, although an earlier forgery prob. is referred to in the Muratorian Canon). Neither of these offers any parallel to what is required by the fiction theory for the pastorals. See CORINTHIANS, THIRD EPISTLE TO THE; LAODICEANS, EPISTLE TO THE; PSEUDONYMITY.

**2. Ecclesiastical objections.** The Pastoral Epistles include many references to the offices of BISHOP, ELDER (NT), and DEACON, and because these are not in any other of Paul's epistles, it is ruled out that the apostle would have had such particular interest in the organization of the churches. If, as maintained by many who reject Pauline authorship, the ecclesiastical setup belongs to a time much later than the apostle's life, a strong case could be made. The situation reflected in these epistles, however, must be shown to be impossible during the apostolic period for this case to be valid. This is precisely the weakness of the objection. That Paul does not in any of his other epistles mention the qualities needed for bishops or deacons is no evidence that he was not interested in such matters. A man of such forethought as Paul can reasonably be expected to give some guidance to his immediate followers relating to ecclesiastical matters.

It should not be forgotten that Paul and Barnabas appointed elders on the first missionary journey

(Acts 14:23), which proves Paul's recognition of good CHURCH GOVERNMENT. At the close of his third missionary journey, Paul sent for the Ephesian elders and gave them special instruction and encouragement (Acts 20:17-38). Furthermore, Paul greeted the bishops and deacons at Philippi, a church founded by the apostle (Phil. 1:1). Some maintain that the position of Timothy and Titus reflects a 2nd-century situation because they were authorized to appoint elders. There is, however, a vital difference between the (temporary) function of these two associates of Paul in the role of apostolic representatives and the developing monarchical episcopacy of the 2nd cent.

**3. Doctrinal objections.** The main problem is to what extent the doctrines are typical of the apostle. Some great Pauline doctrines—such as JUSTIFICATION by faith and the indwelling work of the HOLY SPIRIT—are barely alluded to. In addition a tendency toward set forms is evident in the frequent references to "the faith," "the truth," "the deposit," the "faithful sayings." Some have considered these uses too stereotyped for the dynamic personality of Paul.

Objections based on omissions of characteristic doctrines can never bear too much weight, because it cannot be proved that Paul had to expound his great theological themes in every epistle. Moreover, it is expected that he would include different theological content when writing to his close associates who already were well acquainted with his doctrine, as compared with church epistles where many would be in need of instruction. As to stereotyped forms of teaching, the apostle was surely concerned that the precious heritage of Christian teaching be preserved after his own departure, for he himself received some of his own teaching in the form of set traditions (cf. 1 Cor. 15:3-8). It is not impossible that some of the apostle's own teaching had been put into easily remembered form and named as faithful sayings. It is certain that there is nothing in the doctrinal content of these epistles to which Paul could not have put his name.

**4. Linguistic objections.** More attention is paid to the linguistic problems of the pastorals than of any other NT books. The problem has two main foci—vocabulary and style. As to the vocabulary, there is a higher proportion of words not used elsewhere by Paul (more than a third of the total number used) or elsewhere in the NT (175 words). Some scholars, such as P. N. Harrison, claimed that these were in common use in the 2nd cent. and therefore must come from that period. The existence of almost all these words, however, is known from A.D. 50 and could therefore have been known by Paul. Changed subject matter and changed circumstances account for many of these words. The major difficulty in attaching much importance to this kind of objection is the small range of data available for assessing the extent of Paul's vocabulary. The total number of words in the extant epistles is not much more than two thousand, and it is unreasonable to deny a man of the cultural background of the apostle a far greater range of vocabulary.

More emphasis is now placed on objections from style. Harrison based his arguments on the absence of a number of pronouns, prepositions, and particles from the pastorals that he claimed were characteristic generally of the Pauline epistles. Since he regarded this type of word to be an unconscious indication of a man's style, he considered that this proved non-Pauline authorship. Attempts have also been made to use statistical computations of style based on the frequency of occurrence of such incidental words as the definite article or the distribution of sentence lengths (cf. A. Q. Morton and J. McLeman, *Paul: The Man and the Myth* [1966]). If it can be shown that no author ever varies the frequency of the use of the definite article in prose, this might be claimed to provide an objective test of style. More refined studies have been produced in the past two decades, but none of them can be regarded as conclusive (cf. A. E. Bird in *Reformed Theological Review* 56

[1997]:118-37).

To bear the burden of proof, such stylistic arguments must be stronger than they are in their present form. It seems likely that Paul was too many-sided to be reduced to statistical calculations. The major criticism of the method used is the brevity of most of the Pauline epistles, which renders an adequate sample impossible. In view of the character of the objections raised, it is more reasonable to suppose that the authorship claims of the epistles are correct.

**IV. Date.** The chronology of the closing period of Paul's life is obscure. See CHRONOLOGY (NT) III. According to tradition, he met his martyrdom in Rome, and the date usually assigned is the period of the Neronic persecutions, which began in A.D. 64. Most prefer a date early in this period, but some place it at the end. There is also some uncertainty, although less, about the date of Paul's arrival at Rome on the occasion recorded in Acts 28. Most scholars favor the year 59, although some would date it up to two years later. If, on the basis of the activity implied in the Pastoral Epistles, the release of Paul from his first Roman imprisonment is maintained, the longer the interval before his rearrest, the more time would be available to fit in additional visits to the eastern districts. If, in addition to these, Paul also paid a visit to SPAIN as he had earlier intended (Rom. 15:24, 28), the latest dating of his martyrdom would certainly be preferable. However, what was expressed as an intention may never have been fulfilled, and in view of the fact that in the Prison Epistles Paul seems to have decided to return eastward, it is almost certain that he abandoned his original intention to go to Spain.

Assuming that the apostle was martyred c. A.D. 64, the Pastoral Epistles would all be placed during the period shortly before this date: 1 Timothy and Titus probably a short time before his rearrest and 2 Timothy during his final imprisonment. This dating assumes Pauline authorship, but if the epistles were edited by someone else after Paul's death, it is impossible to be specific. If the editor was one of Paul's close associates, it is most reasonable to suppose that the editing was done soon after the apostle's death. The difficulties of this view have already been mentioned.

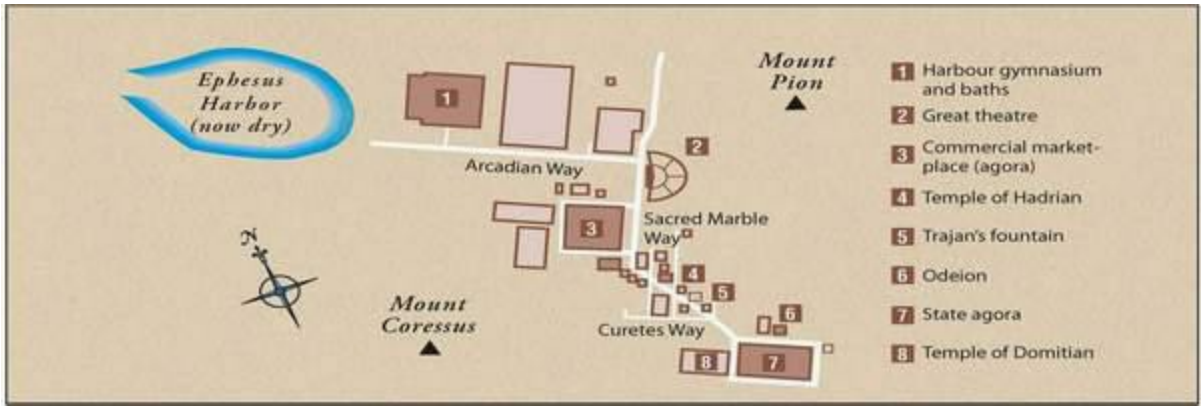
If these epistles are pseudepigraphical productions, the dating of them is purely arbitrary. Those who see a connection with 2nd-cent. GNOSTICISM have most grounds for being specific, and generally date the epistles during the first part of that century. The lack of close connection, however, between the heresies alluded to in these letters and the developed systems of Gnosticism makes this view impossible. Moreover, the difficulty of accounting for the extraordinarily rapid reception of these epistles as genuine Pauline productions is pushed beyond the possibility of any adequate explanation. Advocates of non-Pauline authorship are seldom willing to be very specific, and suggestions range from the year 90 to 150. Nor is there any basic certainty among such advocates as to the order in which these epistles were produced, some supposing 2 Timothy, on the basis of the greatest number of genuine fragments, to be first, Titus next, and 1 Timothy last, whereas others prefer the reverse order. The high degree of conjecture in these theories renders any certainty impossible.

**V. Place of origin.** As already pointed out, the Pastoral Epistles cannot easily be placed within the framework of the Acts of the Apostles. If they were written by the apostle Paul, they probably belong to the period of Paul's life subsequent to the history recorded in that book. Without independent sources with which to compare the historical data of these epistles it is possible only to list those data, and to reconstruct, as far as the data will allow, the probable movements of the apostle during the period when these epistles must have been written.

(1) Paul appears to have visited EPHESUS and MACEDONIA (1 Tim. 1:3). (2) He also visited CRETE, presumably on a short visit (Tit. 1:5). (3) He intended to spend the next winter, after writing

to Titus, at NICOPOLIS, a city on the W coast of Epirus (Tit 3:12). (4) When he wrote his second letter to Timothy, Paul was a prisoner, presumably in ROME (cf. 2 Tim. 1:16-17).

According to tradition Paul was martyred in Rome, so 2 Timothy was probably sent from that city. Less obvious is the place of origin of the other two epistles. It is reasonable that Paul was in Macedonia when he wrote 1 Timothy, since he refers to that province in the letter. Titus may well have been in Epirus, or at least on his way there. If these conjectures are correct, the most probable order of the



The city of Ephesus in the New Testament times.

epistles is 1 Timothy, Titus, 2 Timothy, the first two written in close proximity to each other.

**VI. Destination**. Taken at face value, it is a simple matter to determine the destination of 1 Timothy and Titus. In 1 Tim. 1:3, Paul says, "As I urged you when I went into Macedonia, stay there in Ephesus"; and it is a fair inference that Timothy was at EPHESUS when the epistle was addressed to him. Similarly in Tit. 1:5, Paul states, "The reason I left you in Crete…"; it is certain that Titus was still on that island. Second Timothy includes no specific reference to destination, but there are indications. It is possible that Timothy's circumstances had not changed from what they were at the time of the sending of the first epistle. Slight indications that favor this view are found in 2 Tim. 4, where Paul says, "When you come, bring the cloak that I left with Carpus at Troas" (v. 13). TROAS was along the route from Ephesus to Europe, unless the direct sea route was taken. In addition, special mention is made of the sending of TYCHICUS to Ephesus (v. 12).

If the authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles is denied, no importance can be attached to these geographical allusions in fixing the destination. Indeed, the epistles must then be considered to have had a general destination to 2nd-cent. churches.

**VII. Occasion.** As already shown, the Pastoral Epistles were sent to Ephesus and Crete; but it is possible to go still further in reconstructing the historical situation that prompted the writing of these letters. Where Paul was when he urged Timothy to remain at Ephesus is not given, but it is reasonable that he himself had been at Ephesus. He may have been passing through, or he may have worked and witnessed there for some time prior to this. It would not greatly affect the understanding of the occasion of 1 Timothy if scholars knew. Most significant is that Timothy was exhorted to remain at Ephesus to deal with some teachers of false doctrine.

Obviously Timothy had no easy commission. It would appear that he was inclined to be timid and would find dealing with opposing elements difficult. Moreover, he had the responsibility in the appointment of the right people to ecclesiastical office, judging from the matters the apostle discusses

in the epistle. In Titus, a similar responsibility is more clearly mentioned, for Titus was left at Crete to correct defects and to appoint elders (Tit. 1:5). In the case of Titus, no doubt Paul had accompanied him to the island, but there is no further data about the movements of either Titus or Paul. At the time of writing this epistle, Paul was either at Nicopolis or was contemplating going there, where he intended to spend the winter (3:12). Moreover, Titus was urged to join him at Nicopolis, which suggests that his task at Crete was a short-term commission.

The occasion for writing 2 Timothy was Paul's expectation that he was near his end, and thus the need he felt for a final communication to his successor. He recently had been to Troas, where he had left his cloak and parchments. He also left TROPHIMUS in MILETUS because the latter was ill. Now a prisoner on trial, Paul did not expect the decision to go in his favor; he had finished his course. Paul gives no details of his arrest or how he came to be in his present circumstances, nor is there any information from other sources on this matter. In spite of his serious situation, he still hoped Timothy could come to him soon (2 Tim. 4:9, 21). The epistle is the last that Paul wrote.

**VIII. Purpose.** Since Paul had had personal contact with both Timothy and Titus only shortly before, it is not easy to construe the purpose of these epistles, especially 1 Timothy and Titus. In 1 Tim. 3:14 – 15 Paul states: "Although I hope to come to you soon, I am writing you these instructions so that, if I am delayed, you will know how people ought to conduct themselves in God's household, which is the church of the living God, the pillar and foundation of the truth." At first this seems strange, since in view of Timothy's personal experience with Paul it would be expected that he would have known how Christians ought to behave. Moreover, it must be assumed that there was little in this letter that Timothy had not heard from Paul personally. Why then was the letter necessary? The most reasonable answer is that Timothy needed to back up his own leadership with the authority of the apostle. There is sufficient evidence from the epistle that some were inclined to despise Timothy as inexperienced, and if so, he would have found the written support of the apostle invaluable. The letter was primarily intended for this purpose. It accordingly consists of moral instruction and church arrangements that would have had practical value in a developing community.

The purpose of Titus is similar. Having dealt with qualities required in church officers and given instructions for the behavior of various groups within the church, the apostle says to Titus, "These, then, are the things you should teach. Encourage and rebuke with all authority. Do not let anyone despise you" (Tit. 2:15). Shortly after, he expresses a similar thought, "And I want you to stress these things, so that those who have trusted in God may be careful to devote themselves to doing what is good" (3:8). It is certain that Titus must have been orally instructed about these matters, and it is reasonable to suppose that the epistle was written to strengthen the hand of Titus in dealing with the Cretans, whose reputation for general behavior was not high (cf. 1:12).

Several times in 2 Timothy Paul gives solemn charges, or exhortations, to Timothy. In view of Paul's conviction that his end was near, the purpose of the epistle is clear. Paul could not have been certain that Timothy had time to reach him, and Paul's desire was that Timothy should receive a communication from him before his departure (cf. 2 Tim. 4:6). The epistle has been called "Paul's swan song," and the description is not inapt. Of the Pastoral Epistles this one is the most revealing of the inner thoughts of the apostle.

The bema (judicial platform) of ancient Corinth. Titus assisted Paul in his relationships with the church in this city.

Those who reject the Pauline authorship of these epistles propose that someone intimately acquainted with Paul composed the letters in his name soon after his death to obtain Pauline support for current problems, whereas others take these epistles as being designed to answer 2nd-cent. heretical ideas in the name of Paul. In the latter case, the letters are not too closely tied to the historical situation, for the developed heresies of the early 2nd cent. are far removed from the "irrelevances" with which Timothy and Titus were confronted, and which they were earnestly exhorted to "avoid." B. S. Easton's description of the false teaching as a "coherent and powerful heresy" *(The Pastoral Epistles* [1947]) is not supported by facts. Paul mentions myths and endless genealogies, wranglings, chatter, and "antitheses." In Tit. 1:10 the myths are specified as Jewish, and the genealogies were in all probability Jewish speculations. There were ascetic tendencies (1 Tim. 4:3), and what Paul calls "doctrines of demons" (4:1 RSV). There is no reference to doctrinal error except the denial of the RESURRECTION (2 Tim. 2:17 – 18). This type of false teaching would not appear to be "coherent."

**IX. Canonicity.** There is as strong external attestation for the Pastoral Epistles as for the majority of Paul's epistles. See CANON (NT). The earliest evidence for any of the NT books consists of allusions in patristic writers rather than specific citations. It is sometimes difficult to know what importance to attach to parallels. Those that exist between the Pastoral Epistles and *1 Clement* (an epistle written c. A.D. 95) well illustrate the difficulty. Some scholars (Holtzmann, Harrison, Streeter) see in the evidence some suggestion that the author of the pastorals lived in the same era as Clement. This opinion is clearly influenced by their prior dating of the pastorals in the post-Pauline period. The parallels could equally well be support for the view that Clement echoes the language of the pastorals. It would be unwise, nevertheless, to rest much weight on probable literary dependence (see CLEMENT, EPISTLES OF). The same is true for the coincidences in phraseology between these epistles and the letters of IGNATIUS.

The parallels in the *Epistle of Polycarp* are closer, and it may reasonably be claimed as certain that POLYCARP knew of 1 Timothy and Titus at least. After his time there are increasing allusions to the epistles in the patristic authors (e.g. Justin, Hege-sippus, Athenagoras). Theophilus considered them to be inspired, and from IRENAEUS'S time the attestation is widespread. It has been alleged,

however, that there are two lines of evidence that cast doubt on the early canonicity of these epistles.

First is the fact that MARCION did not include them in his canon. Although Marcion's canon is not itself extant, there is sufficient evidence of the content of his canon from the church fathers who opposed him. Indeed, TERTULLIAN not only goes through the errors that Marcion perpetrated regarding the ten Pauline epistles and the Gospel of Luke (which Marcion included with his *Apostolikon),* but specifically stated that Marcion rejected the two epistles to Timothy and the epistle to Titus. Most advocates of non-Pauline authorship for these epistles consider Tertullian to be biased on this point, and consequently maintain that Marcion did not include these epistles in his Pauline corpus for no other reason than the fact that he did not possess them. But Tertullian's evidence cannot be so summarily dismissed. As Marcion was capable of rejecting all the Gospels except Luke (and of retaining this one in only a mutilated form), he certainly was not incapable of rejecting any of Paul's epistles that did not further his peculiar doctrine. Tertullian's evidence has in its favor that it is fully in character with what is known of the man Marcion.

The other evidence that has suggested doubt is one of the CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRI, $P^{46}$, which evidently contained only the Pauline epistles, but shows no trace of having contained the pastorals. Since the concluding part of the MS is not extant, it is a matter of calculation from the size of script what epistles it might have contained, as the total number of leaves in the CODEX is known. It is confidently maintained that there would have been no room for the pastorals, but this assertion is clearly an element of conjecture. It is a possibility that the scribe might have attached additional leaves to his codex at the end, as sometimes happened. This can neither be proved nor dismissed as improbable. In any case, the exclusion of the pastorals from $P^{46}$ cannot prove that these epistles were unknown, uncanonical, or un-Pauline. They may have been included in another codex that has not been preserved, but speculation is fruitless. It is certain that there is no positive evidence of any sort to demonstrate that the Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles was ever challenged in orthodox circles.

## X. Content and outline

### *A. 1 Timothy*

*Paul and Timothy* (1 Tim. 1:1 – 20). Timothy's task is to refute the false teachers who were propagating irrelevant speculations (vv. 1 – 11). Paul next cites his own experience of God's mercy as an encouragement to Timothy (vv. 12 – 17). He then reminds Timothy of the special commission entrusted to him and urges him to hold fast the faith (vv. 18 – 20).

*Suggestions for church organization* (1 Tim. 2:1—4:16). Various topics are mentioned. (1) Public prayer is to be made for all (2:1 – 8). (2) Christian women are to be known for modesty and submissiveness. This instruction is supported by an appeal to the story of Adam and Eve (2:9 – 15). (3) Church officials must have certain qualities. This section deals with bishops and deacons (3:1 – 13). (4) The church is to be a pillar and bulwark. Paul describes the church as a custodian of truth, and a Christian hymn is introduced by way of illustration (3:14 – 16). (5) The future of the church will be threatened by apostasy. Paul especially mentions wrong doctrine and wrong behavior. Evil spirits and ascetic practices are to be resisted (4:1 – 5). (6) Timothy has the responsibility to command and teach what Paul has advised. His personal example is more important than silly controversies (4:6 – 16).

*Church discipline* (1 Tim. 5:1 – 25). Paul has in mind various groups, but concentrates on

widows and elders. The need for discerning any widows who are in real financial need is stressed, and suggestions are made for a system of enrollment. Suitable respect is to be accorded to elders and indiscriminate charges are to be avoided.

*Advice about various matters* (1 Tim. 6:1 – 19). Paul now turns to the relationship between servants and masters (6:1 – 2), in which the guiding factor is to honor God. He refers again to the false teaching, especially the moral depravity that results from it (6:3 – 5). The next section concerns wealth, and the contrast between contentment and covetousness is brought out (vv. 6 – 10). Paul then addresses Timothy as a man of God and points out what his aims should be (vv. 11 – 16). He then returns to the theme of wealth, this time to show how wealthy Christians should act (vv. 17 – 19).

*Closing exhortations to Timothy* (1 Tim. 6:20 – 21). Timothy is told what to guard and what to avoid.

***B. 2 Timothy***

*Encouragements and exhortations* (2 Tim. 1:1 – 14). Paul appeals to helpful reminiscences and urges Timothy to stir up his gift (vv. 1 – 7). He needs boldness (vv. 8 – 10), and Paul next appeals to his own experience of suffering as a preacher of the Gospel (vv. 11, 12). Timothy's own responsibilities are then pointed out (vv. 13, 14).

*Paul and his associates* (2 Tim. 1:15 – 18). Some of these have been helpful, as was Onesiphorus; others have turned away, as did the Asiatics.

*Special advice to Timothy* (2 Tim. 2:1 – 26). Paul makes clear what is Timothy's major task (vv. 1 – 2), shows the need for endurance (vv. 3 – 7), appeals to his own experience of suffering (vv. 8 – 13). Then he gives advice on the matter of false teachers, both positively, doing one's best to be an unashamed workman, and negatively, avoiding godless chatter (vv. 14 – 19). Much is said about Timothy's own personal behavior and attitudes (vv. 20 – 26).

*The last days* (2 Tim. 3:1 – 9). As in 1 Timothy, Paul foreshadows the moral decline that will come.

*Final advice to Timothy* (2 Tim. 3:10—4:18). Paul appeals again to his own experience (3:10 – 13) and exhorts Timothy to continue the work (3:14—4:5). This leads to his own confession of faith (4:6 – 8). The section closes with personal requests and Paul's reference to his first defense (4:9 – 18).

*Greetings and benediction* (2 Tim. 4:19 – 22).

***C. Titus***

*Greetings to Titus* (Tit. 1:1 – 4). Paul declares the truths with which he has been entrusted.

*Advice about elders* (Tit. 1:5 – 9). Paul gives a list of qualities to be expected.

*Character of the Cretans* (Tit. 1:10 – 16). The Cretans are vividly described, and strong advice is given to Titus to rebuke them.

*Christian behavior* (Tit. 2:1 – 10). Three classes of people are considered—aged people (vv. 1 – 3), younger people (vv. 4 – 8), and slaves (vv. 9 – 10).

*Doctrine and life* (Tit. 2:11—3:7). First Paul shows what the grace of God has done (2:11 – 15). This is what Titus is to declare. Then he shows how Christians should behave in the community (3:1 – 2). He follows with a contrast between pagan life and Christian salvation (3:3 – 7).

*Closing admonitions* (Tit. 3:8 – 15). Paul exhorts Titus to urge Christians to good deeds (v. 8), and to avoid controversies (vv. 9 – 11). He closes with a request for Titus to join him (vv. 12 – 15).

**XI. Theology.** It is possible to point out only the most distinctive features of the theology of these epistles. The doctrine of God can be seen in the titles used of him. In the salutations of all the epistles he is called Father, but this is not specified elsewhere. Nevertheless, the fatherliness of God is not far below the surface (cf. 1 Tim. 6:17; 2 Tim. 1:7). A remarkable doxology is ascribed to him in 1 Tim. 1:17, in which his unique glory is insisted upon. His sovereign Lordship is brought out (1 Tim. 6:15 – 16). He is described as the righteous Judge (2 Tim. 4:8). Several times he is called Savior, and this is perhaps the most significant concept of his character (cf. 1 Tim. 4:10; Tit. 1:3; 2:10, 13; 3:4). He it is who has initiated the whole scheme of salvation.

Paul has much to say in these epistles about Christ. His real humanity is unquestioned (1 Tim. 1:15). The perfect patience of Christ is referred to in 1:16. A hymn incorporated in 1 Timothy celebrates his central place at the heart of the Christian faith. Many times Christ is mentioned as Lord and the term must be given the fullest weight, as it is when applied to God (6:15). The title Savior also is applied to Christ (2 Tim. 1:10; Tit. 2:13; 3:6). The statement regarding Christ's mediatorship (1 Tim. 2:5 – 6)—that he gave himself as a ransom—echoes Jesus' own words (Mk. 10:45). An essential element in Paul's gospel is the resurrection of Jesus from the dead (2 Tim. 2:8). There can be no doubt that Christ holds a central place in the theology of these epistles.

There is less reference to the work of the Holy Spirit in the pastorals than in most of the other Pauline epistles, but those that occur are worth noting. In 1 Tim. 4:1 the Spirit reveals the coming departures from the faith. He has entrusted the truth to Timothy and dwells within him (2 Tim. 1:14). He is the agent in the regeneration and renewal of the believer (Tit. 3:5). These few references are sufficient to show that the work of the Spirit is fully recognized.

(Important commentaries include J. H. Bernard, *The Pastoral Epistles,* CGTC [1899]; E. F. Scott, *The Pastoral Epistles,* MNTC [1936]; B. S. Easton, *The Pastoral Epistles* [1947]; E. K. Simpson, *The Pastoral Epistles* [1954]; J. Jeremias, *Die Briefe an Timotheus und Titus,* NTD 9, 8th ed. [1963]; J. N. D. Kelly, *A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles,* HNTC [1963]; C. Spicq, *Saint Paul: les épîtres pastorales,* 3rd ed., 2 vols. [1969]; M. Dibelius and H. Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles,* Hermeneia [1972]; G. D. Fee, *1 and 2 Timothy, Titus,* NIBCNT [1988]; D. Guthrie, *The Pastoral Epistles,* TNTC, 2nd ed. [1990]; J. D. Quinn, *The Letter to Titus,* AB 35 [1990]; G. W. Knight, *The Pastoral Epistles: A Commentary on the Greek Text,* NIGTC [1992]; T. D. Lea, *1, 2 Timothy, Titus,* NAC 34 [1992]; L. Oberlinner, *Der Pastoralbriefe: Auslegung,* HTKNT 11/2, 3 vols. [1994 – 96]; L. T. Johnson, *Letters to Paul's Delegates* [1996]; I. H. Marshall and P. H. Towner, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles,* ICC [1999]; W. D. Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles,* WBC 46 [2000]; P. H. Towner, *The Letters to Timothy and Titus,* NICNT [2006].

(See also P. N. Harrison, *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles* [1921]; W. Michaelis, *Pastoralbriefe und Gefangenschaftsbriefe: Zur Echtheitsfrage der Pastoralbriefe* [1930]; D. Guthrie, *The Pastoral Epistles and the Mind of Paul* [1956]; P. H. Towner, *The Goal of our Instruction: The Structure of Theology and Ethics in the Pastoral Epistles* [1989]; R. M. Kidd, *Wealth and Beneficence in the Pastoral Epistles: A "Bourgeois" form of Early Christianity?* [1990]; F. M. Young, *The Theology of the Pastoral Letters* [1994]; A. Y. Lau, *Manifest in Flesh: The Epiphany Christology of the Pastoral Epistles* [1996]; W. A. Richards, *Difference and Distance in Post-Pauline Christianity: An Epistolary Analysis of the Pastorals* [2002]; R. van Neste, *Cohesion and Structure in the Pastoral Epistles* [2004]; L. K. Pietersen, *The Polemic of the Pastorals: A Sociological Examination of the Development of Pauline Christianity* [2004]; J. W. Aageson, *Paul, the Pastoral Epistles, and the Early Church* [2008]; and the bibliography compiled

by W. E. Mills, *Pastoral Epistles* [2002].)

D. GUTHRIE

**pastureland.** See SUBURBS.

**Patara** pat'uh-ruh (Πάταρα *G4249).* A port city of LYCIA in SW ASIA MINOR, near the mouth of the river Xanthus. Because of its fine harbor, its maritime commerce, and its inland trade, Patara was a large city. Its importance may be judged by the fact that it issued its own coinage as early as the 4th cent. B.C. The city was said to have been founded by Patarus, the son of APOLLO, and its temple and oracle of the god were famous. Modern Patara is a beach town in a national park, but many ancient remains can still be seen, such as the walls, baths, and a theater.

Patara maintained strong commercial ties with Egypt. During the 3rd cent. B.C., PTOLEMY Philadelphus beautified and enlarged the city and renamed it Arsinoë for his sister. The name did not last, and the old name was soon restored. The city became a favorite stopping place for travelers enroute from Egypt to the western parts of Asia. During this Ptolemaic period the native Lycian culture gave way to the process of hellenization: Lycian inscriptions disappeared from the scene, and Greek became universal. In the 2nd cent. A.D., Patara retained its outstanding position, being one of six cities mentioned as belonging to the first rank in the revived Lycian League. (According to tradition, St. Nicholas was born in Patara.)

The apostle PAUL reached Patara, via Cos and RHODES, coming from MILETUS on his final trip to Jerusalem. There he transferred to another ship, bound for TYRE (Acts 21:1 – 2). CODEX BEZAE adds the words "and Myra" after "Patara" in 21:1. If this reading is followed, then the apostle did not change ships at Patara, but at MYRA instead. (See A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces,* 2nd ed. [1971], 98 – 100; G. E. Bean, *Lycian Turkey* [1978], 82 – 91.)

R. C. STONE

**path.** The various words that may be rendered "path" or "way" (e.g., Heb. *)ōraḥ H784* and Gk. *hodos G3847*) are used in the Bible not only with reference to a literal stretch of ground that has been trodden solid, but also figuratively to describe the course of human life and conduct. There are paths requested by Yahweh (Gen. 18:19; Deut. 9:16; 1 Ki. 2:3), but corrupted by sinners (Gen. 6:12). SAMUEL instructed the people in the good and the right way (1 Sam. 12:23). The iniquities of the Israelites have separated them from God, for "ruin and destruction mark their ways *[mĕsillâ H5019]*. / The way *[derek H2006]* of peace they do not know; / there is no justice in their paths *[ma(gāl H5047]*. / They have turned them into crooked roads [*nětîbâ H5986]"* (Isa. 59:7b – 8a). Some passages speak of God's "paths" (Ps. 17:5; Isa. 2:3), but also of the "ways" of nations (Acts 14:16) and of individuals (e.g., 1 Ki. 13:33; 2 Ki. 8:27; 2 Chr. 11:17; 1 Cor. 4:17). Jesus contrasted the two "roads" (Matt. 7:13 – 14; cf. also Jn. 14:6; Acts 9:2; et al.). See also WAY.

P. A. VERHOEF

**Patheus** puh-thee'uhs. KJV Apoc. form of PETHAHIAH (1 Esd. 9:23).

**Pathros** path'ros (פַּתְרוֹס *H7356,* from Egyp. *p)-t)-rśy,* "land of the south"; gentilic פַּתְרֻסִים *H7357,* "Pathrusim" or "Pathrusites"). A geographical term referring to Upper (i.e., southern) EGYPT, roughly the NILE Valley between Cairo and Aswan. This area, whose main city was THEBES, suffered

isolation from the royal Egyptian dynasty in MEMPHIS and the Nile delta beginning in the 11th cent. B.C. The name Pathros occurs in the inscriptions of the Assyrian king ESARHADDON (680 – 669 B.C.), who boasted of himself as "king of Egypt *[muṣur],* Paturisi, and Ethiopia [or Nubia, *kūsu;* see CUSH]" (*ANET,* 290), and this order from N to S is exactly repeated in Isa. 11:11, "Egypt *[mṣsrayim],* Pathros, and Ethiopia *[kûš*]" (the NIV renders, "Lower Egypt…Upper Egypt…Cush"). The term occurs elsewhere in juxtaposition to (Lower) Egypt (Jer. 44:1, 15; Ezek. 30:13 – 14), and it is further described as the Egyptians' land of origin (Ezek. 29:14). The Pathrusites are included in the Table of NATIONS as descendants of MIZRAIM (Gen. 10:14; 1 Chr. 1:12). (See H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques,* 7 vols. [1925 – 31], 2:155; R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddions, Königs von Assyrien* [1956], 132 and references.)

T. C. MITCHELL

**Pathrusim, Pathrusite** puh-thr*oo*'sim, puh-thr*oo*'sit. See PATHROS.

**patience.** In the OT, the notion of patience is expressed through certain idioms, especially *)erek )appayim,* "long [i.e., slow] of anger," which is most often applied to God (Exod. 34:6 et al.), but occasionally also to human beings (Prov. 14:29 et al.). Moreover, such verbs as *qāwâ H7747,* "to wait" (e.g., Ps. 40:1), and *)ārak H799* hiphil, "to make long, prolong" (e.g., Job 6:11), can convey the sense "to be patient." In the NT, the common word for "patience" is *makrothymia G3429,* "longsuffering" (e.g., Rom. 2:4; cognate verb *makrothymeō G3428),* but notice also the common noun *hypomonē G5705,* "patient endurance, perseverance" (e.g., 2 Cor. 1:6; cognate verb *hypomenō G5702).*

God's patient endurance of human rebellion extends to all mankind, and is evident today in that he still withholds his final judgment, "not wanting anyone to perish, but everyone to come to repentance" (2 Pet. 3:9; cf. Ps. 86:15). The extension of God's patience to Israel is expressed repeatedly (Exod. 34:6; Num. 14:18; Ps. 86:15; Jer. 15:15; et al.). God endures the continued existence of the lost as "objects of wrath" (Rom. 9:22) but thus reveals his wrath against evil and sin.

Since patience is exemplified in God, so it is expected in his children. Thus believers are exhorted "to live a life worthy of [their] calling" and to "be patient, bearing with one another in love" (Eph. 4:1b – 2; Col. 1:11; 3:12). This is possible only as a result of the Spirit-filled life (Gal. 5:22; cf. Rom. 8:3 – 4). Christ's own endurance is the Christian's model: "…let us run with perseverance the race marked out for us. Let us fix our eyes on Jesus, the author and perfecter of our faith, who for the joy set before him endured the cross, scorning its shame" (Heb. 12:1 – 2). Christ's patient bearing of the taunts of the chief priests and elders, and even of the thief on the cross, is referred to in this passage (Matt. 27:38 – 44; Mk. 15:28 – 32; Lk. 23:35 – 39; cf. Pss. 22:1 – 8; 35:11 – 28; 69:1 – 4).

One trial of the believer is living among sinful people and seeing them prosper in spite of their wickedness (cf. Pss. 37:1; 73:1 – 10; Prov. 3:31; 23:17; 24:1; Jer. 12). In addition, however, God chastens and tests those he loves to develop their faith and character (Heb. 12:5 – 13). This is for the believer's profit and is a part of the "all things" that work for his good (Rom. 8:28). The faith and patience entailed in bearing trials deepens the believer's experience, and the trials themselves are therefore to be received and borne with joy (Jas. 1:2 – 4). See also LONGSUFFERING.

R. A. KILLEN

**Patmos** pat'muhs (Πάτμος *G4253)*. An island off the SW coast of ASIA MINOR, about 35 mi. SW of MILETUS. Patmos is a mountainous island of irregular outline, measuring approximately 6 by 10 mi. There are contrasting views as to its character. On the one hand, it was described as being dry and desolate, and it served as a place of banishment during the ROMAN EMPIRE. On the other hand, it is said that during the ascendancy of the Venetians it was so cultivated that the Italians of the Middle Ages called it Palmosa—island of palms. Ancient sources raise the possibility that the island originally was covered with TEREBINTHS. Was it, then, once rich in trees, which were cut down, leaving it bare and relatively waterless?

The early history of the island is obscure, in spite of some topographical remarks in ancient authors. Not until the Christian era did Patmos assume an important historical role, especially in the religious sphere. Its privileged position has been compared with that of DELOS in ancient times. It was to this place that JOHN THE APOSTLE was banished by the emperor DOMITIAN, and here he received his

The harbor and modern town of Patmos. It was on this island that John wrote the book of Revelation.

vision and wrote the Apocalypse (Rev. 1:9 – 11). See REVELATION, BOOK OF THE. Because of this, there rested upon the island a sort of religious aura throughout late Roman and Byzantine times, despite the fact that it was attacked and depopulated by pirates.

A new period in the history of Patmos began in 1088 when the monk Christodulos built St. John's Cloister on the site of the old temple of ARTEMIS. As time passed, monasteries and churches proliferated, and the monks were devoted to the cultivation of learning. A fine library was assembled. Patmos was a bulwark of Greek orthodoxy, though after 1453 it had to seek help from the papacy in Rome against the Turks. In the 16th cent. it came under Turkish rule, but enjoyed the freedom of self-administration under guarantee of the Sultan. In 1832 the island fell under Turkish dominion; after 1912 it belonged to the Italian Dodecanese; and in 1947 it was ceded to Greece. (See Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissen-schaft,* 18/4 [1949], 2174 – 91; C. J. Hemer, *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia in Their Local Setting* [1986], ch. 2.)

R. C. STONE

**patriarchs.** The term *patriarch* is applied to the father or head of a family, tribe, or clan. In the NT, the Greek word *patriarchiēs G4256* occurs with reference to the most ancient ancestors of the people of Israel, primarily ABRAHAM (Heb. 7:4; in Acts 7:8 – 9 it refers to the twelve sons of JACOB), but in one passage is is used of King DAVID (Acts 2:29). The NIV and other English versions also use "patriarch" to render Greek *patēr G4252,* "father," when the reference is clearly to the earliest ancestors (Jn. 7:22; Rom. 9:5; 11:28; 15:8).

The patriarchs lived seminomadic lives in the lands of the FERTILE CRESCENT. From UR in MESOPOTAMIA to EGYPT they journeyed with their flocks and herds, counting their wealth in movable property. The only real estate Abraham owned was the burial plot purchased for SARAH, his wife. The patriarchs were not a part of the major currents of life in the ANE. The only time when they became involved in the power struggles of the day was when Abraham fought a coalition of kings from the E in order to rescue his nephew LOT (Gen. 14:12, 16). Otherwise we may assume that the patriarchs went about their daily tasks, leaving no impress on the world of their day.

Biblical information is supplemented, however, by discoveries of modern archaeology. While the patriarchs themselves have not been identified in extrabiblical sources, similar names have been discovered among texts listing AMORITE names. The Amorites were W Semites, some of whom moved into lower Mesopotamia, forming the Old Babylonian Empire, of which HAMMURABI was a major ruler. The Amorites *(Amurru,* "westerners") were so named because they entered Mesopotamia from the NW. Amorites also appear in the Bible as one of the peoples in CANAAN at the time of the patriarchs. There was probably some ethnic connection between them and Abraham.

In speaking of the origin of Jerusalem, Ezekiel in his allegory of the unfaithful wife, taunts, "Your ancestry and birth were in the land of the Canaanites; your father was an Amorite and your mother a Hittite" (Ezek. 16:3). Although the prophet was not making a pronouncement on ethnic origins, he did recollect something of the mixed background of the Israelite people.

According to the biblical account, the age of the patriarchs was one of great mobility. By the 19th cent. B.C., Assyrian merchants had penetrated ASIA MINOR for purposes of trade. The "Cappadocian tablets" (CUNEIFORM texts connected with the ancient city of Kanesh, modern Kültepe) illustrate business practices of that time. Contacts between Palestine and Egypt were frequent. Palestinian tombs of the period from 2000 to 1800 contain numerous Egyptian artifacts. The Egyptian Sinuhe Story, from the 20th cent., tells how a noble of high rank fled from Egypt and went to Kedem ("the East"), where he was received favorably by a prince in Upper Retenu (the Egyptian name for Syria and Palestine). There he prospered until at a later date, when he was invited back to Egypt. The Beni Hasan tomb painting (c. 1900) depicts thirty-seven Semites entering Egypt for trade. The dress and equipment of these Asiatic Semites probably was similar to that of the biblical patriarchs. Abraham entered Egypt with Sarah in quest of food about the same time.

Customs of the Patriarchal Age are paralleled in the cuneiform tablets discovered at NUZI, near Kirkuk, in the 1920s. Abraham's fear that his slave ELIEZER might become his heir may be understood in the light of Nuzi adoption procedures. Frequently, a childless couple would adopt a son. This might be a favored slave, as appears to have been the case with Abraham. LABAN, on the other hand, who had daughters but no sons, appears to have adopted Jacob, his son-in-law, again in typical Nuzi fashion. If a natural son were subsequently born, the adopted son would yield his rights to the natural son, although certain rights of the adopted son were guarded carefully.

Abraham had natural sons, who thus superseded Eliezer as chief heirs. Laban also had sons, presumably after the marriage of Jacob to LEAH and RACHEL. Rivalries were such that Jacob and his

wives left Laban, taking along the household gods (TERAPHIM), which seem to have been the possession of the chief heir. Stealing the teraphim was tantamount to refusing to relinquish the rights of the chief heir.

In Nuzi marriage contracts a childless wife was required to provide her husband with a girl who might become the mother of his children. This is the background for Sarah's suggestion to Abraham, "Go, sleep with my maidservant; I can build a family through her" (Gen. 16:2).

The Code of Hammurabi (§126) foresees a situation in which such a maid would bear children to the husband of her mistress, and then aspire to a higher position in the household: "If a man takes a priestess and she gives to her husband a maidservant, and she bears children, and afterward that maid servant would take rank with her mistress; because she has borne children, her mistress may not sell her for money, but she may reduce her to bondage and count her among the female slaves." After HAGAR had conceived, Sarah "mistreated Hagar; so she fled from her" (Gen. 16:6). Later, Abraham was grieved when Sarah urged, "Get rid of that slave woman and her son" (21:10 – 11), a request contrary to prevailing law and custom.

Abraham's purchase of a burial plot from EPHRON the HITTITE may be understood in the light of Hittite law (Gen. 23:10). The code, discovered at the Hittite capital at Boğlazköy in Turkey, stipulates that a buyer must render feudal services if he purchases all of the seller's property. If only a portion of the property was sold, the seller would continue to bear the obligation. Although Abraham required only the cave at the edge of Ephron's field as a burial place (23:9), Ephron insisted that he take the entire field (23:11). Ephron evidently saw an opportunity to rid himself of his obligations, making Abraham feudatory for the entire field.

As a result of over a century of studies in the culture of the ANE, we can now see the biblical patriarchs as men of history, living in a Semitic cultural situation which they shared in many aspects with their neighbors. Religion was the one aspect of the patriarchal life that was different from that of neighboring peoples. Discoveries at UGARIT make it clear that the Canaanites worshiped a pantheon of gods, with EL as the oldest. He was the father of a progeny of seventy gods and goddesses. Among these seventy was BAAL, the god who was particularly attractive to the Israelites in times of apostasy.

On the other hand, the biblical record affirms that the patriarchs knew in a very personal way the God later revealed as the God of Israel, for he was known as the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. This God appeared to Abraham (Gen. 12:1 – 3) and promised him posterity and an inheritance in the land of Canaan (17:8). Patriarchal religion was very personal, the patriarchs talking to God in a very personal way. Abraham's intercession for SODOM (18:22, 33) shows how the patriarch reasoned with God—almost bargaining—with the conviction that the Judge of all the earth would do what is right (18:25). The fact that Abraham paid tithes to MELCHIZEDEK, and received a blessing from him, shows that the patriarchal concept of God was not tribal. Melchizedek was priest of EL ELYON, God Most High, yet Abraham identified El Elyon with the God he and his family worshiped. See also GOD, NAMES OF.

The chronology of the patriarchal period presents numerous difficulties. Archaeologists use the term Middle Bronze Age to describe the period. Abraham has been dated anywhere from the 19th to the 14th cent. B.C. He seems to fit best in the earlier period, during the time of the Amorite migrations. Israel was definitely in Canaan by the 13th cent., as is shown in the Israel stele of MERNEPTAH, successor to RAMSES II of Egypt. The pharaohs mentioned in connection with Abraham and Joseph are not named, indicating that the biblical writers were more concerned with the events than with the chronology of the period. The patriarchs appear as people of faith in a historical context. Details may elude us, but the main outlines are growing clearer with the development of

better tools of research.

(See further J. M. Holt, *The Patriarchs of Israel* [1964]; I. Hunt, *The World of the Patriarchs* [1966]; R. S. Hendel, *The Epic of the Patriarch: The Jacob Cycle and the Narrative Traditions of Canaan and Israel* [1987]; 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.)

C. F. PFEIFFER

**Patriarchs, Testaments of the Three**. See ABRAHAM, TESTAMENT OF; ISAAC AND JACOB, TESTAMENTS OF.

**Patriarchs, Testaments of the Twelve**. See TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS.

**Patrobas** pat'ruh-buhs (II Πατροβᾶς *G4259,* prob. short form of II Πατρόβιος [cf. Lat. *Patrobius]).* One of several Christians in Rome that PAUL greets by name in his letter to the church there (Rom. 16:14). It has been suggested that possibly all five men mentioned in this verse were, or had been, slaves (see C. K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans,* ICC, 2 vols. [1975 – 79], 2:795). The group apparently formed a household church. F. F. Bruce *(Paul: Apostle of the Heart Set Free* [1977], 387) has further speculated that Patrobas may have been a dependent of an influential freedman under NERO who was named Patrobius.

**Patroclus** puh-troh'kluhs (II ἄτροκλος). Father of NICANOR, the Seleucid general engaged against the Jews during the Maccabean revolt in 166 B.C. (2 Macc. 8:9). The ill-fated general's father is otherwise unknown. His name derives from the Homeric hero Patroclos, the friend of Achilles whom Hector killed.

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

**Pau** pou (פָּעוּ *H7185* [in 1 Chr. 1:50, פָּעִי], meaning unknown). Capital city of HADAD king of EDOM (Gen. 36:39; in 1 Chr. 1:50, the KJV and other versions, following MT, have "Pai"). The SEPTUAGINT renders it as *Phogōr.* Some have thought that the name is preserved in Wadi Faʿi, near the SW tip of the Dead Sea, but the precise location is unknown.

R. L. ALDEN

**Paul** (II αὖλος *G4263,* from Lat. *Paulus,* meaning "small"; also known by his Hebrew name, פָּעִי *G4930,* hellenized form of Σαοὺλ *G4910,* from שָׁאוּל *H8620,* "one asked for" [see SAUL]). A leading apostle in the early church whose ministry was principally to the Gentiles. I. Personal details

1. Personal details
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## I. Personal details

***A. General.*** Paul was a Jew of the tribe of BENJAMIN (Phil. 3:5), born in TARSUS in the region of CILICIA (Acts 9:11; 21:39; 22:3). Little is known about his family directly. JEROME *(Comm. on Philemon* 23) records a tradition which suggests that his parents originally came from a town in GALILEE called Gischala, and that they fled to Tarsus during the Roman devastations of Palestine in the 1st cent. B.C. Probably the home was fairly well-to-do, for if he was born a Roman citizen (Acts 16:37 – 38; 22:25 – 29), his family must have possessed some wealth and standing. And from his rather self-conscious comment, "We work hard with our own hands" (1 Cor. 4:12), and his somewhat awkwardly expressed word of thanks for a gift of money (Phil. 4:14 – 19), it may be surmised that he speaks as one whose natural place in society was quite the reverse of any proletarian status.

Jewish law prescribed that a boy begin the study of the Scriptures at five years of age and the study of the legal traditions at ten *(m. )Abot* 5:21). JOSEPHUS relates that both the Scriptures and the traditions were taught in every city to Jewish boys "from our first consciousness" *(Against Apion* 2.18), and PHILO JUDAEUS speaks of such instruction "from earliest youth" *(Legatio ad Gaium* 210). Undoubtedly Paul was immersed as a boy in such a curriculum as well, being taught in the SYNAGOGUE school and at home.

Jewish sentiment also asserted the nobility of manual labor, and advised that intellectual prowess and physical activity go hand in hand. Gamaliel II (grandson of the GAMALIEL mentioned in the NT) is credited with saying: "Excellent is Torah study together with worldly business, for all

Torah without work must fail at length, and occasion iniquity" *(m. )Abot* 2:2). An early Jewish tractate insists: "Whosoever doth not teach his son work, teacheth him to rob" (*b. Qidd.* 99a). Thus, Paul was also initiated into the skills of a tentmaker, which, while a rather menial occupation to the modern mind, was then probably considered a "clean and not laborious trade" *(b. Ber.* 63a). Jewish education sought to produce a man who could both think and act; one who was neither an egghead nor a clod. And Paul's later life indicates that he profited greatly from such a schooling.

At thirteen a Jewish boy became a *bar mitzvah* ("son of the commandment"), at which time he took upon himself the full obligation of the law, and the more promising lads were directed into rabbinic schools under abler teachers. It was probably at this age or shortly thereafter that Paul came to Jerusalem to further his training, perhaps living with the married sister spoken of in Acts 23:16. Some have suggested that Acts 22:3 should be punctuated as follows: "brought up in this city [Jerusalem], at the feet of Gamaliel educated according to the strict manner of the law of our fathers" (cf. NIV and ESV). Such a rendering allows for a residence in Jerusalem prior to this rabbinic training and would tend to discount Tarsian influence in his rearing. But while this translation is possible, probably the better rendering is, "brought up in this city at the feet of Gamaliel, educated according to the strict manner of the law of our fathers" (RSV; cf. KJV and NRSV), which directly associates his coming to Jerusalem with his rabbinic instruction. This later reading has the advantage of allowing all the participles in vv. 3 and 4 to begin their respective clauses uniformly. And it correlates well with Josephus's reminiscence of his own intensive Pharisaic instruction beginning "about fourteen years of age" *(Life 2)*. It is some indication of Paul's youthful ability, and perhaps also of his parents' importance, that not only was he selected for further rabbinic study, but that he came to Jerusalem to study under one of the greatest rabbis of the 1st cent.—Gamaliel I (Acts 22:3). And in the course of his studies, the young Jewish theolog came to excel over the majority of his contemporaries, becoming extremely zealous for the traditions of his fathers (Gal. 1:14).

As to his physical appearance, there are only indirect and rather allusive data from the NT. The fact that the residents of LYSTRA in their misdirected ardor identified BARNABAS with ZEUS, the chief of the Olympian gods, and Paul with HERMES, the winged messenger of the gods, possibly indicates the relative stature of the two missioners (Acts 14:12). Barnabas was probably the more stately and imposing figure, with Paul being inferior in physique, though more active of temperament. This suggestion of an unprepossessing appearance is borne out by the contemptuous remark of his antagonists at Corinth: "His letters are weighty and forceful, but in person he is unimpressive" (2 Cor. 10:10). Paul himself refers to two matters which must have marred his appearance to some extent, at least in later life: (1) a "physical infirmity" (Gal. 4:13 – 15 NRSV), which he recognized as a trial to his converts and about which he prayed repeatedly for deliverance (2 Cor. 12:7 – 10); and (2) "the marks of Jesus" borne in his body (Gal. 6:17), which probably means the scars of physical abuse suffered as a minister of the gospel and which he viewed as sacred brands signifying his relation to his Lord.

In addition, the Corinthian letters offer evidence that Paul recognized his oratorical skills to be less than those of others (1 Cor. 2:1 – 5; 2 Cor. 10:10; 11:6). Yet his letters also reveal a man of keen intellect, sensitive nature, infectious spirit, immense

A Roman street in Paul's hometown of Tarsus.

vitality, strong determination, and a vast capacity for friendship. A presbyter in the province of Asia during the 2nd cent. described him as "a man small of stature, with a bald head and crooked legs, in a good state of body, with eyebrows meeting and nose somewhat hooked, full of friendliness; for now he appeared like a man, and now he had the face of an angel" (*Acts of Paul and Thecla* 3; see PAUL, ACTS OF). While possily only inferred from the NT data itself, this description may well rest upon genuine recollections from an earlier day.

It probably will never be conclusively settled whether Paul was ever married or not, though it seems most likely that he remained single throughout his life. The argument that as a member of the SANHEDRIN (cf. Acts 26:10) he was required to be married and the father of children *(b. Sanh.* 36b) is not strong. This ruling, instituted in the interests of moderation in the face of rising ZEALOT activity, dates from the time of Rabbi AKIBA in the late 1st and early 2nd centuries A.D. The necessity for its institution indicates that prior to this time such was not the case. Similarly, the view of CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (*Stromata* 3.6) that Paul was really married, but left his wife at PHILIPPI so that she would not interfere with his travels, and that he addresses her in the words "loyal yokefellow" of Phil. 4:3, may be safely set aside. It would be incredible for Paul to urge the unmarried and the widows of Corinth "to stay unmarried, as I am" (1 Cor. 7:8) if he had all the while been married. And that the Corinthian ascetics could point to him in substantiation of their views on continence suggests that he was unmarried rather than a widower.

Paul was distinctly a man of the city, with attitudes and experiences which prepared him to think broadly and minister widely. He had been raised in the thriving commercial and intellectual center of Tarsus and trained in the Israelite capital of Jerusalem; he concentrated his missionary activities on the great centers of Roman influence; and he looked forward to preaching in ROME, the capital of the empire. His urbanized outlook is seen in his metaphors, most of which are drawn from city life: the stadium (1 Cor. 9:24 – 27; Phil. 3:14), the law courts (Rom. 7:1 – 4; Gal. 3:15; 4:1, 2), the processions (2 Cor. 2:14; Col. 2:15), and the market (2 Cor. 1:22; 5:5). As one highly trained in the traditions of his fathers, who had also rubbed shoulders with Grecian culture and had inherited Roman CITIZENSHIP, Paul was able to speak easily within every sector of the Roman world.

***B. A Hebrew born of Hebrews.*** To understand Paul aright, reference must be made to his life in JUDAISM—first of all to his place and standing in the religion of his fathers, and then to his activity

and experience in it. Paul explicitly claims to be a Hebraic Jew trained in the most worthy traditions of his fathers, whose Pharisaic qualifications could hardly be surpassed (Acts 22:3; 2 Cor. 11:22; Phil. 3:5). Such a claim, however, often has been disputed; many consider it evident by the circumstances of his life in Tarsus and the attitudes expressed in his letters that Paul really belonged to the more liberal side of Judaism. The issue itself is of little direct consequence, for certainly God is able to accomplish his purposes regardless of the background of the man he chooses. Yet the implications that may legitimately be drawn from either an orthodox Hebraic background or a more liberal Hellenistic orientation are of great importance.

In the first place, the claim that Christianity is the fulfillment of Israel's spiritual aspirations, as the apostle asserts, would be truly significant only if Paul were in a position to understand the deepest longings of the OT and orthodox Judaism. Likewise, his attacks against the Judaism of his day would be meaningful only if he had been in a position to have known Judaism at its best. If his pre-Christian religious experience can be explained on nonbiblical and non-Hebraic grounds, his lack of fulfillment in Judaism and his conversion to Christianity could be attributed primarily to HELLENISM. One's attitude toward the validity of Paul's Hebraic claims therefore has great significance in the evaluation of Paul's Christian polemic and doctrine, and for this reason the issue is vital.

While in the past Paul was frequently viewed as a "Hellenist of the Hellenists," most scholars today take his Hebraic heritage more seriously. The old distinction between an orthodox homeland and a liberal DIASPORA has not always held true, since the strength of Jewish orthodoxy varied not so much geographically as according to mental climate in a given community or home. Paul's understanding of the unity of the law and his "pessimism" regarding human ability to keep it can be paralleled in a number of passages in Jewish literature, some of which can be dated to the 1st cent. or earlier (e.g., *m. )Abot* 2:1; *m. Mak.* 3:14; *b. Šabb* 70b; *t. Šebu.* 3:6; 1QS I, 14; 4 Macc. 5:20 – 21; 2 Esd. 7:116 – 26). His rehearsal of human inability as a backdrop for the supremacy of divine mercy and grace is distinctly in the tradition of the better rabbis.

Probably at no point does Paul reveal his orthodox training more than in his treatment of Scripture, where his usual practice is to reproduce the exegetical forms of the earlier teachers—not those of contemporary sectarian Judaism nor such excesses in atomistic treatment as would characterize the later AMORAIM. And even his later Christian interest in Gentiles together with his doctrine of intimate personal union with God "in Christ," while differing in degree and content from Judaism because of his Christian perspective, have affinities with the nobler and loftier expressions in the TALMUD. The deeper a person goes into the apostle's thought (allowing for differences effected by his risen Lord), the more one finds Paul's unquestioned assumptions, mental temper, and ways of expression to be rooted in the nobler Pharisaism of Judaism prior to the destruction of Jerusalem. See PHARISEES.

This is not to deny the presence of Grecian ideas and terms in his writings. Without betraying any profound influence of Hellenistic philosophy on his thinking, he can still (1) employ its religious language to expound Christian truth (e.g., Col. 1:15 – 20); (2) quote its authors (Acts 17:28; 1 Cor. 15:33; Tit. 1:12); (3) argue theistically in a fashion similar to that of Greek thinkers (Rom. 1:19 – 20; 2:14 – 15); and (4) use its diatribal form of presentation (e.g., Rom. 2:1—3:20; 9:1—11:36; see DIATRIBE). These are matters that could have been acquired in his rabbinic study at Jerusalem, where prospective rabbis were taught something of the thinking of the Gentile world. Or they might have been gained in personal contact at Tarsus, or on his later missionary journeys. But however accumulated, they were employed by Paul because they could convey *his* meaning, without necessary reference to what they actually signified in Grecian religious philosophy. And they appear in his

letters as features obviously secondary, belonging to the surface rather than to the core of his thought and teaching.

***C. A persecutor of Christians.*** Paul first appears in the NT in the role of a persecutor of the church: officiating at the martyrdom of STEPHEN, imprisoning Christians in Jerusalem, and bringing believers back who had fled for safety to areas outside of Palestine (Acts 7:58—8:3; 9:1 – 2; 1 Cor. 15:9; Phil. 3:6). Some have argued that such action would hardly have been worthy of a pupil of so tolerant a teacher as Gamaliel I, whose words in Acts 5:34 – 39 are certainly an example of moderation in the midst of frenzy. But what must be noticed is that in Pharisaic eyes, at least, the situation faced by Gamaliel and that which confronted the young rabbi Saul were quite different.

Previous to Gamaliel's advice, it is recorded that the church's witness concerned the lordship, messiahship, and saviorship of Jesus—his heaven-ordained death, his victorious resurrection, and his present status as exalted Redeemer. The earliest Christians preached in terms mainly functional, without explicating the fullness of doctrine that lay in the substratum of their convictions. To the Sanhedrin, and especially to the Sadducean and priestly element instigating the early suppressions (Acts 4:1 – 22; 5:17 – 40), such teaching not only brought turmoil to orderly rule, but, more important, impinged upon their own authority. To the more noble and tolerant of the Pharisees, however, the Jerusalem Christians were yet within the scope of Judaism and not to be treated as heretics. The divine claims for Jesus the Christ were yet to be explicated unequivocally, and the Jewish believers gave no evidence of laxness in the observance of the law because of their new beliefs.

But between the time of Gamaliel's advice and Paul's persecution of Christians there appeared in the proclamation of the new believers what was to most Jews an ominous element of apostasy. In Acts 6 and 7, it is recorded that Stephen began to apply the doctrine of Jesus' messiahship to the area of Jewish law. He probably was baited on this topic by returning DIASPORA Jews who had moved to the homeland with a desire to keep the law more rigidly, and who now were concerned about the Christians' attitude toward it. Undoubtedly Stephen had a real interest in the subject himself. But this was a dangerous path to tread. It was one which even the apostles were not ready to take, though it lay inherent in their commitment to Jesus as the MESSIAH. In Jewish eyes, Stephen's message was apostasy of the foulest kind; especially since it was voiced by one who probably had returned to the Holy City earlier motivated by religious ardor, but who was now most vociferous against all that he had formerly professed. Had Gamaliel faced this aspect of Christianity earlier, his attitude would surely have been different. With the whole basis of Judaism thus threatened, Paul's decision to persecute Christians could have been made with the full approval of his honored teacher.

The rationale for such drastic action may be related to the prevalent view that while nothing could be done either to hurry or to frustrate entirely the coming of the messianic age, transgression and apostasy within the nation could delay it. Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai is credited with saying: "Like as when a man who brings together two ships, and binds them together with ropes and cords, and builds a palace upon them; while the ships are lashed together the palace stands; when they drift apart it cannot stand" *(Sifre Deut.* 346; cf. also 1QS IX, 20 – 21). And the Pharisaic endeavor to "build a hedge about the Law" by means of spelling out in detail the various biblical prescriptions was motivated in large part by the desire to keep Israel unified in its worship of God, especially during the times of "messianic travail" in which many thought they were living. Zealous for the law and eager to keep Israel united in days of approaching messianic blessing, Paul early directed his efforts against Jewish believers in Jesus of Nazareth; for, as he saw it, their leader had been discredited by

crucifixion and their schismatic preaching could only further delay Israel's promised messianic age.

Paul's action could also have been easily justified biblically. According to Num. 25:1 – 5, MOSES ordered the destruction of the immoral Israelites at PEOR, just prior to the people's entrance into Canaan. And Num. 25:6 – 15 recounts the turning away of God's wrath by one man, PHINEHAS, who received God's praise for his zeal to put apostasy out of Israel—even to the killing of two of the chief offenders himself. To Paul, the situations then and in his day could have seemed analogous: Israel's near-entrance into the land with the near-messianic kingdom, and the similar apostasies that could but further delay God's blessings. The activities of MATTATHIAS and the Hasidim some two centuries earlier in rooting out apostasy among their own people (1 Macc. 2:23 – 28, 42 – 48; see HASIDEANS, MACCABEE) may also have been his model; and the exhortation of 2 Macc. 6:13 may even have rung in his ears: "In fact, it is a sign of great kindness not to let the impious alone for long, but to punish them immediately."

With such precedents, coupled with the rising tide of Jewish messianic expectancy, sufficient motivation was at hand for Paul to take upon himself the grisly task of uprooting what he believed to be apostasy. Much as one might recoil at the thought of so-called "righteous crusades" and "holy wars," it cannot be denied that Judaism has many examples of such purgings, and that Judaism looked upon those undertaken at strategic moments in the nation's history as worthy of highest praise. But, though undoubtedly earnest and motivated by a desire to do God's will as he understood it, Paul was actually—as he later came to realize—opposing God "in ignorance and unbelief" (1 Tim. 1:13).

***D. The tension of his Jewish experience.*** It frequently has been suggested that Paul had an unhappy adolescence, crushed under the legalism and casuistry of his religion and longing for something of love and inwardness. This supposition is based in large measure on an autobiographical interpretation of Rom. 7:7 – 25, wherein Paul is viewed as describing a time in his boyhood when he came to realize the awful demands of the law and was therefore plunged into a perpetual and fruitless struggle with an uneasy conscience. It has sometimes also been supposed that this tension was the basis for his persecution of Christians: that he was attempting to externalize the conflict within by identifying what he detested in himself with some other body and was trying to silence his doubts by activity.

It is significant, however, that Paul's discussion of the relation of the old covenant and the new in 2 Cor. 3:7 – 18 does not present a contrast between a crushing legalism and a new prophetism (see COVENANT, THE NEW). Rather, it is between what once "was glorious" and what is of "much greater," indeed, "surpassing glory" (vv. 10 – 11). It is true that he speaks of the old covenant as "the ministry that brought death" and "the ministry that condemns" (vv. 7, 9). But he also insists that, though in relation to the surpassing splendor of the new covenant the law's glory is passing, it "came with glory" (v. 7, 11). In Gal. 4 he speaks of the old covenant as a bondage (vv. 1 – 7) and a slavery (vv. 21 – 31), but only in relation to the liberty found in Christ Jesus. Elsewhere, Paul talks as though his pre-Christian life had been entirely free from qualms of guilt and pangs of conscience, recalling for his converts his feeling of heady abandon in outstripping his fellow students in the rabbinic curriculum, his eager zeal for the traditions of his fathers, and his confidence of being blameless in the eyes of the law (Gal. 1:14; Phil. 3:4 – 6; Acts 22:3; 26:4 – 5).

Therefore, it seems that Paul's early religious experience must be interpreted along the lines of the normal Jewish response of his day: a rejoicing in the law of God and a self-congratulation on his place in the divine favor (Rom. 2:17 – 20). He never speaks of his previous life in Judaism as one hideous mistake, nor as a bondage which anyone with an ounce of perception would have seen to be

in error. Rather, he continually measures it by the surpassing splendor and intimate communion found in Jesus Christ; and only on account of Christ was he prepared to call it, together with all human excellencies, something of the nature of rubbish (Phil. 3:7 – 11). It was not dissatisfaction with the law that prepared the way for Christ, but Christ who revealed to Paul the inadequacy of the law and the ultimate futility of all human attainment.

What then was the tension which Paul experienced in Judaism, and which he found resolved in commitment to Christ? No doubt he had some appreciation of the inability of man to please God apart from divine mercy and strength, and probably he was repelled in some measure by the rising tide of externalism in his day. But these were matters shared with the better rabbis of the time, and not sufficient of themselves to effect any basic alteration in earlier commitments. The primary tension of Judaism, which dominates all the OT and Jewish thought generally, is that of covenant promise and anticipated fulfillment. The religion of Israel is the religion of promise, with consummation reserved for the coming of the Messiah and the messianic age. And it was this tension, rather than any having to do with ethics, motivation, or universalism, which Paul found resolved in commitment to Jesus of Nazareth as God's promised Messiah—the Messiah rejected, crucified, risen, and now exalted.

**II. Conversion and early ministry.** Rome had recognized the high priests of Jerusalem as the titular rulers of their people, and in alliances with the earlier Maccabean priest-kings, had included a reciprocal extradition clause (1 Macc. 15:21 – 24). While the Sadducean priests no longer exercised the civil authority of their predecessors, evidently they retained the right of extradition in cases strictly religious. Thus Paul, seeking the return of Jewish Christians (principally the Hellenistic Jewish believers), "went to the high priest and asked him for letters to the synagogues in Damascus, so that if he found any there who belonged to the Way, whether men or women, he might take them as prisoners to Jerusalem" (Acts 9:1b – 2; 22:5; 26:12).

***A. The circumstances of his conversion.*** It was while traveling to DAMASCUS to extradite Christians that Paul was confronted by the risen and glorified Christ in a manner which he considered comparable to the resurrection appearances to PETER, the other apostles, and JAMES (1 Cor. 15:3 – 8). In Luke's account in Acts 9 and the apostle's speeches recorded in chs. 22 and 26, it is stated that at midday a light from heaven flashed about him and his cohorts, throwing them all to the ground and blinding Paul. Then a voice from heaven was heard to say, "Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?" Paul asked regarding the identity of the speaker, and was told, "I am Jesus, whom you are persecuting." He was then instructed to rise and enter the city, and he would be told what to do. Stricken with blindness for three days, Paul was residing at the home of a man named Judas who lived on "the street called Straight," when a Christian disciple by the name of ANANIAS was sent by God to minister to him. It was through Ananias that Paul's sight was restored, he was baptized as a Christian, and further instructions were given him concerning God's purpose for his life.

A number of problems present themselves in comparing the accounts of Paul's conversion in Acts

Façade of the Church of St. Paul in Damascus. According to tradition, the protrusion on the wall was the place used to let Paul down when he escaped from the city.

9, 22, and 26; problems of the type frequently found in a comparison of the Synoptic Gospels—and, for that matter, found in any correlation of two or more separate narratives of any one historical event. The first concerns Luke's statement in Acts 9:7 that Paul's associates "stood speechless, *hearing the voice* but seeing no one," whereas Paul is represented in 22:9 as saying that "those who were with me saw the light but *did not hear the voice* of the one who was speaking to me," and in 26:14 as saying only "I heard a voice" (literal renderings from the RSV). These details are sometimes cited as a flagrant contradiction that the author of Acts unwittingly incorporated into his finished product, though probably it was understood by all concerned in the 1st cent. to mean that while the whole group traveling to Damascus heard the sound of the voice from heaven, only Paul *understood* the articulated words (cf. NIV).

A second problem concerns the reporting of the words heard by Paul. Whereas all three accounts have the words "Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?" (Acts 9:4; 22:7; 26:14), if we accept the reading of the better ancient MSS only the third adds the phrase: "It is hard for you to kick against the goads." The problem here, of course, had to do with the exact words of Jesus. Now it is well-known that "to kick against the goads" was a Greek idiom for opposition to deity (Euripides, *Bacchae* 794 – 95; cf. Aeschylus, *Prometheus* 324 – 25), and probably it was known within Jewish circles that this was something of a catch phrase or byword employed by the Gentiles. It is well possible that in speaking to Agrippa II (see HEROD VIII), Paul added this expression to the words of Jesus to make the king, whose native tongue and basic mentality were Greek, realize that correction by a voice from heaven meant rebuke from God himself. It would hardly have been necessary for Paul (Acts 9) or for his Jewish audience at Jerusalem (ch. 22), since a voice from heaven *(bath kol)* had an unmistakable significance for any Jew. But in seeking to convey to a Gentile the revelation he had received—both in its explicit form and its implications—Paul seems to have found this Greek idiom a judicious vehicle for the expression of the full meaning of Jesus' words as he understood them.

The problem as to when Paul received his commission to preach to the Gentiles is somewhat more difficult to solve. Acts 9 indicates that it was through Ananias, who was sent to explicate the meaning of the Damascus road encounter. But Acts 22:21, though alluding to Ananias's ministry, associates the words "I will send you far away to the Gentiles" with a later vision while Paul was in the Jerusalem temple; and Acts 26 seems to imply that the commission came while he was on the Damascus road. For Paul, however, the meeting with Jesus, the ministry of Ananias, and the later vision of confirmation in the temple were probably all parts of the same event. In fact, when the details of that Gentile ministry were later spelled out more fully on his first missionary journey (see discussion below), he still viewed this as only an extension of that original charge. Probably, therefore, ch. 9 presents the actual sequence of events connected with Paul's conversion, ch. 22 adds the confirming vision at Jerusalem some three years later, and ch. 26 is an abbreviated testimony before the king—abbreviated so that the step-by-step account would not seem overly pedantic to his audience, especially since in Paul's view the events were inherently one.

The immediate sequel to his conversion was a three-year period spent partly in ARABIA (NABATEA?) and partly in Damascus (Gal. 1:17 – 18). During this time Paul seems to have been reevaluating his life and the Scriptures from a Christocentric perspective and witnessing to Jews that Jesus is "the Son of God" and "the Christ" (Acts 9:20 – 22). Nothing is told about the importance of this period for Paul personally, though undoubtedly it was a time when many of the implications of his commitment to Jesus as God's promised Messiah and his commission to carry this message to the Gentiles were being spelled out under the guidance of the Spirit.

***B. Conditioning antecedents.*** There is no evidence in the NT relative to whether Paul had ever seen Jesus during his earthly ministry or not. The statement of 2 Cor. 5:16 about having known Christ "after the flesh" (KJV) is correctly interpreted by the NIV and other versions to mean that this former estimate of Jesus had been based on worldly standards alone, and thus this verse has no bearing on the question at hand. Certainly, however, he had a vivid impression of Jesus' character and claims during these early days, as gathered from Jewish reports and Christian witnesses and as seen through Pharisaic eyes. No man carries on a campaign of persecution without having what he believes to be sufficient information to fan his hatred. Paul's knowledge of Jesus prior to his conversion seems only to have inflamed his antagonism, being convinced as he was that Jesus was a discredited impostor and his followers actually dangerous to the nation's future in preaching their delusions.

Many have suggested that Paul's conversion was prepared for by his contacts with Christians, and that unconsciously he was being conditioned by the logic of their arguments, the dynamic quality of their lives, and their fortitude under oppression. Certainly Luke makes a historical connection between the martyrdom of Stephen, the persecution of believers, and the conversion of Paul. But the suggestion that a logical connection is involved is nowhere certain. It is, of course, impossible to speak with any certainty about what was going on in Paul's subconscious mind, for psychoanalysis two millennia or so later is hardly a fruitful exercise. Yet it is probable that Paul had taken up his task of persecution with full knowledge of the earnestness of his opponents, the stamina of the martyr, and the agony he would necessarily inflict. Fanaticism was not so foreign to the Palestine of his day as to leave him unaware of these facts, and it is quite possible that he was prepared for the emotional strain involved in persecuting those he believed to be misguided and dangerous foes. Nor need we suppose that the logic of the Christian preachers greatly affected him. His later references to the scandal of the CROSS indicate that for him this was the great stumbling block, which no amount of logic or verbal gymnastics could remove (1 Cor. 1:23; Gal. 5:11; cf. Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho* 32, 89).

While his life in Judaism and his contacts with Christians were later acknowledged to have confirmatory value, they seem not to have been factors that drove Paul inevitably to a point of crisis. Only the Damascus encounter with Christ was powerful enough to cause the young Jewish rabbi to reconsider the death of Jesus; only his meeting with the risen Christ was sufficient to demonstrate that God had vindicated the claims and work of the One he was opposing. Humanly speaking, Paul was immune to the gospel. Although he was ready to follow evidence to its conclusion, he was sure that no evidence could overturn the verdict of the cross—that is, that Christ died the death of a criminal. But God gives sufficient evidence to the earnest to convince and lead them on. And therefore the eternal God "was pleased," as Paul says by way of reminiscence, "to reveal his Son in me" (Gal. 1:15 – 16). Thus Paul was arrested by Christ, and made his own (Phil. 3:12).

***C. Resultant convictions.*** Having been met by Christ on the way to Damascus, three convictions became inescapably obvious to Paul. In the first place, despite zeal, superior credentials, and an assurance of doing God's will (Rom. 9:4 – 5; 10:2 – 4), his life and activities in Judaism lay under the rebuke of God. A voice from heaven had corrected him, and there was nothing more that could be said. He had held tenaciously to the Mosaic law as having *intrinsic* authority, but failed to appreciate that it also bore *instrumental* authority; that is, that it had been given as a custodian to lead sinners on to faith in Jesus Christ (Gal. 3:19 – 24). But now that Christ had come and the gospel message had gone out, to refuse him of whom the law speaks and to venerate the letter above the Person who is its object is to revert to "weak and miserable principles" (Gal. 3:25—4:11; see esp. 4:9).

Second, he could not escape the conclusion that the Jesus whom he was persecuting was alive, exalted, and in some manner to be associated with the God Israel worshiped. He had therefore to revise his whole estimate of the life, teaching, and death of the Nazarene, for God obviously had vindicated him in a manner beyond dispute. Thus he was compelled to agree with the Christians that Christ's death on the cross, rather than discrediting him as an impostor, was really God's provision for sin and was in fulfillment of prophecy. And he was compelled to acknowledge that Christ's resurrection, also in fulfillment of prophecy, was proof of these facts and provides life to those who will receive him (1 Cor. 15:3 – 8). In commitment to this risen Lord, he found the ancient tension of covenant promise and anticipated fulfillment brought to consummation; moreover, he now experienced true righteousness and intimate fellowship with God.

A third conviction that was unmistakably clear to Paul was that he had been appointed by Jesus Christ to be an apostle to the Gentiles, delivering to them the message of a crucified and risen Lord and bringing them into the unity of one body in Christ (Rom. 11:13; 15:16; Gal. 1:11 – 16; Eph. 3:8). There is no consciousness in Paul that he differed from the earlier apostles on the matter of the content of the gospel. But there is the settled conviction reflected in his writings that he had been given a new understanding of the pattern of redemptive history. This he refers to as "my gospel" (Rom. 2:16; 16:25), always asserting that it came to him via a revelation given by Jesus Christ (Gal. 1:1, 11 – 12; Eph. 3:2 – 3). Although in further visions and providential circumstances he was to understand more clearly that the gospel involves full equality of Jew and Gentile before God and the legitimacy of a direct approach to the Gentile world in the Christian mission, it was his constant habit to relate his Gentile commission firmly and directly to his conversion.

***D. Ministry to Diaspora Jews.*** The three years following Paul's conversion were spent in and around Damascus (Acts 9:19 – 22; Gal. 1:17, 18), the biblical "Arabia" probably having reference to the area ruled by the Nabateans and of which Damascus was at various times the principal city.

During this time Paul proclaimed the divine sonship and messiahship of Jesus (Acts 9:20, 22), and at the end of his residence in Damascus he was forced to leave by means of a basket let down over the city wall (Acts 9:23 – 25; 2 Cor. 11:32 – 33). His reference to this incident in 2 Corinthians indicates that it happened at a time when Damascus was ruled by the Nabatean king, ARETAS. Now Damascene coinage proves that the city was under the direct rule of Rome in A.D. 33 – 34. This means that Paul's departure from the city, occurring as it did during the supremacy of Aretas, probably took place in the final years of the Emperor TIBERIUS, though possibly after the accession of CALIGULA in the year 37. On this basis, Paul's conversion may be dated somewhere between 32 and 35, though precision is manifestly impossible apart from further data.

Arriving in Jerusalem, Paul took up the ministry to Hellenistic Jews—a ministry that had been neglected since Stephen's death. But he faced the same opposition he himself once had led, and seems to have gotten into the same difficulty as that which cost Stephen his life (Acts 9:26 – 29). This was in all likelihood the visit of fifteen days of which he speaks in Gal. 1:18 – 20. Evidently the Jerusalem church did not care to go through another series of events such as followed Stephen's preaching, for when they realized what was taking place "they took him down to Caesarea and sent him off to Tarsus" (Acts 9:30). Though it might seem to have been something of a personal rebuff from Paul's perspective, such a departure was under divine approval, for in the temple he received a vision that not only confirmed his apostleship to the Gentiles, but warned him to flee Jerusalem (Acts 22:17 – 21).

Paul is not mentioned in the period between these experiences in Jerusalem and his ministry at ANTIOCH OF SYRIA (Acts 11:25 – 30), though from his words in Gal. 1:21 – 24 it seems fairly certain that he continued his witness to dispersed Jews in CAESAREA and his hometown of Tarsus. The cordiality of the Christians at Caesarea at the end of his third missionary journey lends some credence to an earlier association with PHILIP and the believers there. Many of the hardships and trials enumerated in 2 Cor. 11:23 – 27 may stem from situations faced at Caesarea and Tarsus during those days, for they find no place in the records of the later missionary journeys in Acts. Perhaps the ecstatic experience of 2 Cor. 12:1 – 4 also comes from this period in his life.

***E. Ministry to God-fearing Gentiles.*** In the expansion of the church occasioned by the persecutions in Jerusalem, certain believers who originally came from CYPRUS and CYRENE carried the gospel to Antioch in Syria and included "Greeks" in the scope of their ministry (Acts 11:19 – 21). There is some uncertainty (both textual and interpretative) as to whether the "great number" who heard the message and believed consisted of Greeks in the sense of Gentiles or Greeks in the sense of Hellenistic Jews (see the discussion in B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament,* 2nd ed. [1994], 340 – 42). Since they are distinguished from Jews in the passage itself, it seems best to conclude that the Christian missionaries carried on a witness to Gentiles as an adjunct to their ministry to Jews—that is, to God-fearing Gentiles ("Proselytes of the Gate") through the synagogues. When news of this ministry to both Jews and God-fearing Gentiles reached Jerusalem, the church there sent BARNABAS, a Levite originally from Cyprus (4:36), to check on conditions at Antioch. "When he arrived and saw the evidence of the grace of God, he was glad and encouraged them all to remain true to the Lord with all their hearts. He was a good man, full of the Holy Spirit and faith, and a great number of people were brought to the Lord" (11:23 – 24).

It was Barnabas who brought Paul to Antioch, having gone to Tarsus to find him (Acts 11:25 – 26). Barnabas had earlier acted on Paul's behalf when there was suspicion about his conversion among the Jerusalem disciples (9:27). And now, knowing of his commission to the Gentiles,

remembering the impact of his testimony, conscious of his abilities, and needing help in the ministry among the Gentile converts, Barnabas involved Paul in the work at Antioch. Here Paul joined not only Barnabas, but also "Simeon called Niger, Lucius of Cyrene, Manaen (who had been brought up with Herod the tetrarch)" (13:1). The Greek construction of the passage may suggest that Barnabas, Simeon, and Lucius functioned as "prophets," which probably means that they were the ones principally engaged in the task of proclaiming the good news of salvation in Christ Jesus. If so, Manaen and Paul were the "teachers," which seems to signify that theirs was the primary responsibility of instructing the converts concerning biblical foundations and implications. (However, many believe that the phrase "prophets and teachers" applies to the whole group.) In any case, Paul ministered in this capacity for a year.

In such an enterprise, Paul was, of course, involved in a mission to Gentiles. And he may have thought this to be all that was involved in the commission received at his conversion. It is probable, however, that the Antioch mission in those early days was carried out exclusively in terms of the synagogue and as an adjunct to the ministry to Jews, without any consideration being given to whether it was proper to appeal more widely and directly to Gentiles. Believers in Jesus at Antioch were probably related in some way to the synagogue, whether they were Jewish or Gentile in background. And thus in the eyes of many Jewish believers, the conversion of God-fearing Gentiles who had come under the ministry of Judaism to some extent prior to their allegiance to Jesus would have been viewed as somewhat similar to that of Jewish proselytes. However, others within the city—evidently nonbelievers with more perception regarding the Antioch church's essential commitments, and in anticipation of the later debates as to whether believers in Jesus had an identity of their own or belonged to the Jewish commonwealth—called them "Christians," that is, "Christ followers" or "those of the household of Christ."

During Paul's ministry in Antioch, a Jerusalemite prophet by the name of AGABUS prophesied of an approaching famine, and the church at Antioch sent aid to their brethren in the Holy City via Barnabas and Paul (Acts 11:27 – 30). The famine is spoken of in Acts as occurring during the time of CLAUDIUS (A.D. 41 – 54). It can, however, be dated more precisely at about A.D. 46 by (1) information from the Roman historians TACITUS and SUETONIUS concerning a widespread famine about this time; (2) evidence preserved in the papyri concerning the high price of grain in Egypt also about this time; and (3) Josephus's account of the Egyptian queen Helena, a convert to Judaism who gathered supplies from Egypt and Cyprus for famine-stricken Jerusalem soon after her arrival on a pilgrimage to the city about the year 45 or 46.

The understanding of Paul's activity at this time is heavily dependent upon the answer to the ancient conundrum of the relation of the two Jerusalem visits mentioned in Galatians to the three early Jerusalem visits reported in Acts. While it is generally recognized that the visit mentioned in Gal. 1:18 – 20 is the same one recounted in Acts 9:26 – 29 (as presented above), there is disagreement as to whether Gal. 2:1 – 10 corresponds to the "famine visit" of Acts 11:30 or to the COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM of ch. 15. The issues are complex and have far-reaching consequences. The simplest solution that results in the most satisfactory and convincing reconstruction and leaves the fewest loose ends, however, is that Gal. 2:1 – 10 corresponds to the "famine visit" of Acts 11:30. On this view, the temporal adverb *epeita G2083* ("then") of Gal. 2:1 has the same antecedent as that of 1:18—both referring back to Paul's conversion. His conversion would then have occurred (allowing some flexibility in rounding off the years) about A.D. 33; his escape from Damascus and subsequent visit to Jerusalem three years later (c. 36); and his "famine visit" to Jerusalem some fourteen years after his conversion (c. 46). And on this view, the reference to having gone to Jerusalem "by revelation" in

Gal. 2:2 and Agabus's prophecy of Acts 11:28 could be related. See also CHRONOLOGY (NT) II.H; GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO THE, V and VI.

If the equation of Gal. 2:1 – 10 and Acts 11:30 is correct, Paul and Barnabas, having been sent by the Antioch church with aid for stricken believers of Jerusalem, then took the opportunity to hold a private discussion with James, Peter, and John on the issues of the nature of the gospel, the validity of a mission to Gentiles, and the relation of Gentile converts to the law. They also took along TITUS, an uncircumcised Gentile Christian, whose presence might have been intended as something of a test case. He may, however, have been included with no thought other than the help he would be on the mission—and, perhaps, with some failure to appreciate fully the pressures that could be brought to bear because of him.

Paul mentions the reactions of two groups at Jerusalem in his report of the conversations: (1) that of certain "false brothers [who] had infiltrated our ranks to spy on the freedom we have in Christ Jesus and to make us slaves" (Gal. 2:4); and (2) that of the "pillar" apostles in the Jerusalem church (2:6 – 10). Whether the pseudobrethren were Jewish spies sent to see what treachery the Christians were planning with Gentiles or whether they were angry Jewish Christian disputants who threatened to publish what was happening at Antioch unless Titus were circumcised, we cannot say. But the extremely important point to note is that, despite mounting pressures and possibly some uncertainties, the Jerusalem apostles agreed with Paul on the substance of the gospel and the validity of a mission to Gentiles, though, admittedly, they felt themselves committed to a different sphere of ministry than his. Moreover, they made no demands as to the necessity of Gentile believers being circumcised. As yet, however, the issue of a direct approach to Gentiles apart from the ministrations of the synagogue did not come to the fore. That was to be raised on the first missionary journey, and would be the occasion for resurrecting the whole complex of issues again at the Jerusalem Council.

**III. First missionary journey.** The first missionary journey of Paul (Acts 13 – 14) often is treated as something of a "filler" inserted by Luke as a transition to get from the circumstances of the Jerusalem church under HEROD Agrippa I (ch. 12) to the Jerusalem Council (ch. 15), or relegated to the status of a displaced aspect of the Pauline missionary endeavors that presumably occurred much later. But to class this period of Paul's labors as insignificant, invented, or misplaced overlooks an important advance in the preaching of the gospel and destroys any adequate rationale for the events that follow.

***A. The course of the mission.*** While Paul and Barnabas were ministering at Antioch in Syria, the Holy Spirit directed that they be released from their duties in the church there and sent out to minister more widely (Acts 13:2 – 3). The means by which the Spirit so directed them are not expressly given, though there are some hints that it was through the convergence of three factors: (1) an urging within the apostles themselves, for they were fasting at the time they received the explicit direction; (2) a prophetic utterance on the part of one of the members of the church, similar perhaps to Agabus's word earlier; and (3) the assurance to the body of believers that this was indeed the will of God, which was given after fasting and prayer. The subject ("they") of v. 3 is somewhat difficult to determine grammatically and may refer to the "prophets and teachers" of v. 1. On this reading, it was the other three leaders in the Antioch church who, after fasting and prayer, "placed their hands on them and sent them off." On analogy with 15:2, however, where there appears the same linguistic phenomenon of a pronominal suffix lacking an expressed antecedent and where the subject is later identified as "the church" (15:3), it is probable that the body of believers as a whole was involved in determining the will of the Lord, laying hands on the apostles and sending them out. In any case, they were "sent on their way by the Holy Spirit" (13:4). They took with them John Mark, a young man from Jerusalem (12:12) and the cousin of Barnabas (Col. 4:10; see MARK, JOHN).

Leaving Antioch and its port city SELEUCIA, the missionary party set out for Barnabas's native CYPRUS. And from SALAMIS on the E to PAPHOS on the W, they preached the gospel throughout the island, though always "in the synagogues of the Jews" (Acts 13:5). At Paphos, however, the proconsul Sergius PAULUS requested that they present their message before him. The meeting may have been intended only as an inquiry into the nature of their preaching so that the proconsul might be in a position to head off any features that could cause disturbance within the Jewish community on the island. As a "command performance" of a somewhat devious type, it could hardly have been avoided. But despite the opposition of BAR-JESUS the magician, and impressed by the effect of the curse pronounced by Paul upon this "child of the devil," Sergius Paulus believed (vv. 6 – 12).

Here was something quite unexpected, for the Roman proconsul seems not to have been related in any way to Judaism or its institutions. Here was a situation that could hardly have appeared otherwise to the apostles than the counterpart of the conversion of the Roman centurion CORNELIUS (Acts 10:1—11:18); indeed, in some ways going beyond the case of Cornelius. But though the Jerusalem church seems never to have taken Cornelius's conversion as establishing a precedent for its ministry, since its mission was to Israel, Paul, whose call was to the Gentiles, undoubtedly saw in this incident at Paphos something more of what a mission to Gentiles logically involved. At this point in the record, significantly, he begins to be called by his Roman name, Paul, rather than his Jewish name, Saul (13:9); for from this point on he is prepared to meet a Gentile of the empire as himself a member of that empire, apart from any necessary common ground as supplied by the synagogue. And from this time on, with but two understandable exceptions (14:12; 15:12), Paul's name always appears first in connection with that of Barnabas.

From Cyprus the missioners sailed to PERGA in PAMPHYLIA, on the mainland of ASIA MINOR (Acts 13:13). No account of a ministry in Perga at this time is given, though on their return visit they preached there (14:25). The usual explanation for


Paul's first missionary journey.

this bypassing of Perga and moving on to ANTIOCH OF PISIDIA is that Paul probably was ill, perhaps with a case of malaria, and thus he redirected his mission to gain the higher ground of the plateau to the N. While this may be true, it can as readily be postulated that the ignoring of Perga at this time


A pair of Hellenistic towers at Perga.

was largely because of uncertainty within the missionary party itself regarding the validity of a direct approach to Gentiles. Undoubtedly after Paphos the discussion among the missionaries concerning their further ministry centered on the implications of Sergius Paulus's conversion.

It was at this time, the account in Acts tells us, that John Mark left the group and returned to Jerusalem. Perhaps it was this reconsideration of their mission, and the inferences being drawn by Paul from recent events, that were the real reasons for Mark's departure. While Paul saw in the Paphos experience the explication of his original commission, John Mark may well have felt concerned for the effect such news of a direct Christian ministry to Gentiles would have in Jerusalem and upon the Jerusalem church—and wanted no part in it himself. Explanations of Mark's defection that stress homesickness, the rigors of travel, a change in leadership within the group, or an illness of Paul that necessitated a changed itinerary are at best only partial, and at worst unconvincing. They fail to account for the obstinate opposition of Paul toward Mark as recorded in Acts 15:37 – 39, which implies that Mark's departure was for more than merely personal reasons.

At Antioch of Pisidia, Paul proclaimed to Jews and "devout converts to Judaism" assembled in the synagogue on the Sabbath day that Jesus is the Messiah and Savior promised in Holy Writ (Acts 13:14 – 43). On the next Sabbath, however, when a great number of Gentiles expressed their interest in Paul's message, the Jewish community went on record as being in opposition to the gospel; and Paul turned directly to the Gentiles in continuation of his mission in the city, finding great receptivity among them (vv. 44 – 49). Here the typical pattern of the Pauline mission was established: an initial proclamation to Jews and Gentile adherents to Judaism, whether full PROSELYTES or more loosely associated, and then, being refused further audience in the synagogue, a direct ministry among Gentiles. According to Acts, this pattern was followed in every city with a Jewish population visited by Paul (with the exception of Athens).

Also at Pisidian Antioch the pattern of opposition to Paul was established (Acts 13:50). The Jews found occasion to reject his message on the grounds that he was willing to approach Gentiles apart from the institutions of the ancestral faith. As Paul saw it, Jewish obstinacy made such action necessary if Gentiles were to hear the gospel and be brought to the one true God. But as they viewed it, this approach disproved the claim that in Jesus of Nazareth the promises to the fathers had been brought to fulfillment. For the Jewish leaders, Christianity was a religion to be sharply distinguished from Judaism and its Scriptures—as Paul's willingness to work apart from its institutions demonstrated—and therefore was not entitled to protection under the Roman law of one religion for one people. While Christianity sought legitimacy in the eyes of Rome by nestling under the wings of Judaism, its mode of approach proved that it was really an invasion requiring active repulsion. Thus the Jews worked through "the God-fearing women of high standing" (proselyte wives of Roman officials?), who influenced their husbands to declare Paul and his party disruptive to the "Peace of Rome." On such a pretext persecution arose in Antioch, and the missionary party was expelled. And that pattern was often reproduced throughout the Pauline missionary journeys.

The ministry at ICONIUM resulted in "a great number of Jews and Gentiles" coming to Christ (Acts 14:1). Again, however, the issue was raised concerning Christianity's claim to continuity with the religion of Israel and to protection as a legal religion; and when the local authorities sided with the Jewish view and persecution became intolerable, the apostles fled to LYSTRA and DERBE (VV. 2 – 6). The reference to Lystra and Derbe as cities of LYCAONIA (v. 6) suggests that Iconium was a city of another district. Because of the location of these three cities in the same geographic area, this passage has been cited in the past as an example of Luke's inaccuracy of details. The research of William M. Ramsay, however, has shown that in the period between A.D. 37 and 72—and only during this period —Lystra and Derbe were ruled directly by the Romans whereas Iconium was governed by Antiochus (King of Commagene and Lycaonia); and that while the region in which Lystra and Derbe were located was officially known as Galatica Lycaonia and that of Iconium as Lycaonia Antiochiana,

more popularly they were called Lycaonia and Phrygia *(St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen,* 14th ed. [1920], 110 – 11). The fact that Lystra and Derbe were cities under a different jurisdiction than Iconium was therefore a matter of real importance to Paul and Barnabas, for in crossing the regional border they were able to elude the Phrygian authorities.

Lystra and Derbe proved to be fruitful areas for the sowing of the gospel (Acts 14:21), though not without their difficulties. One convert at Lystra on this first journey was TIMOTHY (cf. 16:1; 20:4), whom Paul later included as a member of his missionary team. A disappointment at Lystra was the fickleness of the people in their response to the power of God and the issues involved in Paul's preaching. On the one hand, having witnessed the cripple healed at the command of Paul, they were ready to worship the apostles as the gods Zeus (the Roman god Jupiter) and Hermes (the Roman god Mercury) come in the guise of men. Then the apostles were hard-pressed to quiet the mob, speaking passionately in an attempt to redirect their adoration (14:8 – 18). Yet, on the other hand, they seem to have been easily persuaded that if these men were not gods, they were probably impostors; and under the urging of Jews from Antioch and Iconium, their veneration turned to hatred and the actual stoning of Paul (v. 19).

The initial and wildly emotional response of the people is understandable to some extent in light of an ancient legend that the poet Ovid retells, and which probably was familiar to many in the region of S Asia Minor. According to the legend *(Metamorphoses* 8), Zeus and Hermes once came to the area disguised as mortals seeking lodging. But though they asked at a thousand homes, they were not accepted into any. Finally, asking at a humble and small home built only of straw and reeds, they were received by an elderly couple, Philemon and his wife Baucis, who provided them with a banquet that strained their poor resources, but which was offered willingly. In appreciation, the gods transformed their cottage into a temple with a golden roof and marble columns. They also appointed Philemon and Baucis to be the priest and priestess of the temple; and instead of eventually dying, they were transformed into an oak tree and a linden. However, in vengeance on the people who showed no hospitality, the gods destroyed their houses. Just where this was supposed to have taken place is vague, Ovid saying only that it occurred in "the Phrygian hill-country." Nonetheless, it appears that, remembering the legend and seeing the healing of the man lame from birth, the people of Lystra believed that the gods Zeus and Hermes had returned. They wanted to pay the proper homage rather than suffer the consequences.

The first missionary journey probably took place during the years 46 through 48, though admittedly this is only an estimate based on the dating of earlier and later events. Having spent about two years evangelizing Cyprus and S Asia Minor, the apostles revisited the churches they had planted —instructing the believers further in the doctrine of Christ, exhorting them to remain faithful to the Lord despite opposition, and appointing elders for the continuance of the ministry (Acts 14:21 – 23). Then, after preaching in Perga, they returned to Antioch in Syria. And having gathered the believers at Antioch together, they "reported all that God had done through them, and *how he had opened a door of faith to the Gentiles"* (v. 27).

***B. The significance of the mission.*** That Gentiles are to be included in the blessings of Israel is a recurring theme in the OT (e.g., Gen. 22:18; 26:4; 28:14; Isa. 49:6; 55:5 – 6; Zeph. 3:9 – 10; Zech. 8:22). It was the underlying presupposition in all Jewish proselytizing (Matt. 23:15; *m. )Abot* 1:12), and it was implicit in the sermons of Peter at PENTECOST and in the house of Cornelius (Acts 2:39; 10:35). That Gentiles already were accepted as Christians by the church is evidenced in the cases of Cornelius and the God-fearing Gentiles of Syrian Antioch. But the correlative conviction of the whole

of Judaism was that Israel alone was God's appointed agent for the administration of these blessings. It was through the nation and the ministrations of its institutions that the Gentiles would have a part in God's redemptive program and share in his favor. And there seems to have been no expectation on the part of the earliest Jewish Christians that this procedure would be materially altered; though in these "last days," of course, it was through the church as the true Israel and faithful remnant within the nation that God was working.

In the experience of the church, Gentiles had come to acknowledge Jesus as the Messiah and their Lord after having sustained some relation to Judaism, either as proselytes (Nicolaus of Acts 6:5, and possibly the eunuch of 8:26 – 39) or as "Proselytes of the Gate" (Cornelius of ch. 10 and prob. the "Greeks" of 11:20 – 26). Though Paul had earlier discussed with the leaders of the Jerusalem church the commission he had received to minister to Gentiles, evidently at the time both he and they had in mind an outreach that would be conducted through the synagogues exclusively.

The practice inaugurated by Paul on his first missionary journey, however, went far beyond these expectations. The conversion of Sergius Paulus apart from any previous connection with the synagogue had become for Paul that which the conversion of Cornelius had not become for the Jerusalem apostles, for in it he saw God providentialy explicating more fully what was involved in a mission to Gentiles. Furthermore, God had wonderfully stamped his approval on such an approach by the increasing number of Gentiles whose hearts he had touched. While the synagogue was the appropriate place to begin his ministry in each city, offering as it did an audience of both Jews and Gentiles that had every reason to be spiritually sensitive and theologically alert, it was not the only sphere wherein his ministry could be carried out. Jew and Gentile stood on an equal footing before God (Rom. 2:1—3:20), and with differing backgrounds and sensibilities, they could be appealed to separately and in a different manner.

This was Paul's "gospel," of which he speaks in Gal. 1:11—2:10. It was not a difference in content, but a distinction in the pattern of redemptive logistics. By revelation, the nature of his ministry had been indicated; by circumstances providentially controlled, specifics of that call had been explicated. Jew and Gentile stood as equals before God in condemnation, in spiritual need, and in their status before God when they were renewed "in Christ." As Paul wrote in later life, this truth was "the mystery made known to me by revelation…which was not made known to men in other generations as it has now been revealed by the Spirit to God's holy apostles and prophets. This mystery is that through the gospel the Gentiles are heirs together with Israel, members together of one body, and sharers together in the promise in Christ Jesus" (Eph. 3:3 – 6).

***C. Jewish responses to the mission.*** In turning to the question of Jewish responses to Paul's first missionary journey, one is immediately confronted by the thorny issue of the relation of the Galatian letter to the periods of Paul's ministry; for if it relates to the period under discussion, it furnishes extremely important evidence for the subject at hand. Much has been written as to whether in the letter Paul was using "Galatia" in an ethnological sense addressing people of Celtic descent (Gauls) in the N of the Roman province of Galatia, and therefore writing on his third missionary journey, or employing the term in a political sense addressing a mixed population living in the southern portion of the province, and thus possibly writing after his first missionary journey or early on his second. Every work on "special introduction" treats the literary and historical matters that pertain to this question, and there is no need to reproduce them here. (See GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO THE, V.) One point drawn from the Pauline polemic in Galatians, however, needs to be made at this time: that Paul's silence in Galatians regarding the decision of the Jerusalem Council forces the irreconcilable dilemma of

declaring that either (1) the Acts account of the council and its decision in Acts 15 is pure fabrication; or (2) the letter to the Galatians was written prior to the council. (It is only fair to note, however, that such eminent scholars as J. B. Lightfoot and J. G. Machen have fully affirmed the historical reliability of Acts 15 while also dating Galatians after the council. On this point and what follows, cf. the discussion in M. Silva, *Interpreting Galatians: Explorations in Exegetical Method,* 2nd ed. [2001], ch. 7.)

The fact that Paul felt obliged to give an explanation of his visit to Jerusalem implies that his adversaries in Galatia had been using one or both of those visits in some manner detrimental to his position and authority. And that Paul should take up a discussion of his contacts with the Jerusalem leaders, and for one reason or another fail to mention the decision reached at the council (accepting for the moment both the veracity of Acts 15 and a late date for the composition of Galatians), is entirely inconceivable. The decision of the council was the coup de grâce to the whole conflict. Nor will it do to argue that since the decrees promulgated at the end of the council could have been set forth apart from Paul's knowledge (which is highly improbable), there is also the possibility that Paul was unaware of the major decision of the council. Whatever is said of the decrees themselves, the overriding decision of the council was so completely in harmony with Paul's view that there is no reason for his being uninformed or that it be kept from him. Either Paul did not know of such a decision when he wrote to the Galatians because that decision as recorded in Acts 15 has no basis in fact, or he did not know of it because he wrote to the Galatians before it had been reached. And while it often is asserted otherwise, one need not conclude that the only recourse is to skepticism of the account in Acts.

Similarly, on the assumption that the Antioch episode reported in Gal. 2:11 – 21 took place after the Jerusalem Council, Paul's recounting of the clash between himself and Peter at the appearance of "certain men…from James" undercuts his whole argument and turns to the advantage of the Judaizing opponents, and not to himself—for it would bring to light his recognition of a cleavage between himself and the Jerusalem leaders that was only superficially patched up at the council. The inclusion of such an incident at a time before the council is understandable. But to use it in support of his argument after the council leaves some doubt regarding the logical ability of the apostle. Rather than attempt to save Paul's rationality by reversing the order of events in Galatians, thus making vv. 11 – 21 refer to a time before the council and vv. 1 – 10 apply to the council, as some have suggested, we should accept the most natural interpretation: that all of these biographical statements were written prior to the council. Admittedly, there are difficulties of detail with an early dating of the letter, but the problems confronted in accepting the later date are damaging to any high view of the rationality of Paul or the veracity of Acts. (For a different approach, see J. G. Machen, *The Origin of Paul's Religion* [1925], 102, who argues that the confrontation with Peter at Antioch involved an issue that the Jerusalem Council had not addressed.)

Accepting, then, the theory that Galatians was written to converts living in the southern part of the Roman province of Galatia and at a time prior to the Jerusalem Council, the letter is Paul's earliest extant writing, being composed probably about A.D. 49 at Antioch in Syria—or perhaps on the journey from Antioch to Jerusalem. Important for consideration here, therefore, is the fact that the letter to the Galatians seems to reflect the responses toward Paul and his Gentile mission of three types of Jews: (1) the unbelieving Jews of Jerusalem; (2) the apostolic leaders in the Jerusalem church; and (3) the JUDAIZERS.

The interpretation of the Antioch episode (Gal. 2:11 – 21) depends largely on the identification of *hoi ek peritomēs* (lit., "those of the circumcision") who were feared. The phrase is sometimes

rendered as "the circumcision party" (e.g., RSV, Moffatt), and understood to mean legalistic and rigorous Jewish believers who came to Antioch "from James." On this basis, the characters in the drama are frequently drawn up as follows: (1) James and his emissaries, representing the Judaizing element within the Jerusalem church; (2) Peter, the Jewish Christians of Antioch, and Barnabas, who were not legalists as the first group but who would bow to the authority of Jerusalem Christianity as represented by James; (3) Paul as the sole champion of Gentile freedom and equality; and (4) the Gentile converts in Antioch who stood in the background looking on.

But while Luke uses the phrase *hoi ek peritomēs* in Acts 10:45 and 11:2 for Jewish Christians, it is never so employed by Paul. In the apostle's writings, "those of the circumcision" and "the circumcised," when employed in an abstract sense, always refer to Jews in general (Rom. 3:30; 4:9, 12; 15:8; Gal. 2:7 – 9; Eph. 2:11; Col. 3:11; 4:11; the use in Tit. 1:10 is indeterminate). Therefore, consistent with his use of "the circumcised" in the verses immediately preceding (2:7 – 9), Gal. 2:12b should read, as J. B. Phillips correctly has it: Peter "withdrew and ate separately from the Gentiles—out of sheer fear of what *the Jews* might think." From such a statement we gather that the unbelieving Jews of Jerusalem were antagonistic to and repelled by Paul's endeavors, as the majority of their brethren in the Diaspora also proved to be.

In view of the Jewish reaction at home, the Christian apostles of Jerusalem were faced with the practical necessity of minimizing the unnecessary conflicts that might arise between Judaism and the Christian mission. Therefore one should probably view the messengers "from James" as bringing, not an ultimatum from a faction of extremists, but an urgent warning that increasing rumors of Jewish Christian fraternizing with uncircumcised Gentiles in Antioch and S Asia Minor were putting all the churches in Judea in considerable danger. In such a situation, Peter might have thought it expedient to modify his practice for a while until the danger abated; and the Antioch Jewish Christians, together with "even Barnabas" (Gal. 2:13), seem to have agreed with him.

Paul, it must be noticed, did not accuse Peter of having wrong principles, but of being untrue to the principles he professed (Gal. 2:14 – 21). This suggests that in Paul's view Peter's action was undertaken for reasons of expediency, and not as a matter of principle as the Judaizers advocated. But though Peter's action was professedly only a matter of expediency, Paul saw that it did touch upon an essential principle. For to distinguish between Jewish and Gentile believers on this basis, even though temporarily and under external pressure, was to question ultimately the validity of those Gentiles' Christian faith, and to drive a wedge between the Jewish and the Gentile missions that never could be completely extricated.

Considerations of expediency, however, gave way in certain quarters to conclusions justified on principle. And as so often happens with the increase of pressure, emotional responses and pragmatically sanctioned procedures tended by some to become buttressed theologically. Thus certain Jewish Christians followed the Pauline circuit in S Galatia preaching that it was not theologically necessary for Gentile converts to become circumcised and devotees of the Mosaic law, and others from Jerusalem came to Antioch of Syria insisting that "Unless you are circumcised, according to the custom taught by Moses, you cannot be saved" (Acts 15:1). That behind these Judaizers stood James and Peter is a fiction that finds no support in historical fact; for while the Jerusalem apostles were vitally interested in reducing tensions between Judaism and Jewish Christianity wherever possible, they were not prepared to sacrifice the principles of the gospel for the sake of expediency when they became aware of the implications involved. The Judaizers, on the other hand, while probably first justifying their legalism on grounds of expediency, were now also arguing on principle the necessity of circumcision and the keeping of the law.

According to 1 Thess. 2:14 – 16, Paul regarded unbelieving Jews as the ultimate source of opposition to the Gentile mission. Thus when he says in Gal. 6:13 that the Judaizers "want you to be circumcised that they may boast about your flesh," he probably means it was so that they could point out to non-Christian Jews that the gospel does in fact relate Gentiles to the Jewish world in some fashion. Undoubtedly the Judaizers thought of themselves as acting conscientiously. But as Paul viewed it, they wanted "to make a good impression outwardly…to avoid being persecuted for the cross of Christ" (Gal. 6:12).

**IV. The Jerusalem Council.** The practice inaugurated by Paul on his first missionary journey of appealing directly to Gentiles was a matter of far-reaching concern at Jerusalem. In the Gentile churches, as well, issues needed to be clarified, especially in light of the claims and activities of the Judaizers. It was at the COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, probably convened in the year 49, that matters came to a head and decisions were made that were to affect greatly the course of both the mission to the Jews and that of Paul to the Gentiles.

***A. The issues involved.*** As the true Israel and faithful remnant within the nation, the Jerusalem church naturally expected the Christian mission to proceed along lines laid out of old by God. Its raison d'être was built on this assumption. And in its pragmatic polemic, it could point to the fact that, with very few exceptions, commitment to Jesus did not make Jews less Jewish. In some cases, as a matter of fact, it even brought Gentiles who had been loosely associated with the synagogue into greater conformity to Jewish ethical ideals. At any rate, Christianity had always asserted its essential relation to the religion of Israel and to the nation, even though that relation might be variously defined within the movement and contain elements of unresolved ambiguity. Many believed, however, that the new policy of Paul, though he claimed it to be inherently involved in his commission to the Gentiles as given by Christ and as earlier acknowledged by the Jerusalem apostles themselves, undercut both the theoretical basis for and the practical polemic in the Jerusalem church's ministry. Paul's approach seemed to them to disprove his claim of continuity with Israel's faith, and for Jewish believers to acknowledge the legitimacy of such an approach was to bring their evangelistic endeavors under the same indictment in the eyes of their Jewish compatriots.

After considerable debate between Paul and Barnabas on the one side and the Judaizers who claimed the backing of the Jerusalem apostles on the other (Acts 15:1 – 2), and realizing that this same debate was going on in the newly founded churches of S Asia Minor, the Antioch church sent a delegation headed by Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem to clarify matters with the apostles and elders there. The Antioch group came with news of the recent advance in the Christian mission, which they announced in PHOENICIA and SAMARIA on their journey to Jerusalem, reporting that "the Gentiles had been converted" (v. 3)—undoubtedly meaning the conversion of Gentiles on the basis of a direct ministry, for the presence of proselyte and God-fearing Gentile converts in the church was hardly newsworthy in the year 49.

The delegation from Antioch was particularly concerned that the relation between the Jerusalem apostles' policy of expediency and the Judaizers' message based on principle be clarified, for outside Jerusalem there was great confusion because of the Judaizers' habit of equating the two and thus claiming that they were backed by the whole of the Jerusalem church. The Jerusalem believers, for their part, were concerned that the implications involved in a direct approach to Gentiles receive a thorough airing, and that Paul and Barnabas be directly confronted with the impasse created for Christians in Jerusalem by their recently inaugurated policy. The issues, while closely related, seem

to have boiled down to two: (1) the legitimacy of a direct ministry to Gentiles; and (2) the relation of a policy based on expediency to one founded on principle in the continued observance of the Mosaic law. The broader questions regarding the validity of a mission to Gentiles generally and the necessity for Jewish Christians to retain their relation to Jewish customs and institutions as a way of life seem to have been assumed as basically settled earlier, though, of course, there were undoubtedly some who felt that these issues had been thrown open to reevaluation. For the leaders at the council, however, matters now concerned the explication of these commitments in the light of recent developments.

***B. The course of the debate.*** In the debate that ensued within the council, contributions to the discussion are recorded on the part of four groups or individuals. Some Christian Pharisees, evidently in defense of the Judaizers, set the problem by arguing, "The Gentiles must be circumcised and required to obey the law of Moses" (Acts 15:5). From the context of Luke's account, it seems that what they considered necessary was something that would be both practically expedient and theologically required, since, for them, these two issues were inextricably intertwined.

In reply, Peter cited the conversion of Cornelius as indicating God's attitude toward the reception of Gentiles and as being a valid precedent to the Pauline policy (Acts 15:6 – 11). His argument, therefore, was to the effect that since the precedent for a direct ministry to Gentiles had been set within the Jewish Christian mission—though, of course, the Jerusalem church had never followed it out—Paul's practice in principle was not a revolutionary departure. Barnabas and Paul then told of their witness to Gentiles on that first missionary journey, dealing especially with how God gave his seal of approval through miracles and signs (v. 12). Undoubtedly they also drew the parallel between the cases of Cornelius and Sergius Paulus. It is interesting to note that here the Acts account lists Barnabas first in naming the two apostles, since it was Barnabas who probably took the lead in explaining their activities in this situation, where his word carried more weight with many than did that of Paul.

In summation, James concluded (Acts 15:13 – 19) that on the theological issue of Gentile believers being related to the Mosaic law, "we should not make it difficult for the Gentiles who are turning to God," since the precedent had indeed been set within their own mission, and the prophecy of Amos 9:11 – 12 speaks expressly of Gentile inclusion. On the practical matter of the effect of the Pauline mission on the Christian witness in Jerusalem, and with some fear that Gentile converts might flaunt their liberty in disregard for the scruples of Jewish believers, he suggested that Gentile Christians be asked to keep themselves from (1) whatever is associated with idolatry; (2) immorality in all its forms; (3) the eating of animals killed by strangulation; and (4) the eating of blood (Acts 15:20 – 29). And with James's advice the church concurred, sending out JUDAS Barsabbas and SILAS to explain the intent of the decision and the decree to believers at Antioch.

***C. The nature of the decision.*** This was the type of decision consistent with the character and commitments of James and the Jerusalem apostles as portrayed elsewhere in Acts and Galatians. They could hardly have officially commended the Pauline policies. To do so would have meant for them the same fate as that suffered by the Hellenists. But neither could they be found resisting the general teaching of Scripture or the evident acceptance of the Gentiles by God expressed in miraculous and providential fashion. On the other hand, they could not overlook the practical demands involved in a ministry to Israel. Therefore, while they could not clasp the Gentile mission to their bosom or condone certain excesses that were rumored among the Jews to be prevalent in the

Gentile world, they did disassociate themselves from the disruptive preaching of the Judaizers. And that was of immense importance to Paul and the furtherance of the Gentile mission.

When one considers the situation of the Jerusalem church in A.D. 49, the decision reached by the Jerusalem Christians must be considered one of the boldest and most magnanimous in the annals of church history. While still attempting to minister exclusively to the nation, they refused to impede the progress of that other branch of the Christian mission whose every success meant further oppression for them. All they asked was that in view of Jewish fears and sensibilities, the Gentile converts be instructed to abstain from certain practices that had been traditionally classified as the heinous vices of heathenism (cf. the so called Noachian commands of *b. Sanh.* 56b, evidently based upon Exod. 34:15 – 16 and Lev. 16:1—18:30, and the listings of heinous ethical sins in *m. )Abot* 5:11, *b. Yoma* 9b, and *b. Sanh*. 74a). To such a decree Paul seems to have been happy to concede, since it stemmed from practical considerations of Jewish-Christian relationships and was not proposed as a basis of righteousness.

The effect of the decision made at Jerusalem was far-reaching. In the first place, it freed the gospel from any necessary entanglement with Judaism and the institutions of Israel, though without renouncing the legitimacy of a continued Christian expression and mission within those confines. Thus, the Gentile and Jewish missions of the church were able to progress side by side in the decade to follow without any essential conflict. Second, reactions to Paul within the Jerusalem church were clarified. It is possible that some of the Jewish believers were even more fixed in their enmity than before. But others of the Christian community at Jerusalem came to have more positive attitudes toward him, as seems to have been the case with John Mark (see discussion below). And some felt themselves happier in a Gentile ministry than at Jerusalem because of the deliberations of the council, as was evidently true of Silas (Acts 15:27, 32, 34, 40). Third, the decision made at the council had the effect of permanently antagonizing the Jews. From this time forward, the Christian mission within the nation—and especially to Jews in and around Jerusalem—would face very rough sledding indeed. Paul said in Rom. 11:28 to a predominantly Gentile audience that the Jewish people, so far as concerns the gospel, "are enemies [of God] on your account."

**V. Second missionary journey.** A further geographical advance in the proclamation of the gospel occurred on the second missionary journey of Paul, for, although expecting at its inception to carry on the Gentile mission within the confines of Asia Minor, the apostle was directed into MACEDONIA and ACHAIA, regions of SE Europe. The account is given in Acts 15:36—18:22, with the journey spanning approximately the years 49 to 52.

***A. Two missionary teams.*** After the disruption caused by the Judaizers had been settled at Antioch, Paul desired to revisit the churches that had been founded on the first missionary journey. With this proposal Barnabas agreed. However, concerned for his cousin's spiritual development, he desired to take John Mark with them again. The request of Barnabas suggests that Mark's thinking regarding Paul and the Gentile mission had undergone a change of direction since his earlier defection, else he would never have wanted to involve himself in that which he had earlier renounced. The Jerusalem Council probably played a large part in his reevaluation of the issues, and now, wiser heads and hearts prevailing, he accepted the legitimacy of Paul's approach.

But Paul did not care to have the young man along. Perhaps it was a report Mark gave, when he returned to the congregation at Jerusalem, that had originally stirred up Judaizing activity against the mission. If so, Barnabas might have viewed Mark's presence on the team and his testimony to a

change of mind as strategic in revisiting Christians who had known Mark. For Paul, however, the wound was too deep and the scars yet too tender to permit close association with one who had possibly, even

Paul's second missionary journey.

though unwittingly, been a contributing factor in the original conflict. And while Mark may have experienced a real change of heart and mind, renouncing all Judaizing tendencies and professing to be solidly in support of the apostolic proclamation, Paul seems to have taken the position that the issues were too great and the welfare of the churches too important for them to risk his vacillations or to be reminded of earlier dissent within the party itself by his presence. With such a view, Barnabas found himself in complete disagreement, and in their "sharp contention," the two apostles found it best to part and carry on separate ministries. Thus, Barnabas went with Mark back to Cyprus, where the mission had originated and where Mark would be most effective, and Paul selected Silas as his new colleague, returning to the fields in Asia Minor (Acts 15:36 – 41).

Contention among Christians is never pleasant or praiseworthy; and although the argument of Paul and Barnabas is described, there is no word condoning it or suggesting it as normative. Luke has simply portrayed his hero and the events of the time, "warts and all." Without attempting to minimize the seriousness of the matter, it must be noted, however, that the disagreement seems to have centered on the issues at stake, and did not, to judge by Paul's later remarks about the other persons involved, degenerate to the level of personal slander. On his third missionary journey Paul alluded to Barnabas in a letter to the Corinthians, classing him with himself as an apostle of highest rank (1 Cor. 9:6). Later to Christians in the Lycus Valley of S Asia Minor, who may have held some animosity toward

Mark because of what they had heard regarding his early defection, Paul urged that John Mark be received should he come to them (Col. 4:10); and in his final letter prior to martyrdom, the apostle instructed Timothy to bring Mark with him "because he is helpful to me in my ministry" (2 Tim. 4:11).

Evidently even earnest and godly believers of the highest order can differ, requiring a separation of ways; and while such a separation is never commended, neither does Scripture place a stigma upon either party when they separate apart from personal invective and attitudes of vindictiveness. In this case, of course, God used the difference to send out two missionary teams instead of one. And although Barnabas's ministry is not further detailed by Luke, one cannot take such an omission as a hint of disapproval. To judge by the later references of Paul to these two men, Barnabas and Mark evidently did excellent work in Cyprus. But Paul was Luke's hero, and with the Pauline ministry came the distinctive advances in the Gentile mission.

The choice of Silas as Paul's colleague was opportune, for he possessed a number of qualifications eminently suited to the Gentile mission as it went forward in the 50s of the 1st cent. In the first place, of course, he was a leading Jerusalemite Christian able to represent sentiment as it existed in the church at Jerusalem (Acts 15:22,27). He was also a prophet able to speak effectively to Gentiles (v. 32); and from Paul's continued reference to him by his Roman name Silvanus (1 Thess. 1:1; 2 Thess. 1:1), one may deduce that he was prepared to meet Gentiles on their own ground. In addition, he was a Roman citizen able to claim immunity from local persecution when necessary (Acts 16:37). As such, he fitted into and nicely complemented the mission of Paul. This easy association of Silas first with the Jerusalem apostles, then with Paul on the second and third missionary journeys, and finally with Peter again (1 Pet. 5:12), is both an indication and an expression of the basic unity which existed between the two sections of early Christianity and their respective leaders.

***B. The ministry in Asia Minor.*** Leaving Syrian Antioch, Paul and Silas first visited the churches of Syria and Cilicia (Acts 15:41). Believers in these areas probably had been converted through the witness emanating from the church at Antioch, though some may have been won to the Lord by Paul during his earlier Tarsian ministry. Then traveling through the mountain passes forming the Cilician Gates, they came to Derbe and Lystra, and from there went on to the other churches of S Asia Minor founded on the first missionaryjourney (16:1, 4). In all of the churches they announced the decision reached at the Jerusalem Council and gave instruction regarding the decrees formulated to relieve tensions between Jewish and Gentile believers, thereby strengthening the churches in the Christian faith. They also continued the proclamation of the gospel, and many more were converted to Jesus Christ (vv. 4 – 5).

At Lystra, Paul found the young man Timothy, a convert of the first journey, and asked that he join Silas and himself in their travels and ministry. Timothy's grandmother, Lois, and his mother, Eunice, were devout Jews who had become fervent Christians (Acts 16:1; 2 Tim. 1:5; 3:15). His father, however, was a Gentile who seems to have had no commitment to either Israel's God or the person of Christ. Since Timothy was a converted half-Jew, raised by his devout Jewish mother and grandmother and therefore would undoubtedly be considered a Jewish Christian, Paul had him circumcised so as not to offend the Jews unduly (Acts 16:3). While arguing strongly against the circumcision of Gentile converts, Paul never disputed the right—even the practical necessity in view of circumstances—for Jewish Christians to continue the practice of circumcision.

Many commentators have viewed Acts 16:6 as indicating that after revisiting the churches of S

Asia Minor, Paul and Silas went directly to the northern part of the province of Galatia and there established the churches to which the letter to the Galatians was later addressed. This theory grew up in the early patristic period at a time when the political boundaries of Galatia had been altered to conform to the ethnological grouping of Gauls living principally in the N. Thus they excluded the southern territory in which Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe were located, so that it did not occur to the fathers that the Galatian letter could have been written to churches in the S. The wording of Acts 16:6 in the Greek (wherein one article precedes two nouns of the same case connected by the conjunction "and") suggests, however, that the verse should read, "And when they had gone through the region of Phrygic-Galatia," which would then specify a S Galatian ministry and give no support to a "North Galatian" thesis.

At the inception of the second journey, Paul seems to have intended extending the Gentile mission into the rich Roman province of ASIA, in SW Asia Minor. Having therefore strengthened the churches founded during his previous missionary endeavor, he sought to continue westward. But in some manner, perhaps through the prophetic Silas, he was "forbidden by the Holy Spirit to speak the word in Asia" (Acts 16:6b NRSV). He then decided to make for the large Roman cities on the coast of the Black Sea in the province of BITHYNIA, but again "the Spirit of Jesus would not allow them" (v. 7).

Not knowing precisely where they should minister, though aware that God had called them to move forward in the evangelization of the Gentiles, the missionary party turned toward TROAS, located on the coast of the AEGEAN SEA. And at Troas, in a vision during the night, Paul saw a man of Macedonia who urged him to "come over to Macedonia and help us" (Acts 16:8 – 9). Accepting this as direction from God, the apostles set their sights on the possibilities for evangelism in the cities beyond the Aegean to the W (v. 10). It is at this point in the narrative that the third person pronoun in the narrative changes to the first person ("we"), which has usually been taken to indicate that here Luke joined the missionary party—and which may also imply that Luke was employed by God in some manner in the "Macedonian vision" itself.

***C. The advance into Europe.*** The mission to Macedonia began at PHILIPPI, the leading city of the province and a Roman colony (Acts 16:11 – 12). The city seems to have been devoid of any sizable Jewish population, for Paul had to seek out the devout worshipers of God on the Sabbath day and found only women gathered by a river. Jewish law prescribes that wherever ten men who are heads of households reside, there a meeting place (synagogue) for the study of the law should be built; otherwise the study of the law in public session and corporate worship should take place in some clear area, a riverside being eminently appropriate. Here God opened the heart of LYDIA, a seller of dyes and dyed cloth, to the gospel; and after her baptism and the baptism of those in her household, she invited the missionary party to make her home their headquarters in the city (vv. 13 – 15). From this small beginning sprang the church at Philippi, whose members seem to have given Paul the most satisfaction and the least anxiety of all the churches in his care.

The ministry at Philippi was interrupted, however, at the cure of a clairvoyant slave girl, whose owners charged the apostles with interfering in what was for them a very profitable business. On the pretext that these traveling Jewish vagabonds were preaching an illegal religion that would ultimately undermine the peace and authority of Rome, the girl's owners were able to stir up the populace and local authorities against Paul and Silas. In the melee that followed, they were beaten and thrown into a dungeon under lock and key. At midnight, however, while "Paul and Silas were praying and singing hymns to God" (Acts 16:25), an earthquake occurred which shook open the doors of the prison and

loosened the prisoners' shackles. Through such a manifestation of divine intervention, the jailer of the prison was converted and responded in kindness by washing the apostles' wounds. In the morning the local authorities ordered the police to release the apostles. But Paul and Silas demanded their rights to a public release as befitting Roman citizens; and after exhorting the infant church, left the city as requested by the officials (vv. 16 – 40). Luke may well have remained behind at Philippi, for the personal pronoun in the narrative returns to the third person after this episode with the slave girl and its aftermath.

Coming to THESSALONICA via AMPHIPOLIS and APOLLONIA, Paul and Silas were able to preach for three weeks in the synagogue with considerable success before the Jews incited a riot against them and their host, JASON (Acts 17:1 – 9). Their preaching focused on the death and resurrection of the Messiah according to prophecy and the identification of Jesus of Nazareth as the promised Messiah (v. 3; cf. 1 Cor. 15:3 – 5). However, the charges laid against them were those of disturbing the peace and treason against the state (vv. 6 – 7). Realizing the danger of the situation before the crisis reached its peak, the new converts of the city sent the missionary party away by night to BEREA (v. 10). Paul accepted their intervention and aid. But from his first letter to these Thessalonian believers a few months later, we gather that he left with real fears for their personal safety and their steadfastness in the faith (1 Thess. 2:17—3:5).

At Berea, the Jews of the synagogue, being "of more noble character than the Thessalonians" (Acts 17:11), were more concerned about the validity of Paul's claim that the gospel was the fulfillment of the ancient Scriptures than about any dispute concerning his methods or the assertions of others as to the illegality of the Christian faith. Thus they gave him audience while they examined the biblical prophecies in the light of his proclamation. And, as a result, many Jews and Gentiles were converted to Christ (v. 12). But the Jews of Thessalonica came to Berea and stirred up the mobs against him, with the result that Paul was again forced to flee. The opposition seems to have been only partially successful, however, since the Berean Jews themselves took little active part in the persecution, and Silas and Timothy were able to remain to carry on the ministry in the city (vv. 13 – 15).

Paul's arrival at ATHENS in the province of ACHAIA appears to have been intended primarily as a refuge from persecution in Macedonia. But as he awaited the coming of Silas and Timothy from the N, he was stirred by the rampant IDOLATRY of the city, and soon found himself compelled to present the claims of Christ in the synagogue to Jews and God-fearing Gentiles and in the marketplace to whosoever would listen (Acts 17:16 – 17). As with Jeremiah, God's Word was in Paul's heart like a burning fire shut up in his bones, and he could not hold it in (Jer. 20:9).

Soon, however, certain adherents to the EPICUREAN and STOIC philosophies led him off, probably half in jest and half in derision, to the AREOPAGUS (Acts 17:18 – 21); that is, to the Hill or Court of the god Ares, the Greek god of war (corresponding to the Roman god Mars). The Council of the Areopagus in Roman times was an important tribunal in Athens, including among its many responsibilities the supervision of education in the city and the controlling of the many itinerant lecturers passing through. It was before this council that Paul was asked to speak, though the occasion was more an inquisition than an impartial inquiry. To those who gathered there, Paul spoke of the futility of idolatry, the revelation of God in nature, the universality of judgment, the progressive unfolding of God's redemptive program, and the climax of that redemption in God's raising Jesus from the dead (vv. 22 – 31).

Many have attributed this address to the ingenuity of Luke, asserting that all of the speeches of Acts—and this one especially—are modeled after the writings of Thucydides; that is, they are free

compositions by the author of Acts himself of what he thought would have been suitable to the speaker and to the occasion. But from one who professed himself willing to be "all things to all men" for the sake of the gospel (1 Cor. 9:20 – 22), there is nothing incongruous in such an address. On the contrary, it seems that Luke has here recorded but another instance of where Paul began on common ground with his hearers and attempted to lead them on to the person of Jesus Christ. However, in this instance the Pauline polemic is expressed in a different setting than previously presented.

Favorable responses to Paul's preaching at Athens were few. Most of the members of the Areopagus Council either mocked or remained noncommittal—though DIONYSIUS, one of their number, believed. Also DAMARIS, who was a prominent woman of the city, and some others were converted (Acts 17:32 – 34). But no church seems to have been established at Athens. Many have suggested that Paul was plunged into despondency over the meager results, and that as he later reevaluated his attempt to speak philosophically to an educated audience, he forswore this strategy in favor of a simple pronouncement of the gospel (1 Cor. 1:20—2:5).

Now it is certainly probable that the apostle felt some discouragement over the fact that so few at Athens had come to Christ as a result of his ministry. But it must not be forgotten that some did respond! And it must be remembered that at this time Paul was preoccupied—indeed, almost sick with anxiety—over the state of the Thessalonian believers whom he had been forced to abandon to the threat of imminent persecution (1 Thess. 2:17—3:5). As was true of his later inability to minister effectively at Troas because of his great concern for the church at Corinth (2 Cor. 2:12 – 13), or his earlier failure to evangelize Perga because of difficulties within the missionary party itself (see above, first missionary journey), Paul's anxiety regarding his Thessalonian converts must be viewed as to some extent preventing him from grasping fully the opportunities at hand. He was, after all, quite human; and as human, he too found his emotions to have an effect upon his spiritual effectiveness. In addition, it is likely that he was physically ill during much of this period, for he tells the Thessalonians that at Athens he repeatedly desired to visit them, "but Satan stopped us" (1 Thess. 2:18). This remark sounds very much like an allusion to an attack of his recurring sickness (cf. 2 Cor. 12:7 – 10).

Leaving Athens, Paul arrived alone at CORINTH "in weakness and fear, and with much trembling" (1 Cor. 2:3). Here he stayed with PRISCILLA AND AQUILA, a Jewish couple recently banished from Rome by an edict of Claudius in A.D. 49, which according to Suetonius *(Claudius* 25) ordered the expulsion of all Jews from the capital because of disruptions within the Jewish community over a certain "Chrestus" (Christ?). Probably it is safe to assume that Aquila and his wife were Christians before coming to Corinth, since there is no record of their conversion through the preaching of Paul. And from them the apostle would have been able to learn much about the church at Rome of which they were members. As they were tentmakers by profession, he joined them in their trade during the course of the week while preaching in the synagogue every sabbath (Acts 18:1 – 4).

Shortly thereafter Silas and Timothy arrived in Corinth from Macedonia, bringing with them (1) a report on conditions in the church at Thessalonica (1 Thess. 3:6); and (2) a monetary contribution from the church at Philippi (2 Cor. 11:9; Phil. 4:14 – 15). The news from Thessalonica was better than Paul dared to expect, and it greatly comforted and encouraged him (1 Thess. 3:7 – 10). Silas and Timothy, however, also told about a campaign of slander against Paul originating from outside the church (2:3 – 6) and of some perplexity within concerning the return of Christ (4:13—5:11). The money from Philippi enabled him to devote his full time to the preaching of the gospel, for, as Acts 18:5 reads literally, now "Paul held himself to the word."

It was in response to the report from Thessalonica that Paul wrote 1 Thessalonians, in which are

interwoven (1) commendation for growth, zeal, and fidelity; (2) encouragement in the face of local persecution; (3) defense of his motives against hostile


Mars' Hill in Athens.

attack; (4) teaching regarding holiness of life; (5) instruction as to the coming of the Lord; and (6) exhortation to steadfastness and patience. Some weeks later, on learning of continued confusion at Thessalonica regarding the return of Christ and the believer's relation to that blessed hope, he wrote 2 Thessalonians. In this second letter, while acknowledging that the church lives in eager expectation of the Lord's SECOND COMING, Paul insists that imminency must not be construed to mean immediacy, but rather it is the basis for steadfastness and dogged persistence. The two letters to the Thessalonian Christians were written about A.D. 50 – 51. See THESSALONIANS, FIRST EPISTLE TO THE; THESSALONIANS, SECOND EPISTLE TO THE.

The ministry of Paul at Corinth followed the typical pattern of an original proclamation in the synagogue, and then a direct witness to Gentiles. This time, after expulsion by the Jews, he made his headquarters in the home of Titius JUSTUS, whose house stood next to the synagogue (Acts 18:5 – 7). One of the first converts at Corinth was CRISPUS, who was then the ruler of the synagogue. He was followed by many others of the city who believed and were baptized (v. 8), though Paul baptized very few of them himself (1 Cor. 1:14 – 16).

When GALLIO was appointed the PROCONSUL of the province of Achaia, the Jews made a concentrated attack against Paul on the charge that, as they said, he was "persuading the people to worship God in ways contrary to the law" (Acts 18:13). What they meant, evidently, was that Paul's gospel was against the law of Rome, which permitted only one religion per recognized unit of people, and that the gospel was against the law of Moses, as they understood it. Gallio, however, saw the issue as only an intramural squabble of Judaism and refused to take any official action on it (vv. 14 – 17). Paul was therefore given a free hand in Corinth to continue his preaching, and he remained in the city for over eighteen months (vv. 11, 18). A Latin inscription found at Delphi puts it beyond doubt that Gallio was proconsul of Achaia in the year 52, and that probably he began his two-year term of office in July of 51, which corresponds roughly with the portrayal of Paul's ministry at Corinth as

given in Acts.

Leaving Corinth for the trip to Syria, the missionary party was accompanied by Priscilla and Aquila as far as EPHESUS. At Ephesus Paul had some opportunity to speak in the synagogue, but felt it necessary to postpone any further evangelization in the city until a later time (Acts 19:18 – 21). At CENCHREA, just prior to his trip to Ephesus, he had taken upon himself some kind of vow (v. 18); and although we are told nothing further as to its nature, it seems to have been hurrying him on toward Jerusalem. Finally landing at Caesarea after a long sea voyage, he went to Jerusalem to greet the Christians there and then returned N to Antioch of Syria (v. 22).

**VI. Third missionary journey.** The third missionary journey of Paul was principally given to an extended ministry at Ephesus, the city the apostle apparently hoped to reach at the inception of his second journey and which showed much promise for the preaching of the gospel in his short visit not more than a year before. Acts 18:23—21:16 gives the account in very abbreviated fashion, though a few additional details may be supplied from his letters. In all, the third missionary journey lasted approximately from 53 through 58.

***A. Extended ministry at Ephesus.*** After revisiting the churches in "the region of Galatia and Phrygia, strengthening all the disciples" (Acts 18:23), the missionary party came to Ephesus. The city had two important assets upon which it relied for its life and vitality. The first was its position as a center of

Painting of the apostle Paul discovered in a 3rd or 4th cent. monastic cave in Ephesus.

trade, for Ephesus was an important seaport on the Aegean Sea, linking overseas ports with the cities of the Roman province of Asia. But because of the gradual silting up of its harbor caused by the flow of the Little Maeander River into it, the city's significance as a center of commerce was beginning to wane in the days of Paul. Efforts had repeatedly been made to improve the harbor, and in A.D. 65 a large-scale attempt was undertaken, but the efforts either failed or provided only temporary relief.

The second factor of importance at Ephesus was the worship of ARTEMIS (Diana), the multiple-breasted goddess of fertility whose temple was one of the seven wonders of the world. The relation

of Artemis of Ephesus to the Greek goddess Artemis is exceedingly vague, for although in their distinctive characteristics they were quite different, in the popular mind they were probably often equated. With the decline in commerce, however, the prosperity of the city became more heavily dependent upon the tourists and pilgrims drawn by the temple and cult of Artemis. At the time of Paul's arrival, the people of Ephesus, while surrounded by signs of past opulence and still able to enjoy the fruits of that wealth, were becoming conscious of the precariousness of their position as a commercial and political center of Asia and were turning more toward the temple in support of their economy.

On reaching Ephesus, Paul met twelve men who had been baptized with "John's baptism" but who gave no evidence of being truly Christian. When they heard the gospel of Jesus Christ, they were baptized "into the name of the Lord Jesus" (Acts 19:1 – 7). The account is somewhat difficult to interpret, primarily because it is so brief. Prior to their meeting with Paul, however, these twelve were probably sectarians who in some sense thought of JOHN THE BAPTIST as the apex of God's revelation in this period of redemptive history—perhaps even as the Messiah himself. The polemic

Paul's third missionary journey.

of Jn. 1:19 – 34 and 3:22 – 36—directed apparently against anyone thinking of the Baptist as superior to Jesus—together with the emphasis upon "one Lord, one faith, one baptism" in Eph. 4:5, suggests that a John the Baptist sect existed within Jewish Christian circles in Asia in the 1st cent. (assuming, of course, the Ephesian connections of the fourth gospel and the letter to the Ephesians). And as in any such group—especially before issues have become solidified—some undoubtedly venerated John the Baptist yet looked forward to greater fulfillment, whereas others were prepared to go no further than

the Baptist in their devotion, even to the point of elevating him higher than Jesus in their esteem.

APOLLOS seems to have been of the first variety, for, although from a John the Baptist group, he had been taught "accurately" and needed only that Aquila and Priscilla teach him "more accurately" (Acts 18:24 – 28 NRSV). It would seem, then, that Apollos was never considered a sectarian, "though he knew only the baptism of John," since that baptism was considered by him as a prolegomenon to the reception of God's Messiah; and when instructed regarding further events and implications, he readily accepted. Of interest in his case is the fact that there is no mention of his baptism in the name of Christ. It is, of course, precarious to argue from silence; though perhaps, as seems to have been the case with the disciples of Jesus themselves, John's baptism was accepted as Christian baptism when received as a prolegomenon to Christ. The twelve whom Paul met, however, while maintaining some relation to

Road at Ephesus leading toward the harbor. Pillars indicate the traditional site of the school of Tyrannus.

Jewish Christianity generally, were evidently those who considered the Baptist as the focus of their devotion and as such were sectarians. Despite their claims, Paul preached Jesus to them as he would to any Jew. And upon their conversion, he baptized them in the name of the Lord Jesus.

The ministry in Ephesus lasted about three years (Acts 20:31) and is recorded in very brief fashion in Acts 19. For three months Paul spoke openly in the synagogue, "arguing persuasively about the kingdom of God" (v. 8). He was speaking to those who had earlier given him a favorable reception (18:19 – 20), and the time of his ministry there was one of the longest ever afforded him in any of the synagogues of Judaism. When opposition arose within the synagogue, however, he moved to the lecture hall of TYRANNUS, where he continued his preaching for another two years (19:9 – 10). During this period, "the word of the Lord spread widely and grew in power," accompanied by many miracles, exorcisms, and renunciations of magical works (vv. 11 – 20). And from Ephesus, probably by converts of Paul, the gospel was carried out to the residents of the province of Asia so that all were made aware of Paul's message and other churches were founded (Acts 19:10; cf. Col. 1:7; 2:1; and the letters of IGNATIUS half a century later). Then after sending Timothy and Erastus as his envoys to Macedonia and Achaia, Paul stayed for a while longer at Ephesus (Acts 19:21 – 22).

At the close of Paul's ministry in the city, a riot broke out against him and his preaching. The gospel had turned many away from the idolatry of the Artemis cult, with the result that the economy of the city as a pilgrim center was being affected. DEMETRIUS and his fellow silversmiths had had a profitable business in making statuettes of the goddess for the tourist trade, but when Paul's message began to touch their pocketbooks, they attempted to instigate a revival on behalf of Artemis and to turn the people against the Christian missioners (Acts 19:23 – 28). They dragged GAIUS and ARISTARCHUS, two companions of Paul, into the large theater, and for two hours led the crowd in frenzied cheering and shouting for Artemis of Ephesus (vv. 29 – 34). The Jewish community tried to disassociate itself from the Christians, and sent one of its number, ALEXANDER, onto the podium for this purpose. But to the idolatrous mob, Jews were as insufferable as Christians on the point in question, for both proclaimed an invisible deity and rejected all idols; and Alexander was shouted down (vv. 33 – 34).

Paul wanted to enter the theater to plead before the assembly himself, but the crowd was in such an angry mood that the Christians and some of the local authorities prevented him (Acts 19:30 – 31). Finally the town clerk was able to disperse the people with the argument that the prestige of the city, in which they all were interested, could hardly be enhanced in the eyes of Rome by a riot, and that therefore any complaint raised by Demetrius and his craftsmen should be brought before the legally constituted authorities (vv. 35 – 41). His work being done, and conscious that his presence would only arouse further antagonism, Paul and his party left for Macedonia (20:1).

Undoubtedly, Luke has omitted a great deal regarding the persecutions that arose at the end of Paul's ministry in Ephesus. Although there is no evidence that the apostle was ever imprisoned during this time by the sentence of some kangaroo court, as some have postulated, his later allusions to events in Asia indicate that the difficulties were intense and traumatic. Certainly the statement of 1 Cor. 15:32 regarding having "fought wild beasts in Ephesus," which is likely a metaphor for extreme oppression (note the accompanying "I die every day" of v. 31), suggests something of the grievous nature of this experience. And his references in Rom. 16:3 – 4 to Aquila and Priscilla having risked their necks for his life and in 2 Cor. 1:8 – 11 to his having been so crushed that he despaired of life probably allude to events during the Ephesian ministry.

***B. Continued contact with churches.*** During the third missionary journey, Paul had prolonged and complex dealings with the Christians of Corinth. While at Ephesus he wrote a letter to them on the subject of separation from the ungodly (1 Cor. 5:9 – 10), which letter is now no longer extant or is partially preserved (as often suggested) in 2 Cor. 6:14—7:1. In reply he received a letter from certain members of the church (1 Cor. 7:1) seeking his advice on matters concerning marriage and its problems at Corinth, food that previously had been dedicated to idols, the decorum of women in worship, the observance of the Lord's Supper, spiritual gifts, and possibly the significance and nature of the resurrection.

At about the same time Paul had some visitors from Corinth, whom he identifies as "some from Chloe's household" (1 Cor. 1:11), who told of deep and bitter divisions within the church; and from rumors widely circulating (5:1) he knew that there existed blatant immorality and also litigations between members in the public law courts. To deal with all this, the apostle wrote in strong pastoral tones a second letter which we know as 1 Corinthians. See CORINTHIANS, FIRST EPISTLE TO THE. The problems at Corinth then seem to have taken the course of opposition to Paul's authority and criticism of his doctrine, and he was forced to make a "painful visit" to the city in an attempt to settle matters within the church (2 Cor. 2:1; 12:14; 13:1). This visit of which he speaks in 2 Corinthians is quite obscure, not being mentioned by Luke in Acts; and it may or may not have been conducted on his

behalf by Timothy and Erastus (Acts 19:22) or Titus (2 Cor. 12:17 – 18; see also 2:13; 7:6, 13 – 14; 8:6, 16, 23). Nevertheless, the fact that it is spoken of as a "painful visit" and that Paul must continue to rebuke, suggests that it was not thoroughly successful. His opponents, it seems, even taunted him with being humble when face to face with them, but bold when away (2 Cor. 10:1). They said, "His letters are weighty and forceful, but in person he is unimpressive and his speaking amounts to nothing" (10:10).

Laechean Road leading into Corinth from the city's harbor.

Leaving Ephesus, Paul moved N to Troas. But being agitated about conditions at Corinth, and not finding Titus, from whom he hoped to learn about the state of affairs at Corinth, he moved on to Macedonia without any further witness in Troas (2 Cor. 2:12 – 13). In Macedonia (prob. at Philippi) he received Titus's report and sent, as his earnest response to the triumphs and continuing difficulties at Corinth, the letter known as 2 Corinthians. Many have proposed that chs. 10 – 13, the "Severe Letter," preceded the writing of chs. 1 – 9, the "Conciliatory Letter" (with or without 6:14—7:1). Although this is possible, there is little that requires such a view. See CORINTHIANS, SECOND EPISTLE TO THE.

One activity that especially concerned Paul on his third missionary journey was the gathering of a collection of money for the relief of the impoverished believers of Jerusalem, and regarding this, he instructed his Gentile churches in Galatia, Asia, Macedonia, and Achaia (Rom. 15:25 – 32; 1 Cor. 16:1 – 4; 2 Cor. 8 – 9). See CONTRIBUTION. It was a great act of kindness, comparable to that undertaken by the Antioch church much earlier. But more than this, Paul seems to have viewed it as a symbol of unity that would help his Gentile converts realize their debt to the mother church at Jerusalem and give Jewish Christians an appreciation of the vitality of the faith existent in the Gentile churches. It was during this third missionary journey that ILLYRICUM to the W was evangelized as well (Rom. 15:19), though whether Paul himself (making an excursion into the area) or converts from Macedonia were the evangelists is uncertain.

After spending some time in the Macedonian churches, Paul went to Corinth, where he stayed three months (Acts 20:2 – 3). One could wish to know more about this three-month visit and Paul's relation with the church, especially in light of his earlier correspondence, but the account of Acts is silent. While at Corinth, and before his final trip to Jerusalem, the apostle wrote his letter to the Christians of Rome (Rom. 15:17 – 33). The Greek world in the eastern part of the empire had been evangelized (vv. 19, 23)—the flame had been kindled and the fire was spreading—and Paul desired

to transfer his ministry to the Latin world, going as far W as SPAIN (v . 24). Evidently he expected the Roman church to serve as his base of operations, much as the church at Antioch in Syria had served previously. He had hoped earlier to go directly to Rome from Achaia, but his presence was essential at Jerusalem if the Gentile contribution were to carry the full meaning he wanted it to have (vv. 22 – 32). Therefore, in place of a personal visit, as preparation for his future coming to them, and to declare the righteousness of God, Paul sent this formal letter to Christians in Rome whom he had never met. See ROMANS, EPISTLE TO THE.

The letter itself is the longest and most systematic of Paul's writings, and more a comprehensive exposition of the gospel than a letter as such. Some have suggested, in fact, that the body of the work may have been composed by the apostle earlier in his ministry and circulated among his Gentile churches as something of a missionary tractate giving a résumé of his message, and when directed to Rome had been supplemented by the personal elements of the last two chapters. Such a view would go far toward explaining the uncertainties within the early church regarding the relation of those chapters to the rest of the writing, the absence of "in Rome" at Rom. 1:7 and 1:15 in some minor MSS, and the presence of the two doxologies at 15:33 and 16:27.

A plot to kill Paul on the Jewish pilgrim ship sailing for Jerusalem was uncovered at Corinth, and he redirected his journey back through Macedonia by land (Acts 20:3). He was accompanied by the representatives from the churches: Sopater of Berea, Aristarchus and Secundus of Thessalonica, Gaius of Derbe, Trophimus from the Asian churches (v. 4). All of the main centers in the Gentile mission were represented, except Philippi and Corinth. It is probable, however, that Luke served as the representative of Philippi, and Paul himself might have been delegated by the Corinthian congregation as their representative—though this omission may be taken as evidence of continued strained relations and difficulties at Corinth.

At Philippi, Paul celebrated the Passover while his Gentile associates went ahead to Troas (Acts 20:5 – 6). Later at Troas he held a midnight EUCHARIST and preached until morning, much to the physical discomfort of the young man EUTYCHUS, who fell in his sleep from a third-floor window ledge (vv. 6 – 12). Paul's desire was to be in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost (v. 16), and thus he wanted to sail as fast as possible around Asia Minor without any delay in revisiting his churches on the way. At MILETUS, however, he called the Ephesian elders to him, giving them one final sermon of exhortation (vv. 17 – 38). From there Paul sailed to Cyprus, Tyre, and Ptolemais, touching at various smaller ports on the way, and then journeyed by land to Caesarea.

**VII. Imprisonments and martyrdom**. The importance of the period of the Pauline imprisonments in Palestine and Rome is signaled by the fact that Luke devotes one-fourth of his account of the early church to it, Acts 21 through 28. This does not mean, of course, that the defenses, imprisonments, and martyrdom of Paul are more important than any other event in the history of the early church. Luke's proportions in writing are dependent upon his purposes; and while various kerygmatic, catechetical, and even conciliatory motifs are intertwined in his work, he also has an apologetic purpose that lays heavy emphasis upon the Pauline trials and defenses. But Luke's proportions do suggest that this period in the apostle's life and ministry must be considered more than simply the finale to a successful career, and thus that it has significance of itself. The period covers a wide expanse of time. It begins with the apostle's arrest in Jerusalem about the year 58 and includes a two-year confinement at Caesarea (c. 58 – 60), a trip of some months by sea to Rome (c. late 60 to spring of 61), and a two-year imprisonment at Rome from (c. 61 – 63). On the assumption that after the events related at the end of Acts the apostle was released, we must allow for a period of subsequent ministry from about

63 through possibly 66, with a second Roman incarceration and final martyrdom under NERO in 67.

***A. Circumstances in Palestine.*** On reaching Tyre in Syria, and again on coming to Caesarea in Palestine, Paul was strongly urged by the Christians of those cities not to go to Jerusalem, for they had been told by the Holy Spirit that imprisonment and afflictions awaited him there (Acts 21:4, 11 – 12). At first glance it might appear that the apostle was being ordered by the Spirit not to proceed any further in his plans and that his determination to go on was in disobedience to that direction. The preposition "through" of v. 4, however, may just as properly be understood to signify that the Spirit's message about what would befall the apostle was *the occasion* for their urging as that the Spirit himself was *the agent*. Also, as with Agabus's earlier prophecy, where the fact of the famine was revealed and the church took action in response (11:27 – 30), the Caesarean believers' urging is probably to be understood as based upon the revelation of disastrous events ahead and not necessarily as the revelation itself. Paul's determination to go to Jerusalem was the fruit of an inward spiritual constraint that could not be set aside (19:21; 20:22). He was well aware that his reception at Jerusalem could be less than cordial. It was natural that on learning something of the difficulties ahead, his friends should try to dissuade him. Yet when he could not be persuaded, and evidently after some explanation on his part, their reply was, "The Lord's will be done" (21:14).

At Caesarea Paul stayed "a number of days" (Acts 21:10). The timing of his stopovers prior to his arrival at Caesarea had been largely dependent upon the shipping schedules, and thus he remained at Tyre, for example, for seven days while the boat was being unloaded (vv. 3 – 4). But at Caesarea he seems to have been able to arrange his own schedule. For a man in a hurry to get to Jerusalem, such a delay appears somewhat strange and raises the question as to why there was a break in the journey here. Of course he might have wanted to rest after the strenuous trip from Corinth to Philippi by land, Philippi to Ptolemais by sea, and then Ptolemais to Caesarea by land again. And certainly he would have found a congenial welcome among the Caesarean believers. More to the point, however, was his desire to be in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost (20:16)—not just to arrive in Jerusalem as early as possible, but to arrive at what he believed to be the strategic moment. Thus his stay at Caesarea was probably in large measure a waiting for the proper moment for entrance into Jerusalem. And when that came, he was escorted by some of the Caesarean believers into the Holy City and given lodging in the home of MNASON, one of the early believers whose native country was Cyprus (v. 16).

The day following their arrival in Jerusalem, Paul and the representatives from the Gentile churches met with James and the Jerusalem elders. At this meeting they rehearsed all that God had done in the Gentile mission and undoubtedly presented the contribution they had brought (Acts 21:17 – 19). They were received cordially enough, though James and the elders were concerned about the reactions of many Jewish Christian believers in Jerusalem to Paul's presence, since they had heard that he taught Jews in the Diaspora to forsake the law. Evidently religious fervor and ritual had become considerably more rigid within the Jerusalem church since Paul's "famine visit," possibly, as some have suggested, because of the conversion of many former ESSENES who had been accustomed to blending an inward piety with a very strict observance of the law.

Although James and the Jerusalem apostles never went on record as favoring such a development, they seem to have been hard-pressed to control it. Thus they suggested to Paul that in an endeavor to alleviate the fears engendered by the malicious rumors about him, he publicly show his respect for Jewish customs and piety by joining in the temple rites of NAZIRITE purification about to be performed by four Jewish Christians and by paying the expenses for the five of them. He agreed to

do this, for, while insisting that Gentile believers were free from the Jewish customs and cultus, he found no fault with Jewish Christians who chose to express their faith in this manner (Acts 21:20 – 26). As a matter of fact, he himself continued to live the scrupulous life of a Pharisee during his missionary travels even while arguing for the freedom of Gentiles (cf. 23:6; 26:5).

The strategy, however, proved hardly successful—probably nothing could have really conciliated those whose minds were already deeply prejudiced against the apostle. Seeing Paul in the temple, fanatical Jews from the province of Asia instigated a riot under the pretense that he had brought TROPHIMUS, the Gentile representative from Ephesus, into the court of Israel. In the tumult, Paul might have been killed had it not been for the intervention of the Roman tribune or commander CLAUDIUS LYSIAS and his soldiers from the garrison quartered at the Tower of ANTONIA, located to the N, adjacent to the temple precincts. The howling mob, disappointed in its efforts to do be rid of the apostle, crowded about and shouted, "Away with him!" (Acts 21:27 – 36).

As he was about to be dragged into the Roman fortress, Paul requested permission of the tribune to address the crowd. Recognizing him to be able and earnest, the tribune permitted it (Acts 21:37 – 40). Raising his hands for silence, Paul spoke to the people from the castle steps in ARAMAIC, and they listened intently to his account of his life in Judaism and his conversion to Christianity. But when he mentioned his commission to minister to the Gentiles, the tumult broke out afresh (22:1 – 22). Thereupon the tribune hurried the apostle into the garrison and gave orders that he should be examined under the lash in order to get from him the truth concerning the reason for the outcry. By appealing to his Roman CITIZENSHIP, however, Paul was spared scourging and was released from his chains (22:23 – 29).

The next day, in an endeavor to learn what Judaism had against the man, the tribune brought Paul to trial before the Jewish SANHEDRIN. But that body could come to no decision, thanks to a stratagem on Paul's part to divide his enemies, and the apostle was returned to the Antonian castle (Acts 22:30 —23:10). Then more than forty men vowed to kill Paul by ambush, and arranged with the Jewish leaders to ask for his return to the Sanhedrin for further questioning. But Paul's nephew heard of the plot and managed to warn both him and the Roman tribune (23:12 – 22). Believing the lad's story to be plausible, Claudius Lysias sent Paul by night under heavy escort to Caesarea, where in the custody of FELIX, the Roman PROCURATOR, he would be safe from the local insurrectionists and could be examined further (23:23 – 25). At Caesarea, Paul had two formal hearings before Felix and was called in a number of times for private conversations. But Felix, unwilling to antagonize the Jews by acquitting him, though also not prepared to commit an injustice by condemning him, procrastinated in disposing of the case. Thus Paul was confined to prison in Caesarea for two full years, though with freedom of movement within his place of confinement. He was also allowed to receive visitors (24:1 – 27).

There are many things one would like to know about this two-year imprisonment. For instance, how was the apostle supported during this time? Felix thought that he was a man of some wealth and backing (Acts 24:26), but on what basis did he suppose this? How cordial were Paul's relations with the Jerusalem Christians and their leaders after his imprisonment? How cordial were his contacts with the Caesarean believers, or with other groups of Christians in the vicinity? What happened to Silas? Presumably he was not imprisoned with Paul; he appears only once again in the NT, and that in connection with Peter (1 Pet. 5:12). What were Timothy and Luke doing during this period? What happened to the rest of those who represented the Gentile churches in Jerusalem? A host of other questions arise, all of which lend themselves to various speculations. But these interests are evidently not those of Luke in writing his history, or of Paul in his letters, and nothing is said on these points.

Some have suggested that several of Paul's extant letters were written while he was in prison at Caesarea, but internal evidence points rather to their composition during his subsequent Roman imprisonment.

When Felix was replaced by Porcius FESTUS, the Jews appealed to the new Roman procurator to have Paul returned to Jerusalem for trial under Jewish jurisdiction. But Festus told them to send their representatives to Caesarea, and to substantiate their charges (Acts 25:1 – 8). Nevertheless, wishing to conciliate the Jews, Festus asked Paul if he was willing to go to Jerusalem to be tried. Paul had waited through two years of Felix's procrastinations, and now saw that justice under Festus would be just as remote. Therefore, as a Roman citizen, he appealed for judgment to be given by the emperor's court in Rome (vv. 9 – 11). Never before had Paul made such an APPEAL; nor would he have thought to do so, for release from the possibility of Jewish jurisdiction was really to place himself outside of all Jewish privileges as well—which included free access to the synagogue. But his situation in Palestine was going from bad to worse, caught as he was between Jewish hatred and Roman vacillation, and to argue his case in person in CAESAR'S court would provide him with an opportunity of proclaiming the gospel before the most exalted audience in the world. Thus, as Festus declared: "You have appealed to Caesar. To Caesar you will go!" (v. 12).

Before arrangements were completed to send him, however, HEROD Agrippa II and his sister BERNICE visited Festus at Caesarea to welcome him to his new post. Agrippa was the titular king of the Jews, and Festus turned to him in an endeavor to determine what charges he should lay against Paul in sending him to Caesar (Acts 25:13 – 27). Thus Paul was given opportunity to speak before Agrippa, and in so doing delivered one of his most famous addresses (26:1 – 23). Festus, lately come from Rome, was sure that Paul was mad in speaking of visions and the resurrection of Jesus. Agrippa, though in a better position to evaluate Paul's evidence, could only rather superciliously ask whether the apostle was trying to convert him (vv. 24 – 29). Both agreed, however, that justice would have

Paul's journey to Rome.

demanded Paul's release. But in appealing to Caesar the apostle had set his own course (vv. 30 – 32).

***B. Rome at last.*** The voyage to Rome is narrated in the first person plural, suggesting that Luke traveled with Paul on the trip. Probably Timothy embarked as well, and there may have been others also attending the apostle (Acts 27:1). Leaving Caesarea probably in the early autumn of A.D. 60, the ship encountered a fierce storm and became wrecked on the island of MALTA (27:9—28:10; see SHIPS IV). Setting out again the next spring in another vessel, Paul and his captors finally landed at PUTEOLI in the bay of Naples (28:11 – 13). There they stayed with the local Christians for seven days; and then went on by land to ROME, where a delegation of Roman Christians met Paul as he approached the city along the APPIAN WAY (28:14 – 15).

Paul was in Rome at last, fulfilling his great ambition to visit the capital of the empire. But now he had come not as a traveling evangelist, but as Caesar's prisoner awaiting trial. Guarded by a soldier, to whom he was manacled by a chain, he was kept in custody under house arrest. Yet he was free to receive visitors, and during the period of his confinement at Rome he carried on an extensive and effective ministry through emissaries (Acts 28:17 – 31).

Shortly after reaching Rome, Paul came into contact with three individuals who had come from the provinces of Asia and Macedonia, and who became the occasion for most of his extant letters from prison. One whom he met was EPAPHRAS, who either visited Paul in prison or was actually imprisoned with him (Phlm. 23). Epaphras seems to have been the one who founded the church at COLOSSE (Col. 1:7; 4:12 – 13), probably having been himself a convert of Paul during the Ephesian ministry. In meeting Paul at Rome, Epaphras told of conditions in the church at Colosse: of faith and love among the Christians (Col. 1:4, 8), but also of a heresy threatening to pervert the gospel. And regarding this problem Paul wrote his letter to the COLOSSIANS, sending it by TYCHICUS in the company of ONESIMUS (A.D. 61, or perhaps early 62).

From Paul's response to the problem, it seems probable that the heresy at Colosse was built upon some type of syncretistic and dualistic religious philosophy. This system apparently taught that since the world of matter is defiled and intrinsically opposed to God, man must seek true knowledge and union with deity in some higher sphere of the nonmaterial. Specifically, this means that the INCARNATION of our Lord and his work on the cross are either to be rejected or to be viewed as an inferior first step toward full reconciliation with God.

In his answer, Paul does not minimize the humanity and the sacrifice of Christ, though these were the points at which offense was taken. Rather he glories in the incarnation and the cross, for by them God has effected the human REDEMPTION (Col. 1:20 – 22). The teaching of dualistic GNOSTICISM states that the more deeply God penetrates the universe of the material, the less revelatory become his actions and the more one must seek higher for redemptive knowledge. Contrary to this, Paul proclaimed the cosmic Christ in whom all the fullness of the Godhead dwells and in whom the believer finds complete redemption and RECONCILIATION (1:15 – 22; 2:9 – 10).

Another person Paul met at Rome was Onesimus, a slave under bondage to PHILEMON at Colosse. He had robbed his master and fled to Rome, undoubtedly hoping to become anonymous in the great city. Perhaps through Epaphras, Onesimus had come into contact with Paul. At any rate, Onesimus was brought to Christ by Paul and proved very helpful to the apostle while he was in prison. Having persuaded Onesimus to return to his master, Paul wrote the letter to Philemon urging him to receive his servant back as "a dear brother…in the Lord" (Phlm. 16). An exquisite sense of humor seen in the play on the name Onesimus (which means "profitable, useful," v. 11) relieves the intensity of the letter and strengthens its appeal.

Interestingly, the apostle's approach to the crucial social problem of SLAVERY in his day was to work from a "Christ consciousness" in the individual to a "Christian consciousness" in society. In so

doing he planted the seeds for the ultimate abolition of the system of slavery. From the references to Tychicus and Onesimus in Col. 4:7 – 9, and the comparable greetings in both epistles (Col. 4:10 – 17; Phlm. 1, 2, 23, 24), it can be deduced that both the letter to the Colossians and the one to Philemon were written and sent at the same time. Carried by the same Tychicus (Eph. 6:21), and probably composed in the same period, was the letter to the EPHESIANS, which probably was originally intended as something of a circular letter to the churches of Asia Minor.

The third of the three members from his churches in the E whom Paul met in Rome was EPAPHRODITUS. Having aided the apostle financially at least twice before (Phil. 4:15 – 16), and hearing of his arrest and imprisonment, the Philippian church sent Epaphroditus with a gift. Perhaps he was also to serve Paul personally during his confinement, and may even have been sent in time to be among those who welcomed the apostle to Rome. But Epaphroditus became seriously ill while he was with Paul, and news of his condition eventually reached Philippi. In the letter to the PHILIPPIANS, Paul wrote to thank the Christians there for their financial aid (4:10 – 19). Also he wrote to commend Epaphroditus, their messenger to him, against any possible criticism that he had not completed his task (2:25 – 30). He took the occasion to explain regarding his present circumstances, to exhort to steadfastness, unity, and humility, and to warn against the Judaizers. Since he alludes to an approaching determination of his case (1:20 – 26) and expresses his hope to visit Philippi shortly (2:24), the letter may be taken to have been written from Rome toward the end of his first imprisonment (c. 63).

For two full years Paul was confined at Rome (Acts 28:30), which was the period of time prescribed by Roman law as the limit a prisoner might be held after appeal to the emperor's court should there be no prosecution of the case. At this point Luke's narrative in Acts comes to an end, with the implication to be drawn that either the defendant was tried, found guilty, and summarily executed, or that the Jewish plaintiffs allowed the case to go by default and he was released. Although he was unable to be certain about the outcome, the apostle expected the latter (Phil. 2:24; Phlm. 22); and there is little reason to believe otherwise. Two full years of imprisonment in Rome may seem to have been an unnecessary waste of time. But the apostle, in writing to the Philippians shortly before his release, declared: "Now I want you to know, brothers, that what has happened to me has really served to advance the gospel. As a result, it has become clear throughout the whole palace guard and to everyone else that I am in chains for Christ. Because of my chains, most of the brothers in the


Church of St. Paul in Rome, with a statue of the apostle in front.

Lord have been encouraged to speak the word of God more courageously and fearlessly" (Phil. 1:12 – 14).

***C. Subsequent ministry and death.*** What happened to Paul at the end of the two-year imprisonment in Rome is not told. Luke may have intended to write a sequel to his accounts of the life and work of Jesus and the advance of the gospel in the E, which would have told of the advance of the gospel into the western portion of the empire. But whatever his hopes may have been, there is obviously no such record extant. The closest approach to such an account is in the letter of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, written about A.D. 96 (see CLEMENT, FIRST EPISTLE OF), wherein the following epitaph appears: "By reason of jealousy and strife, Paul by his example pointed out the prize of patient endurance. After that he had been seven times in bonds, had been driven into exile, had been stoned, had preached in the East and in the West, he won the noble renown which was the reward of his faith, having taught righteousness unto the whole world and having reached the farthest bounds of the West; and when he had borne his testimony before the rulers, so he departed from the world and went unto the holy place, having been found a notable pattern of patient endurance" *(1 Clem.* 3.13 – 15).

Since the PASTORAL EPISTLES allude to experiences of Paul that cannot be fitted into the narrative of Acts and mention a number of individuals not appearing in the accounts of the missionary journeys, it often has been postulated that after his release from prison the apostle continued his evangelistic work in the eastern portion of the empire (at least in lands surrounding the Aegean Sea) and perhaps even fulfilled his long cherished desire to visit Spain. And since 2 Timothy speaks of him as in prison, it is further suggested that he was rearrested about the year 67 and, according to tradition, beheaded at Rome by order of Nero. Assuming such hypotheses to be at least approximately true,

Paul wrote the letters of 1 Timothy and Titus during the period of release, between 63 and 66, and that of 2 Timothy just prior to his death in 67. (An alternative approach is to date his martyrdom in the first part of the Neronian persecution, possibly as early as the year 64.)

In his first letter to Timothy he seeks to encourage his young colleague in his pastoral responsibilities at Ephesus. He exhorts Timothy to deal decisively with certain false teachers and gives instruction regarding the qualifications for leaders and the treatment of various members in the church. In his letter to Titus, the minister of the church at Crete, he again admonishes concerning pastoral duties and deals with (1) qualifications for leaders in the church; (2) the need to oppose false doctrine; (3) treatment of various classes of members in the fellowship; and (4) proper attitudes for believers in a pagan society. Second Timothy is chronologically later than the other Pastoral Epistles, and breathes a different atmosphere. Whereas in 1 Timothy and Titus the apostle is free to make plans and move about at will, in 2 Timothy he is a prisoner and the end is rapidly approaching. Apparently writing from Rome while awaiting execution, Paul is anxious for Timothy to come to him before winter. But more than this, he is concerned that Timothy be exemplary in his life and faithful to the ministry to which he has been called.

This final letter of the great apostle is rich and varied. Interwoven are touching appeals, ringing charges, and the note of triumph in the face of imminent death. In fact, 2 Timothy is Paul's last will and testament, which, after many years of service for Christ, he closes on a note of quiet confidence and praise to God: "For I am already being poured out like a drink offering, and the time has come for my departure. I have fought the good fight, I have finished the race, I have kept the faith. Now there is in store for me the crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, will award to me on that day—and not only to me, but also to all who have longed for his appearing…To him be the glory for ever and ever. Amen" (2 Tim. 4:6 – 8, 18). See also PAULINE THEOLOGY.

(Among many influential surveys of Paul's life, most of which include theological discussion, note the following: F. C. Baur, *Paul: His Life and Works*, 2 vols. [1845]; W. J. Conybeare and J. S. Howson, *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, 2 vols. [1853]; F. J. Goodwin, *A Harmony of the Life of St. Paul* [1895]; W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen* [1896]; id., *The Cities of St. Paul* [1907]; A. T. Robertson, *Epochs in the Life of Paul* [1909]; D. Smith, *The Life and Letters of St. Paul* [1920]; J. G. Machen, *The Origin of Paul's Religion* [1921]; T. R. Glover, *Paul of Tarsus* [1925]; A. Deissmann, *Paul: A Study in Social and Religious History* [1926]; A. S. Peake, *Paul and the Jewish Christians* [1929]; F. J. Foakes-Jackson, *The Life of Saint Paul* [1933]; A. D. Nock, *St. Paul* [1938]; E. J. Goodspeed, *Paul* [1947]; M. Dibelius and W. G. Kümmel, *Paul* [1953]; W. von Loewenich, *Paul: His Life and Work* [1960]; W. L. Knox, *St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles* [1961]; R. N. Longenecker, *Paul: Apostle of Liberty* [1964]; G. Ogg, *The Chronology of the Life of Paul* [1968]; G. Bornkamm, *Paul* [1971]; F. F. Bruce, *Paul: Apostle of the Heart Set Free* [1977]; R. Jewett, *A Chronology of Paul's Life* [1979]; J. Knox, *Chapters in the Life of Paul,* rev. ed. [1987]; G. Lüdemann, *Paul, Apostle to the Gentiles: Studies in Chronology* [1987]; S. Légasse, *Paul apôtre: essai de biographie critique* [1991]; J. Becker, *Paul: Apostle to the Gentiles* [1993]; E. Lohse, *Paulus: Eine Biographie* [1996]; J. Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul: A Critical Life* [1996]; J. D. G. Dunn, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Paul* [2003]; J. McRay, *Paul: His Life and Teaching* [2003]; C. J. Roetzel, *Paul: A Jew in the Margin* [2003]; J. P. Sampley, ed., *Paul in the Greco-Roman World: A Handbook* [2003]; B. Chilton, *Rabbi Paul: An Intellectual Biography* [2004]; U. Schnelle, *Apostle Paul: His Life and Theology* [2005]; H. Koester, *Paul and His World* [2007]. Historical studies that have a narrower focus include: G. S. Duncan, *St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry* [1929]; W. C. van Unnik, *Tarsus or Jerusalem: The City of Paul's Youth* [1962]; M.

Hengel and R. Deines, *The Pre-Christian Paul* [1991]; M. Hengel and A. M. Schwemer, *Paul between Damascus and Antioch: The Unknown Years* [1997]; R. Riesner, *Paul's Early Period: Chronology, Mission Strategy, Theology* [1998]; R. A. Horsley, ed., *Paul and the Roman Imperial Order* [2004]; R. Schäfer, *Paulus bis zum Apostelkonzil: Ein Beitrag zur Einleitung in den Galaterbrief, zur Geschichte der Jesusbewegung und zur Pauluschronologie* [2004]; G. Tatum, *New Chapters in the Life of Paul: The Relative Chronology of His Career* [2006]. See further the bibliography under PAULINE THEOLOGY.)

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**Paul, Acts of.** According to TERTULLIAN (*On Baptism* 17), the *Acts of Paul* was written by a presbyter in Asia, who on conviction was removed from office, although he said he had done it "out of love for Paul." The work, known also to Hippolytus and ORIGEN, may therefore be dated to the 2nd cent. EUSEBIUS (*Eccl. Hist.* 3.25) includes it with *Shepherd of Hermas, Epistle of Barnabas, and Apocalypse of Peter* among the "spurious" books, although he distinguishes it from the heretical. It is included in the catalogue in the CODEX CLAROMONTANUS, so that at this stage it was still on the fringe of the NT canon. JEROME, however, rejected it, and subsequently its reception by the MANICHEANS brought it completely into disrepute.

**I. Character.** The work is not in itself heretical, for the emphasis that it lays on sexual continence was widespread in the early church. In fact, it "presents very clear positions against Gnostic speculation, rejection of the OT, denial of the resurrection and relaxation of moral standards" (W. Schneemelcher in *NTAp* [1963 – 65], 2:350). The reasons for its rejection lie rather in the offense caused by certain features, such as the prominence of Thecla (Tertullian disapproved of the participation of women in teaching and the administration of the sacraments, and in this work Thecla baptizes herself), the episode of the baptized lion, and the forged third epistle to the Corinthians (see CORINTHIANS, THIRD EPISTLE TO THE).

Comparison with the canonical Acts would not reflect favorably on this apocryphal book, and comparison with Paul's letters only shows how far 2nd-cent. Christianity had declined from the standard set by the apostle. Its acceptance by the Manicheans, along with the other major apocryphal Acts, was all that was necessary to insure its final condemnation. Its significance is that it shows how ordinary Christians of the period reacted to the challenge of a speculative GNOSTICISM. "Many sides of the primitive Christian and in particular the Pauline preaching are no longer effective, but with this much diminished armament the churches of the second century weathered the struggle with Gnosticism" (ibid., 351).

**II. Extant remains.** The book has survived only in fragments, but recent years have brought a marked advance in knowledge. The *Acts of Paul and Thecla,* the *Martyrdom of Paul,* and the apocryphal correspondence with Corinth all enjoyed a separate existence in several languages (the first Greek witness for the correspondence was recently published from the 3rd-cent. Papyrus BODMER X). The discovery of the Coptic Heidelberg Papyrus in 1894 proved that all three belonged originally to *the Acts of Paul*. A Greek papyrus from Hamburg can now be supplemented by various other fragments. The *Stichometry of Nice-phorus,* however, assigns 3,600 lines to the book, as compared with 2,800 for the canonical Acts, so that a considerable portion is still missing.

From this material, and building on the work of his predecessors, Schneemelcher has pieced together the outline of a narrative describing Paul's journeys, his sojourn in various cities, and the

events that took place there. He emphasizes, however, that despite all the discoveries, our knowledge of the book is still imperfect. "We can reconstruct certain sections, and also link together several stages of the journey, but for all that considerable gaps remain" (ibid., 347; cf. also the rev. ed. of *NTAp* [1991 – 92], 231). One notable feature is that in contrast to the canonical Acts the author was apparently concerned to describe only one journey. Paul has no fixed base to which he returns between journeys (e.g., Antioch in Acts), but is continually on the move. At each stop the pattern is the same: Paul conducts a mission, arouses opposition, is expelled, and moves on. The itinerary bears no relation to the journeys in Acts, except that (a) some of the places visited are the same, and (b) like Acts, it brings Paul eventually to Rome.

**III. Contents.** The story begins after Paul's conversion outside DAMASCUS, where he is told to go first to Damascus, then to Jerusalem. It was apparently on the latter journey that the baptism of the lion took place. The next episode has Paul in Antioch (whether ANTIOCH OF SYRIA or ANTIOCH OF PISIDIA is not clear), where he apparently raises up a boy but also arouses the hostility of the Jews. The Heidelberg Papyrus continues with the *Acts of Paul and Thecla,* in which Thecla rather than the apostle occupies the center of the stage. While Paul is speaking in ICONIUM in the house of Onesiphorus, Thecla sits listening at her window nearby, oblivious to everything else. Her interest in Paul arouses the jealousy of Thamyris, her fiancé, who denounces Paul. The apostle is then scourged and expelled from the city. Thecla is condemned to the fire but rescued by a sudden cloudburst that quenched the flames. In Antioch, Thecla is condemned to fight with the beasts, but again is miraculously delivered. At this point in the narrative she baptizes herself. In this section the author seems to have drawn upon local legends connected with the cult of Thecla.

The next section is damaged, but the main lines of the story (about events in Myra) are fairly clear. It concerns Hermocrates, his wife Nympha, and their sons Dion and Hermippus. Dion with his parents adheres to Paul; Hermippus is hostile, but eventually he too is won over. The section relating to SIDON is also damaged, but includes the collapse of the temple of Apollo, where Paul was imprisoned. Of the events in TYRE, little has been preserved. Then followed, apparently, a stay in SMYRNA and a journey to EPHESUS, where Paul preaches in the house of PRISCILLA AND AQUILA and tells the story of the baptized lion. This section is preserved in a Coptic papyrus in the Bodmer library, as yet unpublished.

The Hamburg Papyrus begins with Paul's trial before the governor in Ephesus. Paul is condemned to fight with the beasts, but the lion set against him is the one he once baptized. The section relating to PHILIPPI includes the apocryphal correspondence with CORINTH and the story of the resurrection of Frontina, daughter of one Longinus. Then Paul goes to Corinth and embarks for Italy on a ship. The captain of the ship, Artemon, had been baptized by PETER. The narrative of the martyrdom records the adherence to Christianity of "a great number" of the house of Caesar, including Patroclus, the emperor's cupbearer, who falls from a window to his death but is restored to life by Paul. In prison, Paul preaches to the prefect Longus and the centurion Cestus, who later are baptized at his grave by LUKE and TITUS.

**IV. Date and sources.** As already noted, the patristic attestation puts the date into the 2nd cent., but it cannot be early in that century. A feature of the journey to Italy is a doublet of the *Quo vadis* story in the *Acts of Peter.* This version is clearly secondary, so that dependence lies with the *Acts of Paul,* and one must allow time for the composition of the *Acts of Peter* and its use by the author, probably about the last decade of the century.

Other sources probably were primarily local legends attaching to particular saints, as with Thecla, or intended to claim the prestige of apostolic connection for some local church. In MYRA, for example, according to the canonical Acts, Paul only changed ships (Acts 27:5 – 6); here he conducts a mission. Other parts could be no more than elaboration of NT materials. The author's familiarity with the NT is shown by numerous echoes and allusions, particularly of the PASTORAL EPISTLES and the canonical book of Acts, but his work is not simply based on Acts, nor can it be regarded as an attempt to supersede Acts. His intention was rather to give expression to the "image" of Paul current in his time, in the form of an edifying description of the apostle's missionary journey. (For an English trans. and full discussion, see *NTAp,* rev. ed. [1991 – 92], 2:213 – 70.)

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**Paul, Acts of Andrew and.** See ANDREW AND PAUL, ACTS OF.

**Paul, Acts of Peter and.** See PETER AND PAUL, ACTS OF.

**Paul, Apocalypse of.** The title given to two distinct apocryphal works. PAUL wrote of being caught up into PARADISE in the third heaven, and hearing "things that man is not permitted to tell" (2 Cor. 12:1 – 4). Such passages offered a clear opportunity for the writing of apocrypha, in this case to narrate Paul's vision; in due course the opportunity was taken. AUGUSTINE mentions an *Apocalypse of Paul,* and a book of that name is condemned by the *Decretum Gelasianum.* It was probably the first of the two works now known under this title.

(1) The first is a document extant in abridged form in Greek and more completely in other versions, of which the Latin and Coptic are the most important. It purports to have been discovered in Paul's house in TARSUS, in consequence of a vision given to the tenant in the reign of Theodosius. This puts its date at the end of the 4th cent. or the beginning of the 5th. It begins with the complaint of creation against the sins of men, and goes on to describe the reports of the angels, night and morning, about the actions of mankind. Then Paul is caught up to the third heaven and witnesses the judgment of two souls as they depart this life, the one righteous, the other wicked. He is led through paradise, where he meets ENOCH, crosses the Acherusian Lake, and visits the city of Christ, girt about with twelve walls, with twelve towers and twelve gates of great beauty; then through hell, where he sees the tortures of the wicked and obtains for them relief for the day and night of the Lord's Day. A further visit to paradise follows, during which Paul meets and is greeted by Mary; Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the patriarchs; Moses and the major prophets (Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel); other OT figures, ending with Zechariah and John the Baptist; and last of all, Adam. Several of these already had been met on the first visit.

The ending varies with the different versions. The Latin, Greek, and Syriac break off after the meeting with Elijah and Elisha (omitting Zechariah, John, and Adam), although the Syriac transfers the story of the discovery to this point, relating how Paul wrote down his vision and hid it (for which he was to be rebuked by the Lord on his release from this life: "Have I shown you everything that you should put it under the wall of a house?"). The Coptic continues with a fresh visit to the third heaven, with many doublets. M. R. James *(Apocryphal New Testament* [1924], 555) thinks that nothing after the appearance of Adam is original, and indeed raises the question whether the original text did not end with the granting of the Sabbath day of rest. "Everything after ch. 44 is an otiose appendix." H. Duensing, however, notes the possibility that Paul's return to his fellow apostles on the Mount of Olives contains the original conclusion, which would lead one to assume that the rapture also took

place on the Mount *(NTAp* [1963 – 65], 2:795 – 96).

At all events the work is carelessly compiled, and the numerous doublets show the author's use of older material. He knew the *Apocalypse of Peter,* and has also borrowed from the *Apocalypse of Elijah* and the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah.* This again points to a fairly late date. In his description of Paradise he drew upon Rev. 21 and Gen. 2, but also on Greek mythology (Acherusia, Tartarus, the boat journey). The importance of the book lies in the fact that through it these ideas were transmitted to the later church, and influenced medieval descriptions of the world beyond. There is a clear allusion in Dante's *Inferno.* (English trans. in *NTAp,* rev. ed. [1991 – 92], 2:712 – 48.)

(2) The second work bearing the title *Apocalypse of Paul* is one of four Gnostic apocalypses preserved in Coptic in Codex V of the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY (NHC V, 2). It begins with a vision on "the mount of Jericho" (a purely artificial setting), where Paul sees and is greeted by the twelve apostles. Then he is raised to the third heaven and passes immediately into the fourth, where a soul is under examination. Convicted at the mouth of three witnesses (Deut. 19:15), it is cast down into a body. In the seventh heaven Paul meets an old man, who allows him to proceed only on the presentation of a sign. The ascent continues as far as the tenth heaven, but in most cases there is little description.

This document is not connected with the first, although there are links: the old man (in the first document identified as Enoch, but here apparently a "guardian"), and the fact that Paul in the fourth heaven is told to look down on the earth. There are also the judgment scenes, here only briefly sketched, but in the other text more fully elaborated. Any attempt to trace a connection or development must be highly speculative. (English trans. in *NHL,* 256 – 59, and in *NTAp,* rev. ed. [1991 – 92], 2:695 – 700.)

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**Paul, Martyrdom (Passion) of.** A Latin revision of the section on Paul's martyrdom from the *Acts of Paul* (see PAUL, ACTS OF). Stories of the martyrdom sometimes circulated independently, often in revised and elaborated form. Additions include a passage about Seneca's admiration for Paul (see PAUL AND SENECA), and the story of Plautilla: on his way to execution, Paul borrows her kerchief, promising to return it; when later the soldiers mock her, she tells of a vision and produces the blood-stained kerchief. See also PETER AND PAUL, PASSION OF.

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**Paul, Prayer of the Apostle.** A brief Gnostic work included in the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY (NHC I, 1). This 4th-cent. Coptic document is thought to go back to a 2nd-cent. Greek work reflecting the type of GNOSTICISM associated with Valentinus. (English trans. in *NHL,* 27 – 28.)

**Paul and Seneca, Letters of.** A collection of fourteen letters ostensibly exchanged between the apostle PAUL and SENECA, the Roman philosopher and tutor of the emperor NERO. The two men were contemporaries (Seneca died, according to JEROME, "two years before the glorious martyrdom of Peter and Paul"); they *might* have met in Rome (there have been attempts to make Seneca influential in securing Paul's acquittal); and there are points of contact between Christianity and the Stoicism that Seneca professed (see STOICS). The letters, however, are clear fiction, obviously intended to enlist the prestige and authority of the philosopher in support of the Christian faith. He writes in admiration of Paul and his epistles (Galatians and the Corinthian letters are expressly mentioned), observes that the emperor himself had wondered "how a man who had not had the usual education

was capable of such thoughts," and expresses his distress at the continuing persecution of Christians.

Jerome *(De viris illustribus* 3.12) knew twelve of the letters, quoted the twelfth, and was led by them to enroll Seneca among Christian authors; they were also known to AUGUSTINE. The other two were added later: they show differences of style, the dates they offer do not tally, and Jerome could not have failed to use the last had he known it. The collection thus goes back to the 4th cent.; extant MSS date from the ninth. Further testimony is provided by a passage inserted in the *Passion of Paul* attributed to Linus (see PAUL, PASSION OF). (English trans. and introduction in *NTAp,* 2:46 – 53. See also J. H. Sevenster, *Paul and Seneca* [1961], and the edition of the Latin text with detailed commentary by L. Bocciolini Palagi, *Il carteggio apocrifo di Seneca e san Paolo* [1985].)

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**Paul and Thecla, Acts of.** See PAUL, ACTS OF.

**Pauline theology.** The teaching of the apostle PAUL as given in the NT epistles attributed to him. These letters were written to meet certain specific situations in particular churches and are therefore principally pastoral in tone and content. They presuppose the apostle's evangelistic preaching, but give only sporadic glimpses of its nature and data (1 Cor. 15:1 – 11; 1 Thess. 1:5 – 10). They also allude in tantalizing fashion to other letters that presumably have not survived (1 Cor. 5:9; Col. 4:16), to visits not recorded in Acts (Rom. 15:19; 2 Cor. 2:1; 12:14; 13:1; Tit. 1:5), and to other practices or doctrines never clarified (1 Cor. 15:29; 2 Thess. 2:5 – 7). In addition, on such matters as the existence and personality of God, the authority of Scripture, and baptism—matters on which there was no dispute within the churches, nor could Paul envision any—there is little treatment except to indicate certain major implications, for these were tenets he assumed were held in common by all believers, that is, elements in the substructure of the faith upon which he believed he could safely base his appeals.

It cannot be assumed, therefore, that the apostle's correspondence as contained in the NT reveals the whole of his thinking and preaching regarding Christian faith and practice. (One must always remember that all of his epistles combined would make up a very slim book of some one hundred pages.) Nor is one entitled to treat the collection of his letters as a volume on systematic theology, for though he thought theologically, everything the apostle wrote is set in the context of history and polemic. Nonetheless, sufficient material has been preserved under the direction of the Holy Spirit to allow a fairly clear picture of the main outlines of the apostle's thought. The Christian who looks at Paul's message in its historical setting discovers that the doctrines Paul enunciated and the principles governing his specific exhortations are authoritative for faith and practice today; the same Spirit preserved who first inspired—and it is his also to illuminate and apply. See also NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY.

1. Originality and dependence
2. Dominant perspectives
3. The sinner's state and need
4. The law
5. The person and work of Christ
6. In Christ
7. The body of Christ
8. The Christian ethic

9. The consummation of God's plan

**I. Originality and dependence.** Paul emphatically asserts that "the gospel that was proclaimed by me" is independent of any human source or agency, having come to him directly "through a revelation of Jesus Christ" (Gal. 1:11 – 12 NRSV; cf. 1:1; Rom. 16:25 – 26; Eph. 3:2 – 10). His message was so thoroughly his own, in fact, that he refers to it as simply "my gospel" (Rom. 2:16; 16:25; 2 Tim. 2:8) and "our gospel" (2 Cor. 4:3; 1 Thess. 1:5; 2 Thess. 2:14).

Yet he also insists that his preaching is not radically different from that of the other apostles (1 Cor. 15:11; Gal. 2:6 – 10), and refers in his letters to kerygmatic traditions (see PREACHING II) which he assumes were held in common by all Christians (Rom. 6:17; 1 Cor. 11:23; 15:3 – 5; cf. 1 Cor. 11:2; 2 Thess. 2:15; 3:6). Indeed, as there is but one Christ there could be only one gospel. Had it been otherwise, he would have felt he was running his race "in vain" (Gal. 2:2).

Such assertions appear, on the face of it, to be in direct conflict, and have led many to view Pauline theology as either (a) essentially original, being in the main the result of a direct revelation to the apostle; or (b) essentially dependent, stemming for the most part from his Jewish and Christian predecessors—or perhaps as overstatements made in the heat of argument, or possibly even due to later redaction of his letters.

It is a mistake, however, to press such statements beyond their proper limits or to set them in rather wooden opposition one to the other. Paul's gospel given him by revelation was not a gospel differing in kerygmatic content from that of the early church. Rather, it was a message that included a new understanding of the pattern of redemptive history in these final days, involving the legitimacy of a direct approach to Gentiles and the recognition of the equality of Jew and Gentile before God (Rom. 16:25 – 26; Eph. 3:2 – 10; Col. 1:26 – 27). Paul could not claim the usual apostolic qualifications as expressed in Jn. 15:27 and Acts 1:21 – 22. He was dependent upon those who were believers before him for much in the Christian tradition, as his letters frankly indicate. But he had been confronted by the exalted Lord, directly commissioned an apostle by Jesus himself, and given the key to the pattern of redemptive history in the present age. The Jerusalem apostles had the key to many of the prophetic mysteries and were the living canons of the data in the gospel proclamation, but he had been entrusted with a further aspect of that message which by revelation was uniquely his. Together, they combined to enhance the fullness of the gospel.

**II. Dominant perspectives.** The key to Pauline theology is to be found in Paul's thought regarding JESUS CHRIST, and is probably most aptly expressed in the apostle's frequently repeated phrase "in Christ." See UNION WITH CHRIST. Paul's theology is Christocentric and his religion a life lived in communion with and response to his exalted Lord. This fact must be maintained in the face of all ethical interpretations of religion—whether Jewish, STOIC, or so-called Christian—that lay emphasis upon laws and principles as final criteria. It must also be asserted in opposition to modern religious existentialism, which seeks to explain Paul's theology along the lines of anthropology. Paul's doctrine of HUMAN NATURE is only a part of his total thought and subservient to his doctrine of Christ, for in Paul's view, human beings can be truly understood and life can be truly authentic only in relation to Jesus Christ.

Paul's theology is not even a theology in the narrow sense of that term. While accepting all that the OT teaches about God the Father, Paul's proclamation that "God was reconciling the world to himself in Christ" (2 Cor. 5:19) in context indicates that the focus has shifted for Paul from the first to the second person of the TRINITY. Nor can Paul's thought be described principally in terms of

soteriology (see SALVATION), ecclesiology (see CHURCH), or ESCHATOLOGY (many people's favorite central concepts to explain early Christian thought). All of these were subjected by the apostle to his overruling and central theme: salvation is salvation "in Christ," the church exists as the "body of Christ" because believers are first of all "in Christ," and the future holds promise because history has been anchored and reconstituted at a point of time "in Christ."

Likewise, Paul's thought is predominantly historical, functional, and dynamic in nature. It was "when the time had fully come" that "God sent his Son" (Gal. 4:4), suggesting that, while metaphysical elements inevitably appear in his preaching, the apostle understood the coming of Christ and the redemption of God in him first of all in historical terms. And in that God's Son has come "to redeem those under the law, that we might receive the full rights of sons" (4:5) and "God was reconciling the world to himself in Christ" (2 Cor. 5:19), the conclusion is inescapable that the focus of Paul's preaching was on the redemptive significance of Christ's work.

Functional and ontological categories can never be detached or held in isolation from one another, for what Christ did has its basis in who he was and is. Indeed, both are constantly interwoven in the apostle's correspondence. Yet Paul seems to have laid primary emphasis upon the functional aspect and assumed for the most part (at least in his pastoral letters) the ontological. Only where his message was challenged by some alien metaphysical system that would depreciate the person of Jesus Christ, as happened at COLOSSE, did he enter into something of an extended description of Christ's being or essence (Col. 1:15 – 19; 2:9 – 10); though even here his purpose in such a description was to clear the way for the proclamation of Christ's redemptive work (1:20 – 23; 2:11 – 15). As his Christian faith came to birth not through metaphysical speculation nor philosophic induction, but resulting from confrontation by the risen and exalted Christ, so he proclaimed the activity of God in Christ as set in a dynamic and redemptive context. His preaching, however, had an inevitable metaphysical and ontological basis; and as he was providentially led to a fuller explication of his Christian convictions, these factors inevitably appear in the warp and woof of his theology.

**III. The sinner's state and need.** As a backdrop to the display of God's grace in Jesus Christ, Paul speaks of the state and need of human beings. In depicting their created state, the apostle evidences a qualified anthropological dualism in referring to an "inner" and an "external" constitution (Rom. 7:22; 8:10; 1 Cor. 5:5; 6:20; 7:34; 2 Cor. 7:1; Eph. 3:16). The division of the human being into two component parts often is said to reflect his debt to HELLENISM. It also appears, however, in strictly Hebraic contexts (Gen. 2:7; 35:18; 1 Ki. 17:22; *Lev. Rab.* 34:3; *b. Sanh.* 91a-b). But while acknowledging a structural dichotomy, Paul also insists upon the fundamental unity of the human personality wherein the structural elements comprise intrinsic parts.

Paul's comments in 2 Cor. 5:1 – 4 are instructive in this regard, for here, while accepting the fact that human nature consists of inner and external components, the apostle longs for consummation in terms of a perfected union of the two structural aspects—explicitly renouncing any thought of a merely "soulish" redemption and any idea of the separation of material and immaterial as ideal. Paul never thought of the human BODY as the tomb of the soul or as corrupting of itself. True, it has become a captive vehicle for evil because of the entrance of SIN.

Essentially, however, the material and immaterial components of human beings are both created by God to form one complete personality, and thus that material constitution (a) may presently enter into communion with God (1 Cor. 3:16; 6:15, 19 – 20); (b) is a medium through which God can be glorified (Rom. 12:1; 1 Cor. 6:20; Phil. 1:20); and (c) shall in the future experience more fully divine redemption and fellowship (Rom. 8:23; 1 Cor. 15:35 – 50; 2 Cor. 5:1 – 5; Phil. 3:21). In addition,

Paul spoke of human nature in terms of a number of functional aspects, behind each of which lay the whole personality (e.g., 1 Thess. 5:23).

In his synthetic rather than analytic approach to human nature, and in his explicit anthropological formulations, Paul indicates that his basic thought is rooted in the soil of the OT and orthodox Judaism. He differed from his Jewish heritage more in emphasis than in doctrine, stressing as he does the spiritual (pneumatic) nature of men and women more than their created (psychic) nature; but that must be credited to his Christian experience and resultant convictions. None of this, however, highlights his teaching on the most important need of human beings; for while as creatures they are responsible, Paul laid stress on the fact that as sinners they are in rebellion and thus desperately needy.

The OT doctrine of human sinfulness was explicated in the JUDAISM of Paul's day in two ways. The first way stressed the inherited depravity of all people and their resultant personal guilt, and was expressed at least as early as the 2nd cent. B.C. in Sir. 25:24: "From a woman sin had its beginning, and because of her we all die." And it continued through at least the latter part of the 1st cent. A.D. in such words as those of 2 Esd. 7:116 – 126, wherein the consciousness of personal responsibility is coupled with the cry: "O Adam, what have you done? For though it was you who sinned, the fall was not yours alone, but ours also who are your descendants!" (v. 118; cf. Wis. 2:23 – 24; 4 Ezra 3:7 – 8, 20 – 22; *2 Bar.* 48.42 – 43; *2 En. 30:17;* 1QH IV, 29 – 30).

The other strand of Jewish thought laid emphasis upon a doctrine of good and evil "impulses" (*yetzer)* implanted by God in equal measure within every person, thus deemphasizing inheritance and attributing guilt to men and women individually. This teaching can also be found in the centuries immediately prior to Christianity (Sir. 15:14 – 15; 1QS IV), but came to full expression later in *2 Bar.* 54.19: "Adam is therefore not the cause, save only of his own soul; but each of us has been the Adam of his own soul." This also is expressed in the teaching of Rabbi AKIBA in the late 1st and early 2nd centuries A.D. (*b. Sanh.* 81a). Through Akiba, this teaching became standard doctrine for rabbinic and modern Judaism.

Paul clearly relates sin to the transgression of ADAM, insisting that through one man sin and death have infected all mankind with disastrous results (Rom. 5:12 – 21; 1 Cor. 15:21 – 22). He does not, however, merely leave it there, but, like the earlier rabbis, goes on to assert personal responsibility as well. There are therefore two emphases in Paul's teaching: a corporate solidarity with Adam by which all people inherit a radical depravity of nature, and an individual responsibility for the expression of that depravity by which all people become guilty (cf. Rom. 5:16).

Or as he puts it in Rom. 7: (a) each person's history is so irrevocably rooted in Adam that we all are forced to cry in effect, "I am in Adam" (vv. 7 – 13); (b) our experience is so obviously in opposition to God that we must acknowledge, in effect, "Adam is in me" (vv. 14 – 24); which facts together mean that (c) "I of myself" (that is, man as he is now by nature and practice) am in rebellion against God and unable to please him (v. 24). Surely Adam's sin did not take God by surprise, for Paul insists that the divine plan of salvation was conceived by the Creator before the foundation of the world (Eph. 1:4; 3:9), but it is sin that stands as the occasion for the manifestation of God's grace in the person and work of Jesus Christ.

**IV. The law.** Paul's teaching regarding the LAW is complex and has been variously evaluated. In the main, two approaches have been followed in interpreting Paul's view of the law. The first, stemming from ORIGEN and TERTULLIAN, views the apostle as making a distinction between the moral and ceremonial aspects of Mosaic legislation: the moral expresses the eternal will of God for human

beings, which is fixed throughout the course of history and which the apostle considers "holy, just and good"; the ceremonial is a secondary addition to prefigure the person and work of Christ, which symbolism, once finding reality in Jesus of Nazareth, is to be either spiritualized or set aside by the Christian. Often it is claimed, as Origen and Tertullian also asserted, that the absence or presence of the definite article with the word *law* in Paul's writings can

A "seat of Moses" from the 1st cent. In synagogues of Paul's time, the law was apparently read from this type of chair.

aid in determining which usage the apostle had in mind, though not invariably.

The second line of interpretation, founded in the exegesis of the Antiochene School of Theodore, Chrysostom, and Theodoret (though not always consistently), views Paul's understanding of the law in more holistic and historical terms. On this view, (a) the Mosaic law was given not only to express in fuller form the primal will of God but also as a developed system of righteousness that would be adequate if men and women could achieve it; (b) but since they are unable to fulfill the requirements of the law, its underlying purpose of revealing and condemning sin came to the fore; (c) Christ, however, both bore the condemnation and fulfilled the obligations of the law (moral and religious), thus providing both redemption and righteousness for all who are his; (d) therefore, the Christian lives not in relation to the law but in response to his Lord, who has reiterated and heightened the expression of God's eternal principles, borne the curse of the law, fulfilled the law's obligations in their contractual form, and enables his own to live lives pleasing to the Father.

The first interpretation became almost universal in the Western church and experienced a revival in late 19th-century theology. It appears, however, to rest more on polemic purpose than exegetical principle and to reflect a static rather than historical understanding of Pauline thought. The second underlies to a great extent the Protestant Reformation (cf. Luther's *On the Freedom of the Christian),* and must be judged to correspond more closely to the thinking of the apostle.

For Paul, then, the law as expressing God's standard is the inevitable and inviolable expression of a holy and righteous God that has been declared in nature and in the human conscience (Rom. 1:19 – 20; 2:14 – 15). It was given at the beginning of history when man first had need of such knowledge (5:14), and was reiterated, clarified, amplified, and applied to the people's new situation of nationhood in the Mosaic code. As the Mosaic legislation expressed this aspect of the divine will in the form of concrete regulations, it offered guidance for life and provided a standard for judgment when men fell short.

Without denying this aspect of the law, however, Paul also asserts another function for the Mosaic covenant as well: the law as a system of works that placed the people under a contractual obligation. In this latter sense it (a) came 430 years after the promise had been confirmed with ABRAHAM, and therefore cannot annul such a promise (Gal. 3:17); (b) was added in the process of redemptive history due to the hardness and waywardness of sinners, and not as a restatement of God's covenant promise given earlier (vv. 18 – 19a); (c) has its terminus in the coming of God's Messiah (v. 19b); and (d) by its very nature of having been mediated through angelic and human agency reveals itself to be inferior to the unilateral grace of God (3:19c – 20). Negatively, it prepared for faith in Christ and the reception of the promise by revealing sin to be "utterly sinful" (Rom. 7:13; cf. 3:19 – 20). And, on the principle that forbidden fruits are sweetest, it actually stirred up transgressions so that sinners might understand the extent of their own rebellion against God (5:20; cf. 7:5, 7 – 11). Positively, it served as a kind of supervising CUSTODIAN keeping God's chosen people in ward until Christ came (Gal. 3:23 – 25).

As a system of works given through MOSES, the law came with a valid promise of LIFE and RIGHTEOUSNESS (Rom. 7:10), but a promise incapable of reception because of human inability to fulfill its obligations (8:3). It called for complete OBEDIENCE (Gal. 3:10; 5:3), but in so doing placed people under a curse since they are unable to live up to it (3:10). Thus Paul contrasts the experience of Israel prior to Christ as being "under the law" with the righteousness of God "apart from law" now revealed in Jesus Christ (Rom. 3:19 – 21; 1 Cor. 9:20; Gal. 3:23 – 25; 5:18), and insists that "Christ is the end of the law" in its connection with righteousness (Rom. 10:4).

In both its negative and positive features, the law in its contractual form served a vital purpose in the redemptive program of God—and where Christ is yet to be acknowledged, may still function in this manner. The keeping of the law was regarded as "loss" by Paul only in comparison to the "surpassing greatness of knowing Christ Jesus" (Phil. 3:7 – 11; cf. 2 Cor. 3:7 – 18). Historically, the law was given that people might see themselves for what they really are in the sight of God and functioned as a guardian preparing them for faith in Christ. Any return to it for righteousness after the coming of Christ, however, is a return to "weak and miserable principles" (Gal. 4:9; cf. v. 3; Col. 2:20), for human depravity prevents sinners from ever fulfilling its requirements (Rom. 8:3).

(Since the first edition of this encyclopedia, Paul's view of the law has been the subject of intensive debate among NT scholars. The so-called "new perspective on Paul" argues, against the traditional Protestant interpretation, that 1st-cent. Judaism was not characterized by legalism and that the apostle opposed faith not to the law as such but to Jewish nationalism. Others respond that although the usual negative view of Jewish theology needs nuancing, Martin Luther and the other Reformers were basically correct in their understanding of the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith apart from the works of the law. See the titles listed at the end of the bibliography, below.)

**V. The person and work of Christ.** The central motif in the Pauline message is that the divine plan of redemption has its focal point in human history in the person and work of Jesus Christ. "When the time had fully come," the apostle proclaims, "God sent his Son, born of a woman, born under the law, to redeem those under the law, that we might receive the full rights of sons" (Gal. 4:4-5).

The work of Christ in Paul's teaching is presented primarily in relation to the law. In coming "under the law" Christ has taken both the curse and the obligations of the law upon himself, bearing both on behalf of those unable to bear either and thereby reconciling us to the Father. Christ in his death "redeemed us from the curse of the law by becoming a curse for us" (Gal. 3:13); was made sin for us "so that in him we might become the righteousness of God" (2 Cor. 5:21); "canceled the written

code…that was against us…nailing it to the cross" (Col. 2:14); and reconciled us by his "physical body through death to present [us] holy in his sight, without blemish and free from accusation" (1:22).

But the act of Calvary is not the whole story for Paul, important as it is. The apostle does not proclaim a redemption that merely obliterates the curse of the law, presenting the individual to God as neutral. He also insists that Christ has fulfilled the legal demands of the contractual obligation established in the Mosaic covenant, thus presenting before the Father a positive righteousness for all those who are "in him."

The thought of the OBEDIENCE OF CHRIST, although included in that of the sacrifice of Christ (cf. Phil. 2:8), is not exhausted in the consideration of that act. The declared purpose of Jesus included a fulfilling of the law (Matt. 5:17), and Paul picks up that theme in Rom. 5:18 – 19, contrasting the disobedience of Adam with the obedience of Christ; for not only was "one man's trespass" countered by "one man's act," but "one man's disobedience" was rectified by "one man's obedience" (NRSV).

This thought seems to be likewise involved in Paul's repeated emphasis on righteousness as based not upon "the works of the law" but upon "the *faithfulness* of Jesus Christ" (most translations, "faith in Jesus Christ") and given to all who respond to him by faith (Rom. 3:22; Gal. 2:16; 3:22; Eph. 3:12; Phil. 3:9). That which the contractual obligation of the law demanded, Christ has provided. He stood for mankind in offering the perfect righteousness, so that all who stand "in him" stand before the Father not in their own righteousness but robed in his. As James Denney once said: "It is the voice of God, no less than that of the sinner, which says, 'Thou, O Christ, art all I want; more than all in Thee I find.'" And it is because in his sacrifice he redeemed from the curse of the law *and* by his perfect obedience he fulfilled the obligations of the law that Paul can assert: "Christ is the end of the law in its connection with righteousness to all who believe" (Rom. 10:4, author's trans.). The sacrifice and the obedience of Christ are corollaries which in Paul's mind could never truly be separated, both having been validated by his resurrection and living presence.

In his presentation of the person of Christ, Paul has frequently been accused of developing into a divine-man figure one who claimed to be (and was originally accepted as) only a prophet and eminent teacher. In some areas, of course, development by Paul over that of the earliest Christians is undeniable. In the matter of the titles ascribed to Jesus, however, the situation is quite the reverse, for in this area the apostle is much more limited than were his Christian predecessors.

For example, the word *Christos G5986* ("anointed"), though overtones of its earlier usage still reverberate, usually appears in the Pauline letters as a proper name, whereas amongst Jewish believers within the Jewish mission of the church it was employed almost exclusively as a title. Likewise such early Christological titles as "Son of Man," "Eschatological Mosaic Prophet," "Servant of the Lord," "High Priest," "The Name," "God's Salvation," "Angel of God," "The Righteous One," "Shepherd," and "Lamb of God" are conspicuous by their absence in what we know of Paul, or appear in such veiled fashion that their presence may be debated. Even "Son of God" and "Son" are found less frequently in Paul's writings than in such works as the first gospel, the fourth gospel, and the epistle to the Hebrews; the term "Son of God" appears only three times in Paul (Rom. 1:4; 2 Cor. 1:19; Gal. 2:20) and "Son" only twelve times (Rom. 1:3, 9; 5:10; 8:3, 29, 32; 1 Cor. 1:9; 15:28; Gal. 1:16; 4:4, 6; 1 Thess. 1:10). By far the predominant title for Jesus in the Pauline letters is that of LORD, and into it the apostle seems to have compressed most of the nuances of his CHRISTOLOGY.

While the Greek term for "Lord" *(kyrios G3261)* ranged in meaning in the 1st cent. from simple respect ("sir") to reverential worship, it was commonly employed in the Greek OT and the intertestamental writings as a designation for God. And it appears frequently in this manner in the NT

as well. With this precedent undoubtedly in mind, the earliest Christians ascribed the title to Jesus in their preaching (Acts 2:36), prayers (1 Cor. 16:22 – 23), and confessions (Phil. 2:11). Thus it need come as no surprise that Paul proclaimed Jesus as Lord (Rom. 10:9), intending by that to designate Jesus as both divine and the object of faith.

Probably the Lordship of Christ was first conceptualized by Paul, as well as by the earliest believers generally, within the matrix of primarily religious and historical concerns. Under the pressures of alien ideologies and the need to speak meaningfully to the concerns of the day, however, the metaphysical and ontological overtones inherent in such original convictions were providentially spelled out. Thus in the face of the Colossian heresy, the apostle proclaimed Jesus as the "cosmic Christ" whose Lordship extends over everything that can be envisaged in the universe of God's creation (Col. 1:15 – 20). And in view of the rising tide of EMPEROR WORSHIP in the eastern regions of the Roman empire, he explicitly identified Jesus as "God" (Rom. 9:5; 2 Thess. 1:12; Tit. 2:13) and "Savior" (Eph. 5:23; Phil. 3:20; 2 Tim. 1:10; Tit. 1:4; 2:13; 3:6; also Acts 13:23).

**VI. In Christ.** In speaking of the personal appropriation of the work of Christ, the apostle repeatedly employs the expression "in Christ." It is the major soteriological expression of Paul, being the basis for and incorporating within itself the patristic themes of "victory" and "redemption," the Reformation stress on "justification," the Catholic insistence on "the body," the more modern emphases on "reconciliation" and "salvation," and all the Pauline ethical imperatives and appeals.

Of course, the words "in Christ" often can be understood in Paul's writings to be merely another way of saying "Christian," as, for example, in such a greeting as "to all the saints in Christ Jesus" (Phil. 1:1; cf. Eph. 1:1; Col. 1:2) or in references to "the dead in Christ" (1 Thess. 4:16; cf. 1 Cor. 15:18). And there are a host of passages where the ideas of instrumentality and causality ("by" or "through Christ") or source ("from Christ") produce a perfectly intelligible and theologically proper meaning (cf. Rom. 5:10; 14:14; 2 Cor. 3:14; Phil. 4:13). But there are other passages where the local and personal flavor is prominent, as, for example, in Phil. 3:8 – 9, "that I may gain Christ and be found in him," and 2 Cor. 5:17, "if anyone is in Christ, he is a new creation" (cf. Rom. 8:1; 2 Cor. 5:19; Eph. 1:20). Without asserting a unitary exegesis of the phrase in its every occurrence or denying further implications, it must, therefore, be insisted that in the use of this expression and in his soteriology generally Paul thought first of all in local and personal terms.

Just as the Son is in the Father and the Father in the Son (Jn. 10:38; 14:10 – 11, 20; 17:21), and just as we are in Adam and Adam is in us (Rom. 5:12 – 21; 7:7 – 25), without such relationships ever diminishing the concepts of personality and individual responsibility, so Paul, with his all-pervading Christology, speaks of Christ "in us" as our only hope for present fulfillment and future glory (Col. 1:27) and of our being "in Christ" as the only basis for justification and acceptance. He does not speak of a transference of merit, as though righteousness were a commodity that could be stored or exchanged. Nor does he usually talk in terms of "reckoning" or "imputing," except in Rom. 4:3 – 24 and 5:13, where the language is controlled by Ps. 32. Rather, the apostle lays all the emphasis upon a loving response to and personal relationship with Jesus Christ in terms that pass beyond the categories of psychological analysis. Though this may be called a mysticism, it is not the mysticism of absorption, for the "I" and the "Thou" of the relationship retain their identities. It is rather a personal and most intimate communion of believers with their God and of God through Christ with them, and is thus the basis for the Christian's life, hope, and acceptance. See also UNION WITH CHRIST.

**VII. The body of Christ.** Paul's concept of being "in Christ," however personal, also has a corporate

significance, for it means incorporation into a community wherein the members, being intimately related to Jesus Christ, are thereby inextricably related to one another, and are therefore described as the BODY OF CHRIST. The expression "the body" as representing the CHURCH comes to the fore in the Pauline correspondence most explicitly in COLOSSIANS and EPHESIANS, appearing in conjunction with the apostle's antignostic polemic in Colossians (Col. 1:18, 24; 2:19; 3:15) and then in a strictly ecclesiological context in Ephesians (Eph. 1:23; 2:16; 4:4, 12, 16; 5:23, 30). Its quasi-technical use in the Prison Epistles, however, is anticipated in the illustration of the body and its members in Rom. 12:5 and 1 Cor. 12:12 – 27, in the correlation of the eucharistic bread and the Lord's body in 1 Cor. 10:16 – 17, and possibly in the words "not discerning the body" of 1 Cor. 11:29.

A great deal of debate has surrounded Paul's use of the body imagery. Catholic theology insists that it signifies an ontological reality, thus developing the doctrine of the "mystical body" that exists prior to its members and mediates grace. Protestants claim it to be only a metaphor, many heedlessly equating it with some type of "social compact theory" of the church. The close relation between symbol and reality that is a feature of Hebrew thought in general (wherein symbol and reality are closely joined yet never confused) forbids us to make the identity required in any "realistic" or ontological understanding of the phrase. On the other hand, something is basically wrong in speaking of Paul's expression as "only a metaphor." Since hearing the Lord's words on the road to Damascus —"Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?"—the apostle could never look into the face of a Christian without realizing anew the unity that exists between Christ and his church.

In the center of this photograph is the mound of ancient Colosse. In his letter to the Colossians, Paul articulated the significance of the church as the body of Christ.

The church, then, in Paul's teaching, is composed of individuals vitally related to Jesus Christ and thereby inextricably joined to all others acknowledging a like allegiance. As members of the same body, Christians are (a) to take care not to sin against a brother (1 Cor. 8:12); (b) to manifest an attitude of concern for one another, realizing that "If one part suffers, every part suffers with it; if one part is honored, every part rejoices with it" (12:26); and (c) to recognize that each has been given abilities and responsibilities by God for the harmonious and fruitful extension of the gospel of Christ, and to get on with the task in a spirit of mutual dependence and unity (Rom. 12:5 – 8; 1 Cor. 12:27 – 31).

It is because of this corporate relationship of believers in Christ that Paul speaks of his fellow

Christian as a "brother," a word testifying to the closeness of a believer to other believers and exceeded in the figure of the family only by terms descriptive of the marriage relationship itself—terms normally reserved in biblical language for the relation of the Lord and his people. Similarly, while Paul uses the preposition *in* to signify the believer's personal relation to his Lord, he employs the preposition *with* ofttimes to denote his own unity with other Christians and the believer's corporate relationship within the community. Thus he refers to his brothers "in Christ" as fellow workers (Rom. 16:3; Phil. 2:25), partners (Phil. 1:7), fellow servants (Col. 1:7; 4:7), fellow soldiers (Phil. 2:25; Phlm. 2), fellow prisoners (Rom. 16:7; Col. 4:10), and those with whom he both dies and lives (2 Cor. 7:3). All of these expressions have *with* as a prefix in the original Greek.

**VIII. The Christian ethic.** The Christian life in Paul's teaching is (a) based upon the fact of a new creation "in Christ"; (b) directed through the correlation of the "law of Christ" and the "mind of Christ"; (c) motivated and conditioned by the "love of Christ"; (d) enabled by the "Spirit of Christ"; and (e) expressed in a situation of temporal tension between what is already a fact and what has yet to be realized. Although they can be spoken of separately, all these elements must be combined and merged in our consciousness if the apostle's thought is to be rightly understood and the Christian ethic truly exhibited.

As Paul never proclaimed salvation simply by renewal of character, so he never taught the possibility of living the Christian life apart from being "in Christ." It is because the believer is "in Christ," and therefore a "new creation," that life has become transformed (2 Cor. 5:17); and it is because Christ is in the believer that Christians can be exhorted to live in obedience to the Spirit of God (Rom. 8:10 – 14). Apart from this foundation, the superstructure of the Pauline ethic has no rationale or support.

Accepting this union of the believer with Christ as the basic premise, however, Paul goes on to speak of the guidance of the Christian as a matter involving both the "law of Christ" (1 Cor. 9:21; Gal. 6:2) and the "mind of Christ" (1 Cor. 2:16). By the "law of Christ" he seems to mean not only the teaching of Jesus as the embodiment and true interpretation of the will of God (Rom. 12 – 14; 1 Cor. 7:10 – 11; cf. Acts 21:35; 1 Tim. 5:18), but also the person of the historical Jesus as the tangible portrayal and example of the divine standard, as is suggested by his phrase "according to Christ" (Rom. 15:5; Col. 2:8) and by his frequent appeals to the character of Jesus (Rom. 15:3, 7 – 8; 1 Cor. 11:1; Eph. 5:2, 25 – 30; Phil. 2:5 – 11; 1 Thess. 1:6).

This new law of the Messiah abrogates the supervisory prescriptions of the Mosaic covenant for the believer in Christ (Rom. 7:1 – 6; Gal. 3:23 – 26; Eph. 2:15). Nevertheless, at the same time it explicates more fully the divine standard in continuity with that code; and so it is for Paul the external expression of God's eternal principles, setting the bounds for life and indicating the quality and direction that should characterize our behavior. By the "mind of Christ" Paul seems to have reference to the activity of the Spirit enabling the believer to discern the divine will and to form a proper ethical judgment at each given moment (Rom. 12:2; Phil. 1:10; 1 Thess. 5:19 – 22). Without the "mind of Christ," the "law of Christ" remains remote and unattainable. Where the two are in harmony, however, direction is supplied for Christian living.

The "love of Christ" and the "law of Christ" are not so much equated by Paul (as commonly supposed by some who appeal to Rom. 13:10 and Jas. 2:8) as they are balanced, the latter being one aspect in the directing of the Christian's life and the former spoken of as the motivating and conditioning factor in a life receiving guidance from Christ. That LOVE which motivated and conditioned God's action on behalf of mankind has been poured out "into our hearts by the Holy

Spirit" (Rom. 5:5), with the result that now love has come to characterize the Christian ethic in the same manner. And as love provides the matrix and context for the ethical life of the believer, so the Spirit provides the dynamic and strength; for the same God who raised Christ Jesus from the dead also gives life to our "mortal bodies through his Spirit" (Rom. 8:11).

All of this is lived out between the polarities of what has been accomplished by the historical achievement of Jesus and what is yet to be fully realized in the consummation of God's redemptive program. In such a temporal tension the believer lives, conscious both of (a) what he is "in Adam," sobering him to the potentialities of his depraved nature; and (b) what he is "in Christ," awakening him to the prospects of present victories and ultimate conquest. See also ETHICS OF PAUL.

**IX. The consummation of God's plan**. Paul's ESCHATOLOGY, while rooted in the OT and employing the imagery of his day, is basically an extension of his Christology in its distinctive features and focus. God's Son entered the arena of human history "when the time had fully come" (Gal. 4:4), thus inaugurating the messianic age and setting in motion a series of events that will reach its climax in the final days. The resurrection of Jesus from the dead and the presence of his Spirit in the lives of believers are the FIRSTFRUITS that sanctify the whole redemptive process and give assurance of final consummation (Rom. 8:23; 1 Cor. 15:20, 23). The declaration regarding Christ's coming again and the believers' being caught up to meet their Lord is based upon "the Lord's own word" (1 Thess. 4:15), the essence of which Paul seems to quote in 1 Thess. 4:16-17. And the apostle's thought regarding the future centers upon the coming again of Christ, the PAROUSIA, all else being related to that.

It frequently is asserted that Paul's eschatology underwent something of a transformation during the course of his ministry, maturing from a crude apocalypticism (see APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE) laying all the emphasis upon the future parousia, to a more refined existential understanding that stressed fulfillment in the present and immortality at death. It is instructive to note, however, that the elements that have so often been cited in Paul to evidence such a development appear conjoined rather than contrasted throughout his writings, from the earliest to the last. Thus in his earlier letters, while reminding his converts of the futuristic note in his evangelistic preaching (1 Thess. 1:10) and presenting the parousia in imagery strikingly similar to that of Jewish apocalypticism (1 Thess. 4:13—5:11; 2 Thess. 2:1 – 12), the apostle also speaks of Christian conduct as characterized by Christ's living "in" the believer (Gal. 2:20).

In writing to Christians at Corinth and Rome, while talking of disembodiment and presence with the Lord at death (2 Cor. 5:1 – 10), Paul also lays heavy emphasis upon full consummation at the parousia (Rom. 8:8 – 15; 1 Cor. 15:12 – 58) and joins in the common prayer of the church: "Come, O Lord!" (1 Cor. 16:22; cf. Rev. 22:20). In his letters written during his Roman imprisonment, although speaking repeatedly of being "in Christ" and of the "body of Christ," he also writes that "our citizenship is in heaven" and that "we eagerly await a Savior from there, the Lord Jesus Christ, who…will transform our lowly bodies so that they will be like his glorious body" (Phil. 3:20 – 21). And in the PASTORAL EPISTLES, with their stress upon ecclesiastical concerns of the present, there is also the note of waiting "for the blessed hope—the glorious appearing of our great God and Savior, Jesus Christ" (Tit. 2:13).

Emphases may vary in his letters, depending in large measure upon the situation to which he speaks. And his own expectation of being alive at the time of the parousia may well have changed during the course of his life (cf. 1 Thess. 4:15 – 17; 1 Cor. 15:51 – 52; 2 Cor. 5:1 – 10). But throughout his Christian experience and ministry, it was the Lord's return which held center stage in

his thoughts regarding the future.

The parousia in Paul's teaching, then, means first of all permanent union for the Christian with Christ (1 Thess. 4:17) and the resurrection of the believer's body, completing the sonship to which the believer has been called by the transformation of that body "to be like his glorious body" (Phil. 3:21; cf. Rom. 8:23; 1 Cor. 15:12 – 58). It also means JUDGMENT, though for the Christian the ultimate verdict already is known (Rom. 8:1); whatever else the judgment may mean in terms of purgation and recompense, it cannot affect the salvation of those who have believed in Christ (1 Cor. 3:13 – 15; 5:5; 2 Cor. 5:10).

For those apart from Christ, however, the parousia can mean only "sudden destruction," "wrath," and "condemnation" (1 Thess. 1:10b; 5:3, 9a; 2 Thess. 2:10 – 12). In addition, at the parousia, (a) "the full number of the Gentiles" will be completed (Rom. 11:25); (b) the promises of God to Israel will be finally fulfilled (vv. 26 – 31); (c) the creation will be liberated from the shackles imposed as a result of sin (8:19 – 22; cf. 1 Cor. 7:31b); (d) all rule and authority will be subjected first to the Son and then be delivered by the Son to the Father (1 Cor. 15:24, 27); (e) death, the "last enemy," will be destroyed (v. 26); and (f) "the Son himself will be made subject to him who put everything under him, so that God may be all in all" (v. 28).

Though the historical achievement of Jesus is a finished work, its application is progressive, and its climax will be reached only in the SECOND COMING of Christ. And though the Christian experiences resurrection life and intimacy "in Christ" now, and may know even closer fellowship at death, the full realization of his sonship and the consummation of God's redemptive plan awaits the parousia. For this Paul expectantly waits, joining in the Christian prayer: "Come, O Lord!" (1 Cor. 16:22).

(The scholarly literature on Paul's thought is immense. Cf. M. A. Seifrid and R. K. J. Tan, *The Pauline Writings: An Annotated Bibliography* [2002], and see the titles listed under PAUL. Among influential works that cover his theology as a whole, the following should be noted: O. Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, 2 vols. [1877]; G. B. Stevens, *The Pauline Theology* [1892]; H. St. J. Thackeray, *The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought* [1900]; A. Schweitzer, *Paul and His Interpreters* [1912]; C. G. Montefiore, *Judaism and St. Paul* [1914]; H. A. A. Kennedy, *St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions* [1919]; C. A. A. Scott, *Christianity According to St. Paul* [1927]; E. Lohmeyer, *Grundlagen der paulinischen Theologie* [1928]; G. Vos, *The Pauline Eschatology* [1930]; A. Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* [1931]; J. S. Stewart, *A Man in Christ* [1935]; J. Bonsirven, *Exégèse rabbinique et exégèse paulinienne* [1939]; J. Klausner, *From Jesus to Paul* [1943]; J. Bonsirven, *L'évangile de Paul* [1948]; E. Best, *One Body in Christ* [1955]; W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism* [1955]; J. A. T. Robinson, *The Body* [1957]; E. E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament* [1957]; W. Barclay, *The Mind of St. Paul* [1958]; J. Munck, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind* [1959]; A. Wikenhauser, *Pauline Mysticism* [1960]; E. E. Ellis, *Paul and His Recent Interpreters* [1961]; H. J. Schoeps, *Paul: The Theology of the Apostle in the Light of Jewish Religious History* [1961]; L. Cerfaux, *Le chrétien dans la théologie de Saint Paul* [1962]; L. Goppelt, *Jesus, Paul and Judaism* [1964]; D. E. H. Whiteley, *The Theology of St. Paul* [1964]; J. A. Fitzmyer, *Pauline Theology* [1967]; M. F. Wiles, *The Divine Apostle* [1967]; H. Ridderbos, *Paul: An Outline of His Theology* [1975]; J. Beker, *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought* [1980]; S. Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel* [1984]; J. D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* [1998]; T. R. Schreiner, *Paul, Apostle of God's Glory in Christ: A Pauline Theology* [2001]; M. J. Gorman, *Apostle of the Crucified Lord: A Theological Introduction to Paul and His Letters* [2004]; G. D. Fee, *Pauline Christology* [2007].

(Among books that focus on particular topics, special attention has been given to Paul's view of

the law. See, e.g., P. P. Bläser, *Das Gesetz bei Paulus* [1941]; C. H. Dodd, *Gospel and Law* [1951]; G. Bornkamm, *Das Ende des Gesetzes* [1952]; J. Bandstra, *The Law and the Elements of the World* [1964]; E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* [1977]; id., *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People* [1983]; H. Räisänen, *Paul and the Law* [1983]; H. Hübner, *Law in Paul's Thought* [1984]; P. J. Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law: Halakha in the Letters of the Apostle to the Gentiles* [1990]; N. T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant: Christ and the Law in Pauline Theology* [1991]; F. Thielman, *Paul and the Law: A Contextual Approach* [1994]; A. A. Das, *Paul, the Law, and the Covenant* [2001]; S. Kim, *Paul and the New Perspective: Second Thoughts on the Origin of Paul's Gospel* [2002]; S. Westerholm, *Perspectives Old and New on Paul: The "Lutheran" Paul and His Critics* [2003; supersedes his earlier book, *Israel's Law and the Church's Faith,* 1988]; D. A. Carson

The family name Sergius Paul(l)us is attested in a number of inscriptions, including this one outside a museum in Yalvaq, Turkey.

et al., *Justification and Variegated Nomism*, 2 vols. [2001 – 2004]; F. Watson, *Paul, Judaism, and the Gentiles: Beyond the New Perspective,* rev. ed. [2007].)

R. N. LONGENECKER

**Paulus, Sergius** paw'luhs, suhr'jee-uhs (Σέργιος II αὖλος *G4950 + G4263).* Sergius was an old Roman senatorial name. Lucius Sergius Catilina, the notorious renegade of 53 B.C., was a member of the same aristocratic family. The Sergius mentioned in Acts 13:7 was PROCONSUL *(anthypatos G478)* of CYPRUS in A.D. 47 – 48, when he came into contact with PAUL, and appears to have become a Christian. It is possible that he was the Lucius Sergius Paulus who was a member of the board that controlled the Tiber under CLAUDIUS *(CIL* 6, no. 31545; however, see also C. K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, ICC, 2 vols. [1994 – 98], 1:613 – 14). A Cyprian Greek coin inscription from Soli mentions a proconsul Paulos who is probably the same official. The great work on natural history composed by the elder PLINY mentions a Sergius Paulus as his authority for certain information, two details of which are connected with Cyprus.

The fact that Sergius is called a "deputy," or proconsul, indicates that Cyprus was at the time a senatorial PROVINCE; within the system of disguised autocracy that AUGUSTUS had invented, Cyprus was placed under the control of the senate. Augustus made this transfer in 22 B.C. Luke is notable for his use of correct official terminology. Building on the important work of S. Mitchell *(Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor*, 2 vols. [1993]), C. Breytenbach has recently emphasized the

significance of archaeological finds that seem to indicate that the family of Sergius Paulus was prominent in ANTIOCH OF PISIDIA *(Paulus und Barnabas in der Provinz Galatien. Studien zu Apostelgeschichte 13f.; 16,6; 18, 23 und den Adressaten des Galaterbriefes* [1996], 38 – 45).

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

**pavement.** This English term is used to translate several Hebrew words, including *lĕbēnâ H4246* (with reference to a surface made of sapphire, Exod. 24:10; the term more often means "brick") and *riṣpâ H8367* (applied to a stone surface in the temple, 2 Chr. 7:3 et al., and to a mosaic of porphyry and other expensive rocks, Esth. 1:6; cf. *marṣepet H5346* in 2 Ki. 16:17 KJV [NIV, "base"]). In the NT, the term appears only once, but it is of some importance, as it is used to translate the Greek *lithostrōtos G3346,* "stoneporch," in the scene in PILATE'S judgment hall (Jn. 19:13). For discussion see GABBATHA.

W. WHITE, JR.

**pavilion.** This English word, referring to a large CANOPY, TENT, or the like, occurs seven times in the KJV (2 Sam. 22:12), but rarely in modern versions (e.g., Job 36:29). It usually renders Hebrew *sukkâ H6109,* which most frequently refers to a "hut" or "booth."

B. C. STARK

**pe** pay' (from פֶּה *H7023,* "mouth"). Also *peh.* The seventeenth letter of the Hebrew ALPHABET (פ), with a numerical value of 80. It is named for the shape of the letter, which in its older form resembles a mouth. Its sound corresponds to that of English *p* (following a vowel, it is spirantized, with a sound similar to that of English *f*).

**peace.** Human situations in the Bible that are commonly described by the word *peace* range widely: cessation of hostilities between nations; absence of civil or ecclesiastical disorder; freedom from dissension between individuals; material prosperity of an individual; health; tranquil freedom from mental or spiritual perturbation; a minimum of noise or activity. But no situation in the Bible is simply human. In the total range of human activity, the divine influence is evident. In this way the biblical notion of peace must be understood. For the NT writers, a more comprehensive spiritual element is added to the OT concept of peace by the awareness that the true ground of RECONCILIATION between God and his creatures, among human beings, and within the individual is exhibited in the total work of Christ. And through the enabling power brought by the gracious visitation of the HOLY SPIRIT, this peace is made a joyous possession of a man.

**I. OT usage.** Frequently, the OT writers used the Hebrew word *šālôm H8934* without explicit, but never without implicit, religious content. They often used the term to describe prosperity of a material sort, which for them was associated with God's covenantal promises or with projections of his presence. The word's root meaning of "soundness, completeness, well-being" is obvious in over two dozen passages where only general health and prosperity are described or discussed. JOSEPH, for example, inquired after the "welfare" of his brothers (Gen. 43:27 NRSV; cf. also Exod. 18:7). In some places, the reference is limited clearly to the physical safety of the individual (Job 5:23) or to his health (Isa. 38:17). A passage in Ps. 38:3 is particularly clear in this respect when it says, "Because of your wrath there is no health *[mĕtōm H5507]* in my body; / my bones have no soundness *[šālôm]* because of my sin" (note the OT characteristic of relating even the most mundane aspects of

life to the judgments of God).

Another common usage of *šālôm* in the OT where the spiritual element is somewhat minimal (though evidenced in a higher degree than in the above cases) is in passages where the quiet tranquility and contentment of a person or land is pictured, and in places where a relationship of friendship is under consideration. The prophet Isaiah gives a good illustration of this seemingly psychological aspect of well-being when he says, "The fruit of righteousness will be peace… quietness and confidence for ever" (Isa. 32:17). Then, surprisingly, in the same context, the state of peace is seen to be attached also to the house of the righteous person (32:18). Jeremiah does the same when he refers to a "safe [peaceful] country" (Jer. 12:5) and to "peaceful meadows" (25:37). A soundness in relationship between friends is a further usage of *šālôm* in the OT. Friends are spoken of as "men of my peace" (20:10, lit. trans.; cf. 38:22; Obad. 7), or as being in a relationship of "peaceful understanding" (Zech. 6:13 NRSV; lit., "counsel of peace"; NIV, "harmony").

Though the religious and spiritual content is at a minimum in the above human conditions, the OT writers did not conceive of these situations as occurring independently of God's controlling will and impelling presence. The awareness of God's presence in power or judgment rounds out any biblical concept of peace. In the OT, this awareness of God gives a sense of wholeness and success to the business of living, which is marred only by human inadequacy and sin. GIDEON'S altar to God, before which Gideon quaked in fear of God's judgment, was named "The LORD is peace" (Jdg. 6:24). The OT writers felt that God creates peace in heavenly spheres, high above all human affairs, and is both the pledge of peace to man and the giver of peace, which appears as human prosperity and wholeness of life (see also Lev. 26:6 and 1 Ki. 2:33).

Peace as associated with material well-being is evident in the OT when the nature of true and false prophecy is discussed. False prophecy seemingly was concerned solely with material gain (1 Ki. 22:5 – 6), whereas the true prophet was above desire for such profit (Mic. 3:5 – 6). False prophets prophesied peace (Jer. 14:13; 28:9). The close association of peace with material prosperity and well-being made this a dubious basis of distinction between true and false prophets, at least in the earlier portions of the OT. However, the loss of material prosperity that occurred with the exile made it possible to emphasize the richer, spiritual notion of peace in which the individual became more aware of the presence of God and of his promise of blessing. Such an emphasis became the distinguishing characteristic of the true prophet.

An exile-situation prophecy of this kind could not help but awaken an eschatological hope. Jeremiah and others frequently referred to this hope of the future, using the technical form "covenant of peace" (Isa. 54:10; Ezek. 34:25; 37:26). Although the emphasis seems to be mainly upon the future in such passages, it should be understood that in this combination of words, "covenant of peace," the present is stressed as much as the future. It is seen again and again that peace is intimately associated with a quality of life in the present material world, whereas the word COVENANT adds to this technical phrase a promise yet to be attained. The whole matter is most evident in the writings of Malachi, where the covenant promise is seen to be a conjunction of present and future blessings, as is revealed in the more comprehensive phrase, "covenant of life and peace" (Mal. 2:5). No longer was peace externalized in being associated only with material prosperity or well-being. Although the eschatological peace the later prophets proclaimed would again eventually be accompanied by physical comforts (Jer. 33:9; Hag. 2:9), these could never again be seen as the central concept of a true peace from God. The true prophet, thus, was one who dared to suggest that the spiritual basis of any prosperity can remain even if the material evidence does not. God's truest gift of peace is related to his steadfast love, obedience to his commands (Isa. 48:18), righteousness (57:2; 60:17), and

justice (59:8).

The richest portrayals of peace in the OT, only dimly perceived in some parts, are found in metaphors suggesting that all human situations will develop in such a way that qualitative and quantitative eternal peace is the consequence. These references suggest a restoration of PARADISE (Isa. 11:1 – 9; Hos. 2:20 – 23; Amos 9:13 – 15) and an international society living in peace under God's administration (Isa. 2:2 – 3; Mic. 4:3). The most concrete expressions of these hopes are found in messianic passages that are inseparable from peace. A humble king will inaugurate a kingdom of peace (Zech. 9:9), and the messianic child is called the "Prince of Peace" (Isa. 9:6), who according to the context is at once the guarantor and guardian of the peace in the coming messianic kingdom (v. 7; cf. Mic. 5:2 – 5). This man can be identified only as Jesus Christ. (See further L. Köhler, *Old Testament Theology* [1957], 30 – 35; *NIDOTTE,* 4:130 – 35.)

**II. The Greek notion of peace.** In Hellenic culture, peace (Gk. *eirēnē G1645)* was not considered as integral to any of the normal daily activities of human beings, but rather seemed to be a condition within the individual that persisted in spite of, and oblivious to, routine living or the influence of a divine being. W. Foerster (in *TDNT,* 2:400) suggests that this notion of peace was not a relation among people, or things, but a state (of mind) that was emotionally felt and passionately acclaimed. This widespread desire among the Greek intellectuals to attain a harmonious state of mind, best described as imperturbability, often made the actual human situation that could be called peaceful merely incidental to the inner experience of peace. Such a view was only superficially like the OT concept of peace. Nevertheless, the NT writers made use of the standard Greek word for peace without confusion because its meaning had been significantly affected by its use in the SEPTUAGINT as the equivalent of Hebrew *šālôm*.

**III. NT usage**. The NT follows the OT in displaying a wide range of uses for the word *peace*. The word could be a greeting (as in the introductions to Paul's letters), a means of wishing someone well (Lk. 10:5), or even a farewell (Jas. 2:16). Peace was also thought of as security (Lk. 11:21), the opposite of disorder (1 Cor. 14:33), and as concord among human beings (Acts 7:26; Eph. 4:3; Jas. 3:18). Even in these salutary situations in normal life, it often is suggested contextually that this harmony or peace is in accordance with the divine pleasure (Rom. 14:17; 1 Cor. 7:15).

It is more typical of the NT, however, to relate the concept of peace to the notion of the SALVATION of the whole person, which is one of the significant similarities to the eschatological emphasis in the OT. Persons who had association with Christ, as well as Christ himself, described salvation in terms of peace. ZECHARIAH and SIMEON, for example, expected this peace (Lk. 1:79; 2:29), the angels heralded it (2:14), the women whose faith made them whole were told to "go in peace" (Mk. 5:34; Lk. 7:50), and the people sang about it at Christ's entry into Jerusalem (Lk. 19:38). Jesus summarized salvation as "the things that make for peace" (19:42 NRSV). When he left his disciples, he bequeathed salvation to them with the words, "my peace I give you" (Jn. 14:27) and "so that in me you may have peace." (16:33). He also used the same language of peace as a way of referring to salvation when he appeared to his disciples after his resurrection (20:19, 21, 26). Various NT leaders spoke of salvation as the "good news of peace through Jesus Christ" (Acts 10:36), the preaching of peace (Eph. 2:17), and the "gospel of peace" (6:15; Rom. 10:15). The "God of peace," they declared, brings salvation to the whole person—body, soul, and spirit (1 Thess. 5:23), and equips the believer with everything good to do the will of God (Heb. 13:20; cf. other usages of the formula "the God of peace" in Rom. 15:33; Phil. 4:9; 1 Thess. 5:23).

Human participation in the peace of God through Christ's finished work of redemption also is mentioned frequently in the NT. Christ becomes "our peace" (Eph. 2:14 – 17) in this richly conceived view of peace that includes reconciliation with God and JUSTIFICATION in his sight. In a similar fashion, "peace with God" is the result of justification by faith (Rom. 5:1, 10). Such views of peace are seen to be parallel to the abundant life that Christ obtains for the believer by his sacrifice on the cross (Jn. 10:10; Rom. 8:6). Being "at peace" in this deep sense is a mode of existence that comes by grace (2 Pet. 3:14) and is far more than a psychological peace of soul. Likewise, "the peace of God, which transcends all understanding," cannot be merely psychological (Phil. 4:7), or concerned only with external human affairs. Such a verse denotes the highest concept of peace, which a believer can comprehend only dimly as the salvation of the whole person is experienced as the power of God in his life. It is to the "peace of Christ" that we are called (Col. 3:15). (See further R. Bultmann, *The Theology of the New Testament* [1951], 1:286 – 91; E. Stauffer, *New Testament Theology* [1956], 143 – 46; H. Ridderbos, *The Coming of the Kingdom* [1962], 274 – 77; U. Mauser, *The Gospel of Peace: A Scriptural Message for Today's World* [1992]; W. M. Swartley, *Covenant of Peace* [2006]; *NIDNTT,* 2:776 – 83; *ABD,* 5:206 – 12.)

T. M. GREGORY

**peacemaker.** One of Jesus' well-known BEATITUDES is, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they will be called sons of God" (Matt. 5:9). The believer is to function as such, finding his example in Christ. Christ reconciled us to God in offering himself as a sacrifice to satisfy God's divine justice (Rom. 5:1; Col. 1:20; cf. Eph. 2:14 – 17). Through the proclamation of the gospel, sinners are reconciled to God and act as peacemakers (2 Cor. 5:18 – 19). The ministry of RECONCILIATION that Christ started (Matt. 5:24; 18:15 – 17) and that he committed to


Mosaic of a peacock at the Byzantine Church of the Loaves and Fishes, located on the NW shore of the Sea of Galilee.

his followers (2 Cor. 5:18), he will complete when he returns in his kingdom (Isa. 9:6 – 7; 14:7; 66:12; Ezek. 34:25; 37:26; Zech. 9:10). See PEACE.

R. A. KILLEN

**peace-offering.** See SACRIFICE AND OFFERINGS.

**peacock.** The KJV and other versions use "peacocks" (referring to the male of the peafowl or *Pavo cristatus)* to render the Hebrew word *tukkiyyîm H9415,* which occurs in one context only (1 Ki. 10:22 and the parallel, 2 Chr. 9:21). This word is not from a Hebrew root, and several suggestions have been made (cf. *HALOT,* 4:1731). William F. Albright regards it as coming from an Egyptian word *ky,* meaning APE or BABOON (see also *AJSL* 37 [1921]: 144; cf. NIV). However, the word for "peacock" in Tamil (a language spoken in areas of India and Ceylon where the bird is native) is *tokei,* and this translation has been widely accepted. The association with gold, silver, ivory, and apes does not help, for most of these items could have come from various sources. IVORY was obtained then, as now, from both Asiatic and African elephants, but tusks of the former were more likely to be imported by sea to a RED SEA port, to which some vessels came (however, see *FFB,* 4). For many centuries, peacocks have been ornamental birds in the W, gracing stately parks and gardens, and they were the kind of showy gift that sailors would try to bring back. Phoenician traders had taken peacocks to Egypt before the time of SOLOMON, though they did not reach Greece until toward the 4th cent. B.C. The identification is therefore possible, though by no means certain. (The KJV also has "peacock" in Job 39:13a, but the reference there is to the OSTRICH, a word that the KJV incorrectly uses at the end of the verse.)

G. S. CANSDALE

**pearl.** A calcareous concretion formed as an abnormal growth within the shell of some species of molluscs. The concretion is made generally of the mineral aragonite (calcium carbonate), or rarely of calcite (also calcium carbonate), together with the organic substance known as *conchiolin*. The microscopic crystals of aragonite are deposited on and around a tenuous network formed of the conchiolin. Genuine pearls result from the accidental entry of a grain of sand, or a parasite, into the pearl oyster, which coats such a source of irritation with nacre (mother-of-pearl). Pearl is the only gem made by a living process and the only one that comes from the sea. Pearls used to be obtained in considerable numbers from the RED SEA, but now first ranking of any oriental pearls for superior form (droplike) and luster (iridescent) are those produced by *Mohar,* a variety of the *Meleagrina vulgaris* species of mollusc found in the Persian Gulf.

There is one reference to this gem in the OT (Heb. *dar H1993,* Esth. 1:6; cf. also Job 28:18 NRSV) and several in the NT (*margaritēs G3449,* Matt. 7:6 et al.). An unblemished pearl is one of the most ancient symbols of perfection and was among the most precious of JEWELS. This is probably the reason the word is used metaphorically for anything of great value, especially wise sayings.

D. R. BOWES

**Pearl, Hymn of the.** See THOMAS, ACTS OF.

**Pedahel** ped'uh-hel (פְּדָהֵאל *H7010,* "God has redeemed [or delivered]"). Son of Ammihud; he was a leader from the tribe of NAPHTALI, chosen to assist in the distribution of the land (Num. 34:28).

**Pedahzur** pi-dah'zuhr (פְּדָהצוּר or פְּדָה־צוּר *H7011,* "the Rock has redeemed *[or* delivered]"). Father of GAMALIEL; the latter was the head of the tribe of MANASSEH during the wilderness

wanderings (Num. 1:10; 2:20; 7:54, 59; 10:23).

**Pedaiah** pi-day'yuh (פְּדָיָה *H7015* and פְּדָיָהוּ *H7016* [1 Chr. 27:20], "Yahweh has redeemed *[or* delivered]"). (1) Father of ZEBIDAH, who was the mother of King JEHOIAKIM (2 Ki. 23:36).

(2) Son of King JEHOIACHIN and father of Zerubbabel (1 Chr. 3:18 – 19). However, Zerubbabel is elsewhere identified as son of SHEALTIEL (Ezra 3:2; Hag. 1:1). See discussion under ZERUBBABEL.

(3) Father of JOEL; the latter was an officer over W MANASSEH during the reign of DAVID (1 Chr. 27:20).

(4) Son of Parosh; along with "the temple servants living on the hill of Ophel," he helped repair the Jerusalem wall "up to a point opposite the Water Gate toward the east and the projecting tower" (Neh. 3:25). Some have thought that he may be the same as #5 or #7 below.

(5) One of the prominent men (not identified as priests) who stood near EZRA when the law was read at the great assembly (Neh. 8:4; 1 Esd. 9:44 [KJV, "Phaldaius"]).

(6) Son of Kolaiah and ancestor of Sallu; the latter was one of the leaders from BENJAMIN who volunteered to settle in Jerusalem after the return from the EXILE (Neh. 11:7).

(7) A Levite who was one of the men appointed by NEHEMIAH as treasurers in charge of the temple storerooms (Neh. 13:13).

**peddle.** This English verb, meaning "to go from place to place selling wares," is used in the NIV and other versions to render Greek *kapēleuō G2836,* which occurs only once in the NT (2 Cor. 2:17). The Greek verb originally meant simply "to drive a trade, sell by retail," but deceitful practices gave the term a pejorative sense, and so the KJV renders it with the English verb "corrupt" (cf. Vulg., *adulterantes).* Modern versions preserve the metaphor: "we are not peddlers of God's word" (NRSV); "we do not peddle the word of God for profit" (NIV). In a parallel passage (4:2), Paul says, "nor do we distort *[doloō G1516]* the word of God." Both expressions convey the idea of falsifying, but the former includes the additional idea of deceit for worldly advantage. Peddlers often sold short measure or adulterated their wine with water. Paul distinguishes himself from religious hucksters of the word of God. He gave full measure of the whole counsel of God without ulterior motive.

B. C. STARK

**Pekah** pee'kuh (פֶּקַח *H7220,* short form of פְּקַחְיָה *H7222,* "Yahweh has opened"; see PEKAHIAH). Son of Remaliah and one of the last kings of Israel (2 Ki. 15:25 – 31). The chronology of Pekah's reign is problematic. According to the biblical text, Pekah was a royal officer *(šālîš H8957)* who conspired against King PEKAHIAH, assassinated him, and succeeded him as king (v. 25). We are then told, "In the fifty-second year of Azariah king of Judah, Pekah son of Remaliah became king of Israel in Samaria, and he reigned twenty years" (v. 27). Since the fifty-second year of Azariah (UZZIAH) was probably c. 740 B.C., Pekah's reign would have extended from 740 to 720, but the evidence indicates that TIGLATH-PILESER III removed Pekah from the throne in 732. This means that Pekah's reign could not have been longer than eight years (some scholars date the fifty-second year of Azariah/Uzziah as late as 734, reducing Pekah's reign to no more than two years).

Solutions to this problem involve an overlapping of Pekah's reign with those of MENAHEM (c. 752 – 742) and Pekahiah (742 – 740). Perhaps Pekah simply considered these two kings as illegitimate and counted their reigns as his (cf. N. Na)aman in *VT* 36 [1986]: 71 – 92, esp. 74 – 82), or possibly he did rule as a rival in GILEAD during that time (cf. E. R. Thiele, *The Mysterious*

*Numbers of the Hebrew Kings,* 3rd ed. [1983], 124, 129; see also CHRONOLOGY (OT) IX.C). Since Pekah was designated a captain of fifty men who were Gileadites (2 Ki. 15:25), this would indicate his area of abode, and coupled with his reign of twenty years, it would indicate that he was a pretender to the throne in TRANSJORDAN. The short reigns of ZECHARIAH and SHALLUM were followed by that of Menahem, who submitted quickly to Tiglath-Pileser (15:19); the latter gave Menahem a strong ally to prevent Pekah from adding Samaria to his control, until such time as the Assyrian king's attention was turned elsewhere. During a part of this time, Pekah had submitted to Pekahiah (Pekah was called a "chief officer" or aide, v. 25). Confirmation of the reign of Pekah is found from HAZOR in the discovery of a wine jar handle bearing the inscription *lpqḥ* (i.e., "[belonging] to Pekah").

As demonstrated by his subsequent actions, Pekah knew that his own independence required resistance to ASSYRIA, but he had little power; hence his "alliance" with REZIN of DAMASCUS and their attempt to coerce AHAZ of Judah to join them against Assyria (2 Ki. 15:37; 16:5; 2 Chr. 28:5 – 6; Isa. 7:1). It may be that Pekah was more of a subject of Rezin than the Bible indicates. Rezin most likely sought out Pekah and forced him into an alliance to gain more strength to oppose Assyria. They found a fearful Ahaz to be a flank threat and moved against him to remove him and put a puppet, the son of Tabeel, on the throne (Isa. 7:6), but it came to naught. A previous attack had resulted in capture of a large number of the inhabitants of Jerusalem who, at the exhortation of the prophet, were released near Jericho (2 Chr. 28:8 – 15). This did not stop Pekah and Rezin and brought the attempt to place the son of Tabeel on the throne (cf. *BASOR* 140 [Dec. 1955]: 34 – 35). Although Ahaz appealed to Tiglath-Pileser, history justified Isaiah's call to stand still.

In 734 B.C., Tiglath-Pileser invaded the W (i.e., NAPHTALI, 2 Ki. 15:29), partly described in his own annals, to eliminate resistance to Assyrian dominance in that region. He also captured Damascus and put Rezin to death (16:9) as a final result of the appeal of Ahaz for help (cf. v. 7) to deliver him from their attacks. This invasion did not stop Israelite efforts to oppose Assyria. According to 15:30, another palace conspiracy removed Pekah by assassination and brought HOSHEA to the throne. Tiglath-Pileser's annals, however, declare that the Samaritans overthrew Pekah, and that he placed Hoshea over them. Two possibilities suggest themselves. The first is that Hoshea aspired to the throne, regardless of Assyrian power. The second is that the Assyrian king used him to eliminate a troublesome opponent, for which Hoshea was not unwilling. But Hoshea fell prey to aspirations of power and revolted in his own time (17:1 – 4).

Pekah is evaluated in terms of the sins of JEROBOAM (2 Ki. 15:28); that is, he pursued the worship of the calves of DAN (PLACE) and BETHEL, following Jeroboam's apostate religious practices.

H. G. STIGERS

**Pekahiah** pek'uh-hi'uh (פְּקַחְיָה *H7222,* "Yahweh has opened," meaning possibly that he has opened his own eyes in compassion, or that he has opened a person's eyes [in the sense of either revealing truth to a person or bringing a child to life], or that he has opened the womb; see PEKAH and cf. PETHAHIAH). Son of MENAHEM and one of the last kings of Israel, reigning c. 741 – 740 B.C. (2 Ki. 15:22 – 26). The character of his two-year reign is described in these terms: "Pekahiah did evil in the eyes of the LORD. He did not turn away from the sins of Jeroboam son of Nebat, which he had caused Israel to commit" (v. 24). In other words, Pekahiah continued the idolatrous worship of the calves of DAN (PLACE) and BETHEL (see CALF, GOLDEN).

During Pekahiah's reign, one of his officers, PEKAH son of Remaliah, was apparently active in GILEAD, and it is possible that the Israelites there and elsewhere in TRANSJORDAN opposed Pekahiah's rule. Pekah took fifty Gileadite warriors with him and "assassinated Pekahiah, along with

Argob and Arieh, in the citadel of the royal palace at Samaria" (2 Ki. 15:25; with regard to the textual difficulties in this verse, see ARGOB). One may assume that Pekahiah had continued his father Menahem's policy of submission to ASSYRIA, and that anti-Assyrian parties in Israel had been looking for a suitable opportunity to gain control. It is probable that Pekah had the backing of REZIN, the Aramean king of DAMASCUS (cf. 16:5 – 9), who also wanted to free himself from the Assyrians (see J. Bright, *A History of Israel,* 4th ed. [2000], 273).

H. G. STIGERS

**Pekod** pee'kod (פְּקוֹד *H7216*, from Assyr. *puqūdu)*. A place in SE Babylonia. Its inhabitants, known as the Puqudu in Assyrian and Babylonian sources, were an Aramean tribe that had settled E of the TIGRIS River. See ARAM (COUNTRY). They were conquered (at least temporarily) by the Assyrian kings TIGLATH-PILESER III, SARGON II, and SENNACHERIB. Jeremiah mentions the lands of MERATHAIM and Pekod in his prophecy against BABYLON (Jer. 50:21). The term Merathaim, evidently a play on the name of an area at the head of the Persian Gulf called *marratum,* suggests the meaning "doubly rebellious" or the like, while Pekod may allude to the verb *pāqad H7212,* which in some instances conveys the negative meaning "to avenge, punish." The two names are used to indicate judgment on Babylonia. Ezekiel includes Pekod along with the Babylonians and others among the lovers of Oholibah (i.e., Jerusalem; see OHOLAH AND OHOLIBAH) who will turn and come against her (Ezek. 23:22; see also KOA; SHOA).

R. E. HAYDEN

**Pelaiah** pi-lay'yuh (פְּלָאיָה *H7102* [Neh. 8:7; 10:10] and פְּלַיָּה *H7126* [1 Chr. 3:24], "Yahweh has done a wondrous thing *[or* is wonderful]"). (1) Son of Elioenai and postexilic descendant of DAVID (1 Chr. 3:24).

(2) One of the Levites who assisted EZRA in instructing the people concerning the law (Neh. 8:7; 1 Esd. 9:48 [KJV, "Biatas"]) and who affixed their seals to NEHEMIAH'S covenant (Neh. 10:10).

**Pelaliah** pel'uh-li'uh (פְּלַלְיָה *H7139,* "Yahweh has intervened [or interceded]"). Son of Amzi and grandfather of a priest named Adaiah; the latter was a priest and a head of family who returned to Jerusalem after the EXILE (Neh. 11:12).

**Pelatiah** pel'uh-ti'uh (פְּלַטְיָהוּ *H7125* [Ezek. 11:1, 3] and פְּלַטְיָה *H7124,* "Yahweh has delivered"; cf. PALTIEL, PILTAI). (1) Son of Hananiah, grandson of ZERUBBABEL, and descendant of SOLOMON (1 Chr. 3:21).

(2) Son of Ishi and descendant of SIMEON during the reign of HEZEKIAH; Pelatiah and his brothers led 500 Simeonites in an invasion of SEIR and wiped out the Amalekites (1 Chr. 4:42 – 43).

(3) One of the leaders of the people who sealed the covenant under NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:22).

(4) Son of Benaiah; he and Jaazaniah son of Azzur were leaders of the people in Jerusalem at the time of the EXILE, and EZEKIEL was commanded to prophesy against their sin (Ezek. 11:1). While the prophet was speaking, Pelatiah died (v. 13).

**Peleg** pee'lig (פֶּלֶג *H7105,* derivation disputed, but by popular etymology, "division"; Φάλεκ *G5744)*. Son of EBER and descendant of SHEM (Gen. 10:25; 11:16 – 19; 1 Chr. 1:19, 25); included in Luke's GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Lk. 3:35 [KJV, "Phalec"]). According to the biblical text, Peleg

received his name "because in his time the earth was divided [verb *pālag H7103* niphal, 'to be separated']" (Gen. 10:25; 1 Chr. 1:19), apparently a reference to the dispersion of the peoples on the earth when the Tower of BABEL was built (Gen. 11:1 – 9). The text also seems to suggest that with the sons of Eber there is a dividing line among the descendants of Shem: the line of Peleg leads to ABRAHAM, whereas the line of JOKTAN (Gen. 10:26 – 30) is the last group mentioned before the story of Babel.

Many scholars believe that "division" is not the original meaning of the name Peleg but a subsequent interpretation. Some derive the name from a root meaning "to have a successor" (Arab. *falaja)*. Others believe that it is a place name, possibly connected with Phalga, a Mesopotamian town situated at the junction of the Khabur (HABOR) with the EUPHRATES; additional topographical suggestions include sites in ARABIA (such as el-Falj, on the Persian gulf). Because the Hebrew noun *peleg H7104* (as well as the cognate Akk. *palgu)* means "water channel" or "canal," some have thought that Peleg may be the designation of a people who lived in some well-watered district such as Babylonia.

R. E. HAYDEN

**Pelet** pee'lit (פֶּלֶט *H7118,* "deliverance, escape"; see BETH PELET, PALTIEL). (1) Son of Jahdai, included in the genealogy of CALEB (1 Chr. 2:47). See discussion under JAHDAI.

(2) Son of Azmaveth; he and his brother Jeziel are listed among the warriors, kinsmen of SAUL, who joined with DAVID when the latter took refuge at ZIKLAG (1 Chr. 12:3).

**Peleth** pee'lith (פֶּלֶת *H7150,* meaning unknown, but possibly derived from an Egyptian place name). (1) Descendant of REUBEN and father of ON; the latter was one of the Reubenites who joined KORAH in his rebellion against MOSES (Num. 16:1). On the basis of other data (e.g., 26:8), some scholars emend "Eliab, and On son of Peleth" to read "Eliab son of Pallu" (or the like); PALLU was a son of Reuben.

(2) Son of Jonathan and descendant of JUDAH through JERAHMEEL (1 Chr. 2:33).

**Pelethite** pel'uh-thit (פְּלֹתִי *H7152,* derivation uncertain, perhaps related to פְּלִשְׁתִּי *H7149,* "Philistine"). The Pelethites were a people group that possibly should be identified with the PHILISTINES or perhaps with a particular subgroup within this nationality. The difference in the names has been explained in a number of ways: (1) the term Pelethite was formed by analogy to Kerethite (J. Greenfield in *IDB,* 1:557); (2) phonetic assimilation of the sound *š* (J. A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Kings,* ICC [1951], 86); (3) the form Pelethite was intentionally created to avoid the suggestion that the Philistines were too intimately associated with DAVID (J. Prignaud in *RB* 71 [1964]: 215 – 29). See further discussion under KERETHITE.

D. HUTTAR

**Pelias** pel'ee-uhs. KJV Apoc. variant of BEDEIAH (1 Esd. 9:34).

**pelican.** This term is used by the KJV and some modern versions to render Hebrew *qāʾat H7684* in the list of unclean birds (Lev. 11:18 and its parallel, Deut. 14:17; the KJV and a few versions have "pelican" also in Ps. 102:6). However, the other contexts in which the Hebrew term occurs (Ps. 102:6; Isa. 34:11; Zeph. 2:14) make this meaning unlikely, and many scholars believe that the word

refers to a type of OWL.

The identification "pelican" is of ancient origin (LXX, *pelekan;* Vulg., *onocrotalus)* and is supposedly based on the notion that the Hebrew noun is related to *qē) H7683,* "vomit." Early writers stated (incorrectly) that pelicans fed mainly on shellfish and later brought back the shells, etc., as an owl produces "pellets." The pelican, however, is one of many water birds that feed their young by regurgitation of partly digested food, taken by the young as they put their heads down the parents' throats, so this alone is insufficient to identify it.

Pelicans—mostly the white pelicans—are regular visitors to Palestine, but the average person probably never sees one, certainly not at close quarters, for they fly over as quickly as possible in flocks of several hundreds, using a sequence of thermals to mount high in the sky and glide N on almost fixed wings. Their only safe stopping place is in the Huleh valley (see BIRD MIGRATION). These birds are on their way from their winter haunts around the central African lakes to the breeding grounds in the estuaries of the Black Sea and other parts of central and eastern Europe. They are among the biggest flying birds, about 5 ft. long, and they fly with heads drawn back. They usually fish in groups, using their beak pouches as nets and scoops, but not for storage—in contrast to the American brown pelican that dives into the water after fish. (See *FFB,* 65.)

G. S. CANSDALE

**Pella** pel'uh (Πέλλα). A city of the DECAPOLIS in TRANSJORDAN. Although not mentioned in either the OT or the NT, the city had a long history and is of significance for biblical studies. Pella lies among rugged hills and sharp valleys, about 2.5 mi. E of the JORDAN River and 17 mi. S of the Sea of Galilee. It had a number of names (its early NW Semitic name was *Piḥil[um],* later *Paḥel)* but became *Pella,* after ALEXANDER THE GREAT'S birthplace and the capital of MACEDONIA, when Alexander conquered the area about 332 B.C. The modern name is Ṭabaqat Faḥil.

Pella stood on two mounds, separated by Wadi Jirm. The southern tell, el-Ḥuṣn, was occupied intermittently. The other, a large oval mound to the N of the wadi, rises some 100 ft. above it. This is the location of the majority of ancient habitation and archaeological investigation. A spring, which supported the ancient civilizations in the area, still flows into the wadi. The 19th-cent. explorer-archaeologist Gottlieb Schumacher reported caves in the area, some containing early Christian symbols. Modern excavation began in 1966 – 67 by Wooster College, Ohio. Archaeologists from the University of Sydney joined the work in 1978 and now direct it.

The earliest written mention of Pella is in Egyptian texts of the 19 cent. B.C., and it appears briefly in over a hundred writings from following periods. Nonliterary remains indicate activity on the site from at least Paleolithic times. There is also evidence of occupation during the Early and Middle Bronze and Iron II Periods.

Following Alexander's conquest, Pella was controlled successively by the Ptolemies (see PTOLEMY), the SELEUCIDS, and the HASMONEANS. It came under the control of ROME with the conquests of POMPEY. By the 2nd cent. A.D. it had been rebuilt as a Roman city. During the 6th cent. Pella attained its greatest size and prosperity. It fell under Islamic control in 635. An earthquake severely damaged Pella about the year 746. It was not entirely destroyed nor rebuilt. There is evidence

Looking W with the ruins of Pella in the foreground and the Jordan Valley in the distance.

of some occupation on the site into the Mamluk period (1291 – 1517).

Several major events during the Second Temple Jewish period involved Pella in Jewish and Christian history. It was one of the cities that the Has-monean ruler Alexander Jannaeus captured about 83/82 B.C. (Jos. *War* 1.5.8 §104). In 63 B.C. the Roman general Pompey made Pella one of ten semi-independent Hellenistic cities that constituted the DECAPOLIS. As part of the Decapolis, Pella may have been visited by Jesus (Mk. 7:31). It was one of several Hellenistic cities attacked by Jewish rebels at the outset of the war against Rome in A.D. 66 – 70.

Several writers indicate that Jerusalem Christians fled to Pella during the war with Rome. The church historian EUSEBIUS (c. 263 – 339) says that as the Romans approached, "The people belonging to the church at Jerusalem had been ordered by an oracle revealed to approved men on the spot before the war broke out, to leave the city and dwell in a town of Peraea called Pella" *(Eccl. Hist.* 3.5). The "oracle" may be a remembrance of Jesus' words (Mk. 13:14 – 16).

Although some writers have questioned the historicity of the flight to Pella, the city evidently maintained a role in ancient Christianity. An early Christian era sarcophagus found in a church in the W part of Pella may be a relic of the first Christians' stay in the city. The mid-2nd cent. Christian apologist Aristo came from Pella. Later, EPIPHANIUS (315 – 403) makes reference to the Christians' escape and says there were both orthodox and heretical Jewish Christians in the area centuries later. Remains of Byzantine churches and monasteries throughout the general area, including a large church complex in Pella itself, indicate an on-going Christian presence there. (See further R. H. Smith and L. P. Day, *Pella of the Decapolis*, 2 vols. [1973 – 89]; J. B. Hennessy and R. H. Smith in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East,* ed. E. Meyers [1997], 4:256 – 59; *NEAEHL*, 3:1174 – 80.)

J. J. SCOTT, JR.

**Pelonite** pel'uh-nit (פְּלוֹנִי *H7113,* gentilic form apparently related to פְּלֹנִי *H7141,* meaning "a certain one"). A designation applied to two of DAVID'S mighty warriors, Helez (1 Chr. 11:27; 27:10) and Ahijah (1 Chr. 27:10). Because no family or place is known to have the name Pelon, these passages are problematic. See comments under HELEZ #1 and AHIJAH #2.

**Pelusium** pi-l*oo*'see-uhm (Lat. name from Gk. Πηούσιον; known in the Heb. OT as סִין *H6096,* from the Egyptian name, prob. *śwn* or *śyn*). KJV Sin. A city at the NE extremity of the NILE delta, about 1 mi. from the Mediterranean (modern Tell el-Farama). The Greek name (already in Herodotus, *Hist.* 2.17 et al.) is derived from the word for "mud" (*pēlos G4384;* cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* 17.1.21), apparently the result of false etymology, the Egyptian name of the town having perhaps been confused with the Egyptian word for "mud" (for other traditions, see *ABD,* 5:221 – 22; cf. also W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel,* Hermeneia, 2 vols. [1979 – 83], 2:133). Though noted in antiquity for its flax and wine, the city acquired military importance as a frontier fortress facing Palestine. Ezekiel called it the "stronghold of Egypt," but prophesied that it would "writhe in agony" (Ezek. 30:15 – 16). It was the site of numerous battles. In 525 B.C. CAMBYSES defeated the Egyptians nearby and made Egypt a Persian province. In 343 it was held by ARTAXERXES, and a decade later by ALEXANDER THE GREAT. In 169 it was seized by ANTIOCHUS IV, and a century later Gabinius and Marc Antony captured it for the Romans. In 30 B.C. it was occupied by the young Octavian (see AUGUSTUS) in his campaign against Antony. During the ROMAN EMPIRE the city was an important station on the route to the RED SEA.

A. RUPPRECHT

**pen.** In the sense "implement for writing," the term *pen* is the translation of Hebrew ʿēṭ *H6485,* referring to a stylus with a hard point (e.g., Ps. 45:1; Jer. 17:1), and of Greek *kalamos G2812* (only 3 Jn. 13 in this sense). See REED. For the meaning "enclosure," see FOLD.

**pence.** Plural of *penny,* which is used in the KJV with reference to a DENARIUS.

**pendant.** This English term, referring to an ornament that hangs free, is used variously in Bible versions to render several Hebrew words, such as *nĕṭipâ H5755* (from a verb meaning "to drop"; see Jdg. 8:26 and Isa. 3:19 [NIV, "earrings"]). Hanging EARRINGS, especially if made of pearls and thus shaped like drops, would be appropriately described by this word. The NRSV and NJPS use "pendant" also to render *kûmāz H3921* (Exod. 35:22 [NIV, "ornaments"] and Num. 31:50 [NIV, "necklaces"]).

B. C. STARK

**Peniel** pen'ee-uhl. See PENUEL (PLACE).

**Peninnah** pi-nin'uh (פְּנִנָּה *H7166,* possibly "ruby" or other reddish jewel). Wife of ELKANAH the Ephraimite, and rival of his other wife, HANNAH (1 Sam. 1:2, 4). Peninnah taunted Hannah because the latter had no children (vv. 6 – 7). Hannah prayed for a child, and the Lord answered her prayer by giving her SAMUEL (vv. 10 – 20).

**penknife.** See KNIFE.

**penny.** See DENARIUS.

**Pentateuch** pen'tuh-ty*oo*k (Gk. Πεντάτευχος from πέντε, "five," and τεῦχος "book, volume").

A term applied to the first five books of the Bible—Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. It corresponds to one of the meanings of the Hebrew word TORAH (Law).



**I. Contents and divisions.** The Hebrew term *tôrâ H9368,* which is often translated "law," might give the impression that the Pentateuch is in the form of commandments. This term, however, more generally means "direction" and is very wide in its usage, ranging from teaching ritual details (Lev. 13:59; 14:2, 54 – 57) to general precepts and instruction (Exod. 24:12). *Torah* is the most commonly used word in the OT for the REVELATION that God gave through MOSES (Josh. 8:32; 23:6; 1 Ki. 2:3; 2 Ki. 23:25; 2 Chr. 30:16; Ezra 7:6; Neh. 8:1; et al.), although undoubtedly it included all revealed truth, for ABRAHAM obeyed God's Torah (Gen. 26:5). The corresponding Greek word *nomos G3795* is also used in a variety of senses by the NT writers and may refer to the whole OT (cf. Jn. 10:34 [citing Ps. 82:6] and 1 Cor. 14:21 [Isa. 28:11 – 12]).

The Hebrew names of the first five books of the OT are based on an ancient custom, derived from MESOPOTAMIA, of naming a document after the first few words with which it begins (e.g., ENUMA ELISH, the Akkadian Creation Epic). So the book we call Genesis is named from the first word, *bĕrēʾšît,* a compounded form meaning "in the beginning." The Hebrew title of Exodus, however, is less meaningful, since the book begins with the phrase, "And these are the names of" *(wĕʾēlleh šĕmôt,* abbreviated *šĕmôt,* "Names [of]"). Likewise Leviticus fares poorly, for its first word means, "And he called" *(wayyiqrāʾ).* The book of Numbers received as its title the fifth word instead of the first, which makes a title that is more descriptive of the entire contents, "In the wilderness" (*bĕmidbar).* Deuteronomy begins with "These are the words" (*ʾēlleh haddĕbārîm,* so *dĕbārîm* for short). Except for Numbers, therefore, the Hebrew titles are not very descriptive of the entire contents of each book. The English titles derive from the SEPTUAGINT and are more or less descriptive of the contents. It should be borne in mind that the more ancient method reflected in the Hebrew Bible was not necessarily meant to indicate a title but was rather a way of identifying a

scroll or tablet.

**II. Mosaic authorship.** Deuteronomy states that "Moses wrote this Torah" (Deut. 31:9, lit. trans; cf. Exod. 17:14; 24:4; 34:27; Num. 33:1 – 2). Many scholars do not take this claim seriously, despite the

This pen, dated to about the time of Moses, was used by an Egyptian scribe as a writing implement.

fact that Jesus used similar language (Jn. 5:46 – 47; 7:19). Modern Pentateuchal criticism is largely based on philosophical presuppositions that rule out the possibility of God's supernatural intervention in history. This often results in an attempt to explain away not only Mosaic authorship but all supernatural events recorded in these books. The issue of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is important to anyone who takes the NT as truthful records of Jesus Christ's words and work. Faith in Christ and faith in the books of the OT canon stand or fall together. Christ and the apostles not only took the Pentateuch as Mosaic but put their seal on it as Holy Scripture, as they did for the entire Jewish canon of their day (Rom. 3:2; 2 Tim. 3:16). Although Jesus differed with the PHARISEES on many points, there was no disagreement on what constituted Scripture nor on the subject of Mosaic authorship (Lk. 16:31; 24:44).

**III. History of higher criticism.** The postbiblical Jews accepted the Pentateuch as Mosaic, considering only the passage on Moses' death (Deut. 34:5 – 12) to have been written by JOSHUA, although JOSEPHUS and PHILO JUDAEUS thought that even this section was written by Moses in

anticipation of his death.

For almost seventeen centuries, the Christian church held almost universally to the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. In the 2nd cent., however, the non-Christian writer Celsus suggested the Pentateuch did not have a single author, and JEROME (c. A.D. 420) was not willing to commit himself fully on Mosaic authorship. Jewish commentators of the 12th cent. such as Ibn Ezra hinted that Moses may not have written all the Pentateuch. Then in the 17th cent. a number of writers began to express doubts about Mosaic authorship more openly. The Jewish Dutch philosopher Spinoza was excommunicated from the synagogue for expressing these opinions. Others, including Christian writers, began to argue that Moses wrote only the laws and that the history was added later. The Dutch writer LeClerc taught that the priest of Samaria mentioned in 2 Ki. 17:27 wrote the Pentateuch. He taught that Christ and the apostles simply accommodated themselves to the idea of Mosaic authorship.

These and a few other scholars asked questions like the following: Why did Moses use the third person instead of the first person if he himself was writing? Why did Moses say, "The Canaanites and Perizzites were also living in the land at that time" (Gen. 13:7)? Is not this a statement written by someone much later? What about Num. 21:14, which speaks of the Book of the Wars of the Lord as giving historical information about the exodus? Was this not written by someone much later than Moses? Again, why would Gen. 14:14 say that Abraham's men pursued his enemies as far as Dan when according to Jdg. 18:29 the town of Dan did not get that name until long after the time of Moses? Would not Gen. 36:31—"These were the kings who reigned in Edom before any Israelite king reigned"—reflect the viewpoint of a time when Israel had a king?

Similarly, the claim was made that Deuteronomy obviously was written by one who lived long after the time of Moses, because so much of it is from the viewpoint of those who were already in the Promised Land. For example, Deut. 1:1 says, "These are the words Moses spoke to all Israel in the desert east of *[lit.,* beyond] the Jordan." Was this written from the viewpoint of one who was already in the Promised Land and looking back to the other side in TRANSJORDAN? Moses never crossed the Jordan. Does 2:12 imply that the conquest of the land had already taken place and therefore it could not have been written by Moses? These arguments and others led some to conclude that though the laws may have been written by Moses, the historical material of the Pentateuch must have been written by others at a much later date.

Jean Astruc, a French medical doctor, discovered what he considered to be a clue to the documentary sources that Moses used. Each of the two divine names, Elohim and Yahweh (see ELOAH, ELOHIM; GOD, NAMES OF; I AM), came from a different document. About 1780, J. C. Eichhorn expanded Astruc's clue. Eichhorn attempted to show that from Gen. 1:1 to Exod. 6:3 one could divide the account into documents according to the names Elohim and Yahweh (Germ. spelling *Jahweh).* He noted that on this basis there appeared to be parallel accounts of many stories and that if one took all the E (Elohim) parts as a unit and all the J (Jahweh) parts as another, one would have a continuous narrative in each from creation to the time of Moses.

For example, Gen. 1:1 to 2:4a was thought to be one account of CREATION whereas 2:4b to 2:24 was a second account. Similarly, 6:1 – 8 and 7:1 – 5 were considered to be paralleled by 6:9 – 22, giving therefore two accounts of the flood (see FLOOD, GENESIS). And 27:41 – 45 was taken as a parallel to 27:46—28:1, giving two accounts of JACOB'S journey to HARAN. Eichhorn also thought that when these documents were examined each had its own consistent style as to diction, aims, and ideals. For example, J was thought to be primitive, much less reliable historically, and very concise in style, whereas the E document was said to be formal, verbose, and full of details. The J document

was thought to deal with altars and sacrifice in detail, and the E document was not interested in sacrifice.

From the ideas of Eichhorn in 1783 to those of K. H. Graf in 1865, this "higher criticism" of the Pentateuch took many forms, all more or less based on a naturalistic view of the origin of the OT. It must be noted that it is only when the original documentary views of the early chapters of Genesis were applied to the rest of the Pentateuch that the conflict came concerning Mosaic authorship. A verse submitted as evidence that the J document did not exist before the time of Moses was Exod. 6:3, "I appeared to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob as God Almighty [EL SHADDAI], but by my name the LORD [Yahweh] I did not make myself known to them." It was claimed that the name Yahweh did not exist prior to this time and that the redactor who brought together the documents, having forgotten this verse, put the name into the mouths of the PATRIARCHS. Such a blunder would make one suspicious of the accuracy of the whole account. This led critics to find contradictions between J and E showing that J was indeed unreliable as to history and was written long after the time of the reputed events, which explains why it made so many mistakes.

The first of the aforementioned stages in the development of higher criticism was the fragmentary hypothesis. This view was proffered by Alexander Geddes, who believed that the Pentateuch was compiled from many documents about the time of SOLOMON. These documents, he thought, came from the two schools J and E, each of which gathered fragments. A little later, J. S. Vater expanded Geddes's view into thirty-eight original documents.

Such fragmentation led to a reaction toward unity. Whereas previously most criticism had been on literary grounds, now W. N. DeWette began to use historical criteria, propounding the view held by many to this day that the book found in the temple in the days of JOSIAH (621 B.C.) by HILKIAH the priest was part of the book of Deuteronomy. This book, it was said, does not show any knowledge of laws or of kings earlier than the 7th cent. The Deuteronomist, who lived in that century, was also responsible for some of the material in 2 Kings, whereas the writer of Chronicles rewrote the history to make it look as if they knew the laws of an earlier date.

About 1830, H. Ewald set forth his supplementary hypothesis, which said that the basis of the Pentateuch was written by Moses using E material and that later the material was worked over and supplemented by a number of Yahwistic writers plus a number of Deuteronomists. The view was an attempt to answer the embarrassing question of why the name Yahweh was used in Elohistic passages. Later, Ewald revised his view; instead of considering J and D as supplements to E, he simply taught that there was an amalgam or crystallization of five or six sources that made up the Pentateuch.

In 1853, H. Hupfeld gave up the supplementary view and went back to the old J and E idea, which he modified by considering E two documents instead of one. The second E was made up of those passages that did not correspond in style to either E or J; that is, they appeared to combine both styles. The first E document Hupfeld called P, that is, the priestly writings dealing with the incidents from creation to the conquest. The second document he continued calling E, but it was E with a prophetic emphasis, whereas J was another prophetic type of writing covering all the incidents also from creation to the conquest, as did P. Then, of course, there was also Deuteronomy, which he held to be written about the time of Solomon, although not added to the other documents until the time of Josiah.

In all this, Hupfeld maintained that it was an unknown redactor of a much later period who put all the documents together, and since this redactor allowed himself considerable freedom, any inconsistencies between the documents was blamed on the redactor. It is basically in this form that the

documentary hypothesis moved into the 20th cent. Through the years there have been many suggested revisions to these theories to solve inconsistencies and irregularities by further subdividing the documents or suggesting successive recensions, redactors, and glosses.

Parallel to these developments, some scholars in the 19th cent. began to apply a new philosophy of HISTORY to the problems of OT criticism. This system, developed by the philosopher G. W. Hegel, insisted that history moved from the simple to the complex through a series of stages that he called thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. On this basis, E. Reuss in 1833 and W. Vatke in 1835 both considered the priestly code (the P document) as the most complex of the laws of the Bible and therefore the latest. In evolutionary fashion a simple religion had to precede the complex external religion of the priests.

In 1866, K. H. Graf, a pupil of Reuss, developed these ideas further by attempting to show that the laws of the OT always moved from the simple to the complex. The simplest laws were the TEN COMMANDMENTS (Exod. 20:1 – 17). The so-called Covenant Code (chs. 21—23) was more elaborate and so it was the next to be written. Still more detailed were the laws of Deuteronomy, which came about the time of Josiah (621 B.C.). Finally, the most complex laws were those of P, written after the time of Ezekiel. Graf showed that D knew the stories of J and E, but not the laws and some of the stories of P.

It was about this time that Charles Darwin developed his views, which were largely Hegelian, based on the development of life from simple to complex forms. This same type of philosophy continued to be applied to the critical views of the Pentateuch. In 1874 the Dutch scholar A. Kuenen flatly stated that the religion of Israel was purely a man-made religion, which developed (or evolved) like all other religions—from a simple animism to gross polytheism, then to a limited form of polytheism, which was called henotheism, and thence to the ethical MONOTHEISM of the great writing prophets such as Isaiah. Then came the cultic centralization of the Deuteronomist and finally postexilic sacerdotalism (the P document).

In 1870, Julius Wellhausen wrote a book that popularized Graf's views, and these became generally accepted in Germany. Wellhausen in his work on the history of Israel denied all the supernaturalism of the Pentateuch and regarded most of its history as unreliable. By 1900, these views were generally accepted by biblical critics all over the world. W. Robertson Smith in Scotland, S. R. Driver in England, and Francis Brown and Charles A. Briggs in America were among the scholars responsible for spreading these views in their respective countries. William H. Green, a highly regarded scholar at Princeton Theological Seminary, attempted to answer the claims of Pentateuchal criticism in *The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch* (1895), but it was such influential books as S. R. Driver's *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (9th ed., 1913) and R. H. Pfeiffer's *Old Testament Introduction* (1941) that represented the naturalistic criticism characterizing mainstream OT scholarship.

The view of the latter two scholars may be summarized as follows: There were four historical sources, J, E, D, and P, and six codes of law. The codes were: the Covenant Code (Exod. 20:22—23:33) and Ritual Decalogue (34:10 – 26) that came from one source, the old Canaanite civil law; the Ten Commandments (20:1 – 17); then the Anathemas of Deuteronomy (Deut. 27:15 – 26) and the Deuteronomic Code (Deut. 12 – 26); the Holiness Code (Lev. 17 – 26); and finally various legal parts of the P document called the Priestly Code. The codes found their way into the historical sources of J, E, and P. The J document, dating from about 950 – 850 B.C., was combined with E (dating about 750) at about 650. The D document, being completed before 600, was added to JE about 550; and P, originating shortly after 500, was added to JED at about 430. The writer(s) of P

also added an introduction (Gen. 1 – 11) and a conclusion (Josh. 13:15—19:51). Pfeiffer posited two other documents, S and $S^2$, which he incorporated after P, sometime between 430 and 400. (It should be noted that the term HEXATEUCH has been used by many higher critics, but not all, to indicate that their theories could be carried out not only in the first five books but also in Joshua, but this is much disputed, as is the whole documentary hypothesis.)

In summary, the documentary view of the Pentateuch began with dividing the documents on the basis of the two names for God. Only a part of the Pentateuch had been successfully divided on this basis until it was noted that there was a difference in the styles of the two. Then this style criterion was used to divide the rest of the Pentateuch; when the dividing was finished, the J and P documents were considered to be complete narratives from creation to the conquest, having many parallel stories. Hence four arguments were used: the names, the parallel narratives, the continuity of the accounts, and the style. The date of most of Deuteronomy was then established at about 621 or a little earlier. An attempt was made to show that the Deuteronomist knew the laws and history of JE but was ignorant of P, thus establishing the order of the documents as JE, D, and P. Finally the evolutionary concept was added to bolster earlier conclusions, showing a development in all the laws and institutions from the simple versions in JE through the more complex of D to the most complex in P.

## IV. Arguments for the documentary hypothesis

***A. The use of divine names.*** This argument began by using the various divine names as evidence for different documents. The major problem is that division into documents on this basis is not consistent. The J document often uses Elohim and the E document uses Yahweh. Such inconsistency is attributed to later redactors (those who put the documents together), but in reality it destroys the validity of the use of divine names as an objective standard for partition of the text into documents (for further information and refutation see Green, *Higher Criticism,* 88 – 106, and R. D. Wilson in *PTR* 18 [1920]: 460 – 92).

There may be other reasons for using different divine names. The frequent references to deity in a passage on creation would make a single name very monotonous. Most of the names for God are titles and adjectives describing various divine qualities. A context sometimes reflects the attribute of God that the name used suggests. Instead of indicating that different documents have been pieced together, the names may simply reflect a distinctive literary mode. The mode where one god may have many names or even be given a dual name is abundantly evident in the literature from UGARIT, which dates from the middle of the 2nd millennium, the traditional date for Moses. For example,

This cuneiform tablet from the 14th cent. B.C. contains a fragment of the Gilgamesh Epic, the Babylonian flood story.

Kothar wa-Khasis is the dual name of the Ugaritic craftsman god *(ANET,* 134).

***B. Continuous narration.*** The claim that division of the Pentateuch on the basis of divine names supplies us with evidence of documents, each of which had a continuous narrative, cannot be demonstrated for either the J or the E document. This is more or less admitted by the documentarians, but they do claim a strong case of continuous and complete narrative for the P document. Examining the material claimed to be P, however, reveals serious omissions. For example, most of the flood story in Gen. 6 – 9 is attributed to P, but one of the most important elements in the account—the reason for the flood—is missing. Another example is Gen. 19, where one verse (v. 29) is attributed to P, which describes the destruction of the CITIES OF THE PLAIN, but there is no statement of the cause of this destruction. One could hardly call this a part of a continuous narrative. Certain fragments of the stories of JACOB and ESAU (Gen. 27 – 36) are included in P. In these fragments, however, there is no mention of Jacob's posterity that he acquired in PADDAN, even though such statistics are supposed to be a peculiar feature of P. (Because of lack of space the reader is referred to Green, *Higher Criticism,* 106 – 9, and to O. T. Allis, *The Five Books of Moses* [1943], 111 – 15.)

***C. Parallel passages.*** Another higher-critical argument claims that all the so-called doublets, or parallel passages, are evidence for different documentary sources. The first of these is the alleged double account of creation. Genesis 1 is said to come from P during or after the exile, and ch. 2 is attributed to J in the 9th cent. There are alleged discrepancies between the two. That man is created at the end of the first account but at the beginning of the second account is a superficial approach to the texts. The second chapter is merely focussing on ADAM and stressing his relationship to the rest of creation, which the first chapter does not do. This is not at all an unusual literary procedure. If the hypothetical redactor who put these accounts together saw no contradictions, why should not a single author have felt the same way?

A multiple source for the flood story can also be shown to be imaginary. The narrative in Gen. 6 is neither contrary to nor can it be separated from the account in ch. 7. The first narrative describes the preparation for the flood, while the second relates the coming of the flood itself. For example, there is an alleged discrepancy between 6:19, which calls for taking one pair of each species into the

ark, and 7:2, where NOAH must take seven pairs of clean animals aboard. It is obvious that 6:19 is a generalization and 7:2 is an exception concerning clean animals only. (A very excellent and concise handling of these doublets as criteria for source division may be found in G. L. Archer, *A Survey of Old Testament Introduction,* rev. ed. [1994], ch. 9.)

***D. Style.*** Differences in the literary style of passages is a principal argument for source partition. Here circular reasoning is most evident. The distinctive characteristics of the alleged documents were decided upon often on the basis of preconceived notions about the evolution of Hebrew religion and with complete disregard of the changes in style that a single author may use, depending on his subject matter. Most of the division into sources is done on the basis of style; and though divine names were used as the starting point, they were subsequently ignored, and inconsistency was blamed on the redactor. After having divided on the basis of style, one should not be surprised to find particular styles turning up in the documents thus created on that basis. Differences in style, therefore, as a proof for the documents cannot be taken seriously.

Lists often were made of various words and idioms peculiar to a particular document. It was claimed that the J document and the E document used different words for their respective designations of a "female slave." In Gen. 20, however, which was assigned to E, both words appear. This led the German critic H. Holzinger in his commentary on Genesis to delete the offending word from 20:14, and then again he deleted this same J word when it appears in 30:18, which he also assigned to the E source. A related matter is the exclusive use of the name Elohim in ch. 33; this chapter is assigned to J wholly on the basis that the J word for "female slave" is used it it. It seems quite obvious that either this word is not characteristic of J or else Elohim is not characteristic of E.

It apparently did not occur to these scholars that the necessity of such deletions and discrepancies might indicate that something was wrong with their approach to the text. Due to difficulties in clearly defining the stylistic differences between J and E, critics like S. R. Driver *(Introduction,* 19) stressed the differences between JE as a joint source and P as another existing alongside. The style of the P document is represented as very schematic, highly ritualistic, and highly statistical, with frequent use of genealogies, dates, and figures. References to the Aaronic priesthood are one of its major features. When it is pointed out that the Aaronic priesthood is mentioned thirteen times in J, this is sloughed off as the work of the redactor.

***E. The date of Deuteronomy.*** According to the documentarians, a large part of the book of DEUTERONOMY was written around the time of Josiah (621 B.C.). Opinions differ as to the exact date, but almost all agree that it was accepted by JOSIAH as the basis of his reform. The claim is made that the heathen practices forbidden in the book of Deuteronomy are in harmony with Josiah's time because his predecessor, MANASSEH, fostered this kind of worship to please his Assyrian overlord. In the middle of the 8th cent., prophets such as AMOS had arisen to call for an ethical monotheism and reputedly to oppose the cult of sacrifice in favor of a religion of conduct rather than of cult. R. H. Pfeiffer maintained that the author of Deuteronomy made a compromise between these two extremes of cult and conduct, and thus became the founder of Judaism *(The Books of the Old Testament* [1957], 55). The Deuteronomist delayed the appearance of his book until after the deaths of the Assyrian king ASHURBANIPAL and the Judean king MANASSEH, because in their day his work would have been summarily rejected. With the decline of ASSYRIA, a reaction to Manasseh's policy had set in. Josiah then based his religious reforms on the work of the Deuteronomist and destroyed the heathen high places all over the land as well as in Jerusalem, calling for a central shrine to be in

Jerusalem.

The documentarians lay great emphasis on the interpretation of those verses in Deuteronomy that speak of a central place of worship, which the Lord would choose. They take this to be Jerusalem, although the book of Deuteronomy itself does not even mention the TEMPLE, much less the city of Jerusalem. Indeed, taking the following passages at their face value, one sees that they all point to a future sanctuary, not to one already in existence (Deut. 12:5 – 32; 14:23 – 29; 15:20; 16:2 – 22; 17:8, 10; 18:6; 26:2). In 16:5 – 6, the people are told that they must not sacrifice the PASSOVER in any place they might choose, but only at the place that the Lord their God would choose, to make his name dwell there. The SAMARITAN sect, which eventually accepted only the Pentateuch, contended that this place was not meant to be Jerusalem at all, but Mount GERIZIM, and indeed the book of Deuteronomy, if taken by itself, supports this idea (cf. 27:1 – 11). In all probability, the correct interpretation of those verses that speak of the place that the Lord their God shall choose is the most obvious meaning, namely, that the Lord had not yet revealed the place for the central altar, and that it would be wherever he chose at any given time. At various points in the subsequent history there were a number of places chosen before David captured Jerusalem; first, GILGAL (Josh. 5:10); then, Mounts EBAL and Gerizim (8:33); then, SHILOH (1 Sam. 1:9); and eventually, JERUSALEM (2 Sam. 6:16 – 17).

In subsequent criticism there has been a tendency to explain the various documents and their codes of law, not on the basis of an evolutionary development but on the basis of the different geographic cultic origins. Deuteronomy, then, is said to come from a sanctuary in SHECHEM and is to be completely dissociated from the other four books of the Pentateuch. The fixed point in all of these views is that Deuteronomy is much later than the time of Moses.

Driver (*Introduction,* 89) attempts to escape the objection that such a view of Deuteronomy means that the book itself is a forgery by flatly stating that Deuteronomy does not claim to be written by Moses. This he supports by stating that the book is written in the third person about Moses and that the speeches are Mosaic only in the sense that these are the words that the author presumes that Moses would have said. But this is to give his case away, for the question is not whether the book is sometimes in the third person, which all readily admit, but whether or not the speeches that are attributed to Moses are really Mosaic in the sense that they came directly from him. According to Deut. 31:9, "Moses wrote down this law and gave it to the priests, the sons of Levi." Later in the chapter (v. 24) we read, "After Moses finished writing in a book the words of this law…" If, in the words of Driver, these words are only "represented as having been spoken" by Moses, then of course the work is fraudulent and is an example of what scholars have called pseudepigraphy.

Though a common practice in the Greco-Roman world, pseudepigraphy is not known to be a custom in OT times. Even if, as W. F. Albright says, "Deuteronomy was an attempt to recapture the letter and the spirit of Mosaism, which had been neglected or forgotten by the Israelites of the Monarchy" (*From the Stone Age to Christianity,* 2nd ed. [1957], 319), and is not a pious fraud, he still has to assume that the verses quoted above in Deut. 31 are fraudulent. Not only so, but the supposition throughout the book that the people were still in Transjordan must be considered fraudulent. Also, 11:2 – 7, which says that the people have just witnessed God's miracles in Egypt and in the desert, is fraudulent.

Despite Albright's statement that the religious and ethical point of view is definitely that of the 7th cent. (ibid., 320), there is still not a single historical reference to the period after Moses' death in the book of Deuteronomy. As has been stated, no mention is made of the city of Jerusalem. Even the kingship passage (Deut. 17:14 – 20) is from a hypothetical point of view, the assumption being that such kingship did not yet exist. Moreover the blotting out of the Amalekites, which was completed by

SAUL (1 Sam. 15), simply does not fit the 7th cent., and the command to destroy the Canaanites fits the time of Moses better than any other. To escape this problem, S. R. Driver says that "the Canaanites" simply means "the heathen" *(Introduction,* 92). The friendly attitude toward the Edomites as expressed in Deut. 23:7 would have been highly unlikely in the 7th cent., when constant enmity existed between these two nations. The argument that the forms of idolatry mentioned in 4:19 and 17:3 are characteristics of the middle period of the monarchy has lost much of its impact because of the increasing documented evidence that the forms of idolatry mentioned in Deuteronomy, including worship of the heavenly bodies, were early practices in the ANE.

Much has been made by the critics of the influence that Deuteronomy had on Jeremiah, "Second" Isaiah (Isa. 40 – 66), and Ezekiel, whereas Amos, "First" Isaiah, and Hosea show no influence by Deuteronmy. This is part of the evidence that leads to the dating of Deuteronomy in the 7th cent. There is no doubt that Deuteronomy has been quoted in some sections of the OT more than in others, but Joshua is much closer to Deuteronomy than any other book of the OT, and Jeremiah also quotes from Numbers and other books. In addition, the style of Deuteronomy has striking similarity to the style in other parts of the Pentateuch, differing no more than one would expect from a change in subject matter or the use of preaching. Indeed there are so many stylistic features in Deuteronomy common with other parts of the Pentateuch that S. R. Driver (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy,* ICC, 3rd ed. [1901], lxxvii) was forced to say that these places seem to be the source from which parts of Deuteronomy were taken. The book of the law discovered by Hilkiah the priest in the days of Josiah must have included Deuteronomy, but there is no way of proving that it did not also include the other books of the Pentateuch.

Another key argument on this matter of the alleged 7th-cent. date of Deuteronomy is the claim that the particular Deuteronomic reforms, especially the centralization of worship (Deut. 12), were not practiced before the time of Josiah and therefore could not have been known earlier. The same argument was used of other legal sections of the Pentateuch, such as the Covenant Code (Exod. 21 – 23). George Mendenhall, in his *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (1955), has effectively refuted this argument by showing that HAMMURABI'S Code was never referred to in later legal documents; therefore arguments from silence are weak.

All periods of history attest that laws may be written and even codified and then be forgotten. The book of Judges makes it abundantly clear that this is what the Israelites did. The idolatrous Israelite cult centers that archaeologists have found at HAZOR and ARAD are in harmony with the book of Judges. The fact is that many of the laws of the book of Deuteronomy are to be found also in the other books of the Pentateuch, especially Exodus and Leviticus. Careful examination of the law in Deut. 12 certainly leads one to believe that the "law of the central sanctuary" was to show the Israelites that they were not to sacrifice anywhere they pleased as the Canaanites did, but that there would be one altar to the one God; not that it would never move, but that it would be the place that God would choose, one place at a time. When they arrived in the land they would find many altars to many gods, but their one Lord would have one altar. Thus Deut. 12:1 – 7 is not a contradiction to Exod. 20:24, as some maintain. The latter verse provided for an altar before the tabernacle was built, or even for temporary altars at places where God recorded his name, where there was a divine revelation, a THEOPHANY, where God's presence was. Even an altar of BAAL could be turned into an altar of the Lord, as in the case of ELIJAH'S calling down fire from heaven. Such an incident is not in contradiction to the basic idea of God's having an official sanctuary where his SHEKINAH glory was located.

**V. Modern approaches.** In general, higher-critical views on the origin of the Pentateuch have moved in the direction of the old fragmentization theory. Hermann Gunkel came to the conclusion that the peculiar characteristics of the separate documents are really meaningless. He stressed the need for examining short pieces of biblical literature, thereby tracing variant schools of oral tradition. The Dutch scholar B. D. Eerdmans rejected the documents, but continued with the concept of the evolutionary development of Hebrew religion. He adopted the view of G. A. Klosterman that the divine names could be no criteria for dividing the books into documents because they were based solely on the MT, where the SEPTUAGINT often gave different readings.

Through the early part of the 20th cent. almost all phases of the documentary hypothesis were questioned. There have come attacks on the Josianic date of Deuteronomy, some giving philosophical and archaeological reasons why Deuteronomy could not have come from this time. Others have questioned whether the Bible says Josiah's primary purpose was to limit the sanctuary to Jerusalem. R. H. Kennett and G. Hölscher put Deuteronomy after the exile, since to have stoned those who committed idolatry (Deut. 13; 17) would have killed off most of the people at the time of Josiah. Today there is no unanimity of opinion as to the date of Deuteronomy.

Others during the 20th cent. questioned the late date of the P document. R. Smend and W. Eichrodt agreed with Eerdmans in rejecting the characteristics of the P document. On the basis of careful exegesis, M. Löhr showed that there was no reason to maintain an independent P document at all. Löhr held that the Pentateuch was composed by EZRA in Babylon using many materials. In 1933, two scholars, P. Volz and W. Rudolf, denied that there was even a separate source E in Genesis. Later, Rudolf published a similar study for the other books of the Pentateuch.

U. Cassuto called into question all the major arguments in favor of the usual critical approach in his work, *The Documentary Hypothesis* (1961). Cassuto maintained that Genesis was written by one author, although he dated it in the time of David (1000 B.C.). R. Dussaud, on the basis of the documents from Ras Shamra (UGARIT), sought to show that the documentary view was false in two major points: first, its sources were too late; and second, it underestimated the value of Israelite tradition. F. Dornseiff, a student of Greek philology, showed quite effectively that Homer could be divided on the basis of dual names. His conclusion was that repetitions and parallelisms were really simply a literary mode and that legal portions were often found in the midst of narratives in the Greek texts and are not to be looked upon as separate documents. He also questioned the notion that Deuteronomy was a priestly fraud and also the notion that a first-rate literary work could emerge from the hands of multitudinous redactors as they cut sources into small pieces.

In 1930, S. Mowinckel also rejected the E document as separate from J. Like Gunkel, he laid stress on oral tradition, which he tied to his own ideas of divine kingship and cultic prophecy in Israel (cf. also the British myth and ritual school). J. Pedersen, of the University of Copenhagen, while accepting some of the documents, opposed the 19th-cent. evolutionism of the Wellhausian hypothesis, especially as it applied to culture. In the so-called late and artificial priestly material of the Pentateuch some laws, such as the statutes regarding redemption, Pedersen said, came from real-life situations. Many of the social laws were considered to be of this class. J and E contain much "living material" according to Pedersen, especially in the Genesis stories. The parallel narratives were not the result of documents, but were based on Israelite psychology, and so all the so-called sources were both preexilic and postexilic. Pedersen viewed Exod. 1 – 15 as a cultic legend of the Passover reflecting the annual reliving of the historical events. The material was passed on in this way from generation to generation. According to Pedersen, the exodus narrative was a cultic glorification of God at the Paschal feast, an exposition of the historical event that created the nation.

The narrative was not a report of historical events. As a cult legend, it is impossible to reconstruct the historical events from it. On this basis the Exodus accounts and the Genesis stories have very little relationship to each other. Both have marks of being preexilic and postexilic.

In 1945, I. Engnell, of the same Scandinavian school, accused the documentary theory of artificial interpretation based on modern philosophy without taking into view the ancient Semitic literary techniques, views, and psychology. He absolutely denied that there were any continuous documents out of which the Pentateuch was composed. He looked upon Deuteronomy as north-Israelite and claimed it had nothing to do with Jerusalem. His view was that there were different schools of tradition. There was a P school of tradition in the Tetrateuch (Genesis through Numbers) and a D school of tradition in Deuteronomy through 2 Kings (see DEUTERONOMISTIC HISTORY). There were individual oral stories and legend cycles that were cultic in origin and connected with the sanctuary. Basically P was a Judahite tradition, whereas D was a northern Israelite tradition, which in its final form got into the hands of the people of Judah. So to Engnell there were no written documents at an early time at all, nor redactors, but units of oral tradition, circles of tradition, and schools within these circles.

Two more scholars should be mentioned. G. von Rad held that the Hexateuch (the first six books) was put together as a literary unit. He worked with the traditional documentary dates, but saw in them (esp. in P) much that was very old and archaic in form. He claimed that J gave the Pentateuch its definitive form and that E and P brought nothing really new. The other scholar is M. Noth, who also was an "orthodox" higher critic, but he denied the idea of the Hexateuch and followed the notion that the original book of Moses was Genesis through Numbers and perhaps some of Deut. 31 – 34. He also stressed oral tradition, putting J and E together as a common base and calling them G (the *Grund* or "Ground" source).

One of the major trends in modern criticism of the Pentateuch has been away from any schematic and determinant system of development. A. Weiser *(The Old Testament: Its Formation and Development* [1961]) says some strata in the Pentateuch cannot be defined in detail, but can be understood only in light of the cult. In other words, the origin of the literature lies in the cult, and even after the tradition was fixed many alterations came about to conform to cultic changes. Weiser is willing to admit that oral and written tradition existed side by side through many centuries, but he insists that individual authors were responsible for these strata and not just schools, as Gunkel held.

One of the major tools of modern criticism is called TRADITION HISTORY. This is not just the memory of past events but the kind of history that originates in cultic festivals and continues in sacramental cultic acts. This results in a trend away from literary criticism to questions of interpretation of OT religion. C. R. North (in *The Old Testament and Modern Study: A Generation of Discovery and Research,* ed. H. H. Rowley [1951], 48 – 83, esp. 74) feels that the modern critic has two major problems: One is the historical value of the biblical account of creation down to the death of Moses, and the second is the value of the Pentateuch as a source for the history of Hebrew religion from the time of the exodus down to the postexilic period. This latter is based on the principle that the Pentateuch comes from all different periods in Israel's history and is therefore really an epitome of the history of Israel's religion. One can easily see that such a position assumes that the results of Pentateuchal criticism are generally correct. Many of the old scholars were interested in rationalizing out all of the miraculous elements of the text to discover what these historical events were, but the newer concept of "tradition history" stresses that the literature in the Pentateuch reflects a community experience coming from generations of people who transfigured the bare facts of history by their faith. One, therefore, should not look on the history in the Bible from

creation to the death of Moses as having any substantial reality, although there may be a nucleus of history behind it, but it must be interpreted as "salvation history," as "sacred history," or "tradition history."

The second problem mentioned by North—the value of the Pentateuch as a source for the history of OT religion down to postexilic times—grew directly out of the old documentary approach to the Pentateuch; but there is a marked difference between the old critical position and this more recent approach. The old view asserted that the religious history of a millennium was telescoped within the Pentateuch by means of the documents J, E, D, and P, which reflected the evolutionary development of OT religion. The old view held that it was possible to show how and when the OT ideas and institutions came to be. To many modern scholars, all evolutionism and logicism is considered a modern invention imposed on the OT. They are very skeptical about the results and about all attempts to date the documents. Pedersen was not even interested in OT religion as much as he was in the psychology of OT religion. Engnell decided there were no documents at all, but only a mass of traditions from which different types of material originated.

During the last decades of the 20th cent., critical scholarship of the Pentateuch experienced even greater fragmentation. Among those who still accept the basic outlines of the documentary hypothesis, many use oral transmission as a way to solve the problems of inconsistency. They claim that the oral forms from different periods existed parallel to one another and thus form the reason why the same documents may have both preexilic and postexilic material in them. Some scholars have proposed dates that vary widely from the earlier consensus: a few scholars now date the source J as late as the exile, while others argue that P was earlier than D. By and large, literary criticism of the Pentateuch at the beginning of the 21st cent. is in a state of disarray (see some of the recent titles listed in the bibliography below).

Despite all of this divergence of opinion, the modern critical approach to the Pentateuch still clings generally to the terminology of the old documentary hypothesis, simply because the modern critic has nothing else to take its place as a humanistic explanation of how these books came into being. Indeed it has become a kind of "orthodoxy" among OT scholars. If these general tenets are accepted, then the Pentateuch as it now stands cannot be accepted as an authentic witness to events in space and time that took place in the days of the patriarchs and Moses. Against this, the question must be asked: are there archaeological and literary evidences that bear witness to the authenticity of the history and cultural institutions reflected in the Pentateuch?

**VI. Archaeological witness.** It must be recognized that there are some exaggerated claims as to what ARCHAEOLOGY can affirm, but many discoveries are of great significance. For example, not that long ago scholars of the OT would have considered it extravagant to talk of copies of the Hebrew OT dating to pre-Christian times. Nonetheless this is what the biblical texts discovered in the Judean Wilderness are (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS). As for

The Code of Hammurabi includes many parallels to the laws found in the Pentateuch.

preexilic written documents from Palestine, these are very few because the people wrote on perishable materials. However, written materials from Egypt, where the climate is exceedingly dry, and Mesopotamia, where the writing was on clay, are profuse from all periods, and they throw considerable light on the Pentateuch.

With regard to subject matter: the early chapters of Genesis purport to tell of prehistoric events, that is, events before the advent of written history (3000 B.C.). It should not be surprising that the Hebrew names of characters of this early age are not found in foreign written documents. In the case of the Noachian flood, for example, the Babylonian account is remarkably similar to the biblical account even as to details, and yet the names of the characters are Babylonian or Sumerian depending on the CUNEIFORM document being read. It should not seem strange that both the Babylonian account and the biblical narrative had their origins in the same prehistoric event.

The time of ABRAHAM opens a period of human history in which written documents had already existed for more than a millennium. Indeed, it is from this patriarchal period that a flood of archaeological information supports the patriarchal stories and their general historic validity. Though the PATRIARCHS themselves are not mentioned in extrabiblical documents, place-names and other personal names mentioned in the accounts appear in documents from Mesopotamia. Some 20,000

tablets from the Middle Euphrates town called MARI contain many names familiar to the patriarchal stories, for they were written by NW Semites, whose laws and customs were very similar to those of the Hebrew patriarchs.

The same may be said for the slightly later Nuzi tablets, which also come from Mesopotamia. They supply abundant cultural confirmation of the stories in Genesis. Abraham's adoption of ELIEZER as heir (Gen. 15:2; lit., "son of possession of my house") is reminiscent of the ADOPTION tablets from Nuzi. One tablet confirms the custom of selling one's birthright, as ESAU did (25:33). Also, the binding effect of the verbal oath made by ISAAC to JACOB is attested in the Nuzi tablets, where a man wins a law suit by proving that his father had made such a death-bed will. RACHEL'S interest in her father's TERAPHIM (household idols, ch. 31) is explained in a Nuzi court case, where a man is able to prove his claim to his father's estate by possession of the family teraphim.

Hammurabi's Code also comes from Mesopotamia in the patriarchal age, and it throws much light on the laws of the various parts of the Pentateuch. Many of the civil laws mentioned in the Pentateuch, especially in the Mosaic legislation (Exod. 21 – 23), really go back to ancient case law that the patriarchs brought from Mesopotamia. These were the common laws of the Mesopotamian world of the 2nd millennium. God allowed the Israelites to use these laws with some variations and improvements. For example, the death penalty was prescribed for both adulterer and adulteress when caught in the act, as well as for kidnaping (Exod. 21:16; Deut. 24:7; Hammurabi's Code no. 14, *ANET,* 166). The method of dealing with a woman suspected of adultery (Num. 5:11 – 28) has real affinity with a similar law in Hammurabi's Code, where a trial by ordeal is also used (no. 132, *ANET,* 171). Such detail as Lev. 19:23 – 25, which speaks of a five-year prohibition for the eating of fruit of a newly planted orchard, is found also in Hammurabi's Code (ibid.). Even some legislation that is peculiarly Deuteronomic can be paralleled (cf. Deut. 19:16 – 21 with law no. 1, and 22:23 – 27 with law no. 130).

The COVENANT or TREATY forms of the great kings of the ANE throw interesting light on the format of the book of Deuteronomy and of the Decalogue itself. Such treaty texts were found in HITTITE archives, at UGARIT, in ARAMAIC inscriptions from Sefireh, and in the later Assyrian texts of ESARHADDON. Their original classic form dates from the middle of the 2nd millennium, and the striking similarity of format with the book of Deuteronomy certainly lends weight to an early or 2nd-millennium composition of that book. M. G. Kline has developed this theme in his book, *Treaty of the Great King: The Covenant Structure of Deuteronomy* (1963).

The Canaanite alphabetic texts from UGARIT of the 14th and 13th centuries B.C. are full of technical terms for sacrifices that at one time were all thought to be postexilic by the documentarians. The Semitic words for the whole burnt offering, the shared or peace offering, the trespass offering, and the sin offering were all in full use in the 2nd millennium B.C. The Canaanite cult of the dead, reflected in Deut. 14:1, is attested in the Ugaritic texts, as is a rain (?) cult, which is reflected in the Hebrew prohibition of seething a kid in its mother's milk (Exod. 23:19; 34:26; Deut. 14:21; and C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature* [1949], 59).

The old higher-critical idea that the concept of ethical DUALISM arose in the ANE only after the rise of the Persian religion of Zoroaster (see ZOROASTRIANISM) can no longer be taken seriously in the light of the new texts. That rituals and consciousness of sin are postexilic ideas is simply no longer tenable. Offering lists and rituals far more elaborate than anything found in the Pentateuch come from documents in Egypt and Mesopotamia that date all the way back to the 3rd millennium. That social concepts in the Mosaic writings are too high for the 2nd millennium is now refuted by the great social consciousness expressed by the Middle Kingdom kings of Egypt and by kings of Canaan and

Mesopotamia, who often acclaimed their care for the orphan and the widow and spoke of themselves as shepherds of the people. Triumph hymns attested in Egyptian texts of the 15th to the 13th centuries compare well with the song of Moses and MIRIAM (Exod. 15).

The 2nd-millennium poetry of the Ugaritic mythological texts illuminates the language of certain poetic parts of the Pentateuch, such as the poems of BALAAM (Num. 22 – 24), Moses' poem (Deut. 32), and Jacob's blessings (Gen. 49). Undoubtedly there was an updating of the language of the Pentateuch by scribes like EZRA, as Jewish tradition tells us, but most of the poetry was left archaic so as not to destroy its beauty. The Sinuhe story from Middle Kingdom Egypt corroborates many of the concepts found in the Joseph account in Genesis. Among these is the Egyptian attitude toward shepherds (Gen. 46:34). The authenticity of the Joseph story can really be appreciated only by one who is well versed in Egyptian literature of the 2nd millennium. The possibility of a non-Egyptian like Moses being brought up in the Egyptian court is known from New Kingdom papyri. Craftsmen like BEZALEL and OHOLIAB (Exod. 31:1 – 6) fit well into the Egyptian picture, as do also the Hebrews as laborers making bricks without straw. The techniques used in the construction of the TABERNACLE were used in Egypt centuries before Moses. The overlaying of wood with gold sheeting, as described in the building of the tabernacle, is evident in the treasures taken from the well-known tomb of King Tutankhamen, whose date is approximately the time of Moses.

Sometimes archaeology has raised problems as well as solved them; therefore archaeology cannot confirm all the details of the Bible. But certainly one of the results of the modern archaeological movement has been to confirm substantially the historicity of the culture and times reflected in the narratives of the patriarchs and of Moses and the exodus. Archaeology has done this so effectively that the modern literary criticism of the Pentateuch has had to find new ways of working this new evidence into its theories of the origin of these books.

These remarks on the literary criticism of the Pentateuch may be concluded by a statement of what is and what is not meant by Mosaic authorship. Mosaic authorship means that the books of the Pentateuch came from the time of Moses and that Moses is their real author. This does not assert that Moses did this single-handedly without help or that every word was dictated to him from heaven. The divine INSPIRATION that God gave to Moses consisted of directing Moses in writing those materials that God wanted Moses to write and also in directing him to the sources that he needed for this purpose. There were instances, as on Mount Sinai, where God gave Moses words directly from heaven, but most of the Pentateuch does not consist of this type of material. There are legal portions, some of which reflect the common law of the day. There is the creation account, which Moses must have had by direct divine revelation, but many of the details of the flood account are so similar to those of the Babylonian flood story that undoubtedly Moses had source materials, and God gave him divine wisdom in choosing them. There are poetic sections and literary formats that very much reflect the time in which Moses lived.

The much disputed third person singular used sometimes by Moses about himself is a literary form used by other ancient writers, such as Xenophon. In the narrative material from Exodus through Deuteronomy, the one place where Moses plays no role at all is in the Balaam account (Num. 22 – 24). This account is strategically placed at the end of the wilderness wandering in that last year of preparation before the children of Israel were to enter the land of promise. Moses was soon to pass from the scene. There is no way of knowing how the Israelites learned what was going on among the Moabites as recorded in the Balaam account, but "the Book of the Wars of the LORD" (Num. 21:14) may represent an old work contemporaneous with Moses that later was used as a historical source. See WARS OF THE LORD, BOOK OF THE.

The Pentateuch, then, was composed by the great man Moses under the influence of divine inspiration with the assistance of faithful men who recorded Moses' words and assisted him in putting into writing the great pieces of literary composition now comprising the Pentateuch. Some later modernization of the text must be admitted, in keeping with Jewish tradition, most of which dates from the time of Ezra and explains certain anachronisms and glosses that exist in the text. These are not so numerous as some think.

For example, although many of the nations mentioned in Gen. 10 came into the light of history in the 1st millennium, they certainly had their origins in the 2nd and some even in the 3rd millennium. Archaeological evidence proffered by P. Lapp *(The Dhahr Mirzbâneh Tombs: Three Intermediate Bronze Age Cemeteries in Jordan* [1966]) points to the presence of peoples from the W Mediterranean, Europe, and central Asia in 2nd-millennium Palestine, so that the reference to the Canaanites and Perizzites being then in the land is highly authentic and is not the work of a late hand, as the documentarians had claimed. This theory must still be proved, but the critics, after they were shown to be wrong in denying the existence of the Hittites (who were known only from the Bible), still denied the existence of the biblical 1st-millennium Hittites on the grounds that their kingdom was destroyed in the late 2nd millennium. Then, to their consternation, Assyrian documents proved that though the Hittite kingdom was indeed destroyed in the 2nd millennium, many Syrians were called Hittites in the 1st millennium.

**VII. Language.** Hebraists used to show that certain words in the Pentateuch were late. Usually this was connected with attempts to determine which material came from the late P document. An example of this is in the two different forms used for the first person independent pronoun, *)ānōkî H644* and *)ănî H638*. The longer form was considered to be early, and the short form was judged to be late, since the latter was used frequently by Ezekiel. Much to the embarrassment of those who held this position, the Ugaritic texts, which date from the 14th cent. B.C., use both forms. Since we have only a limited knowledge of the total Hebrew vocabulary of the biblical period, one cannot be very dogmatic about the emergence of a word in the language. It has been demonstrated that words occurring frequently in the late Hebrew of the TALMUD but that are very rare or even nonexistent in the OT still may be very early words, as we now know from their appearance in other early documents.

Because ARAMAIC became the trade language of the ANE in postexilic times, scholars claimed that any Aramaic words or Aramaisms in the OT were evidence that a document was late. This fallacious idea was already exposed by R. D. Wilson in his *Scientific Investigation of the Old Testament* as long ago as 1926. Aramaic does appear early in the Bible (Gen. 31:47), where Jacob's uncle LABAN called the heap of stones they had set up as a witness JEGAR SAHADUTHA. Aramaic was spoken in N Mesopotamia (PADAN ARAM or ARAM NAHARAIM) in the 2nd millennium. Although we have documents from late in that millennium, as yet there are no Aramaic documents from the patriarchal age. Assyrian records, however, tell of Aramean migrations across N Mesopotamia into N Syria in the 12th cent. B.C., and such a movement can scarcely represent a sudden appearance of a people without a lengthy history (see J. Bright, *A History of Israel,* 4th ed. [2000], 80 – 83, for further evidence). The language that Moses spoke was a Hebrew that came into its own right as a NW Semitic dialect sometime after Abraham's entrance into Canaan with his Mesopotamian background, possibly even an Aramean background. According to Gen. 22:20 – 24, the Arameans were descendants of Abraham's brother NAHOR.

As Hebrew developed into a language in its own right, it grew out of various shades of NW

Semitic. The Pentateuch contains archaisms that reflect a very early linguistic form, even pre-Mosaic. This form is usually preserved by the poetry, as in Jacob's blessings (Gen. 49). Some of the present uniformity of the text comes from a process of modernizing that was done in post-Mosaic times. The uniform vocalizing of the masculine and feminine third singular pronoun, which was originally spelled *hʾ*, probably came about in the biblical period. This practice appears to bear witness to the unity of the Pentateuch at a comparatively early time. However, the language of the Pentateuch cannot be expected to represent one period exclusively or even one dialect, even though it originally came from one source. This is not only because of subsequent treatment, but also because Moses' sources were varied and because there could have been variation in his scribal help (Num. 11). The whole process offers so many linguistic and literary possibilities that one can hardly be dogmatic. This is where the higher critics went astray.

The Israelites' long stay in Egypt and Moses' Egyptian education are abundantly evident throughout the Pentateuch in linguistic and cultural ways. An excellent summary of these internal evidences for the antiquity of the Pentateuch has been provided by Archer *(Survey,* ch. 8; he presents the best of the material given in A. S. Yahuda, *The Language of the Pentateuch and its Relationship to Egyptian* [1933], but also adds many other interesting features of his own).

**VIII. Textual criticism.** Textual criticism (sometimes called "lower criticism") of the Bible is the study of the MSS, versions, and other materials that have come down through the centuries. Scholars attempt to arrive at the most authentic texts possible through the use of these materials. The DSS have been very important in this area. It is now known that there were different recensions (or editorial revisions) of the Pentateuch that go back to very early times. Therefore the dividing up of chapters and sometimes even verses into different documents is often left without any foundation for placing a given text in this or that document, because these recensions themselves may differ on which divine name was used. Such recensions or MS families may have come about as a result of various degrees of updating of the text, beginning in the time of Ezra.

It must be recognized that the absolute fixity of the text was a practice that did not come until post-Christian times. This does not mean that the text is unreliable, but rather that it is a rich source for understanding the possibilities of the text at a much earlier time. It does not disturb the divine inspiration of the original documents at all, and really becomes a problem only where the text differs so seriously as to be contradictory, but this is exceedingly rare. One important advance in the textual critical studies of the Pentateuch is the new data from the DSS, which shows that the Samaritan recension of the Pentateuch branched off in the 1st cent. B.C. rather than in the 5th or the 4th cent. B.C. as previously thought. It appears that this Samaritan recension was originally connected with a basic text type that some scholars have called the Palestinian family, which goes all the way back to the exile.

In the DSS three types of Pentateuch text have emerged, the proto-Masoretic type, the Palestinian type, and the Septuagint type. A typical textual problem is Gen. 15:7, which records that the Lord said to Abraham, "I am the LORD who brought you out of Ur of the Chaldeans." The SEPTUAGINT text says, *ek chōras Chaldaiōn,* "out of the *country* of the Chaldeans" (similarly in 11:28). In Acts 7:4, STEPHEN seems to be following the LXX when he speaks of Abraham going *ek gēs Chaldaiōn,* "out of the *land* of the Chaldeans." The problem is not at all serious, but it is interesting that Phoenician documents from OT times attest that one meaning of the word *ʾûr* was "country," and this indeed might be the original meaning of the Genesis text, rather than taking the word as the proper name for the old Sumerian city of UR.

Other cases of textual criticism of the Pentateuch show greater divergence, for example, in the chronology of certain portions of Genesis, where the MT, the Palestinian text, and the LXX text vary. This also is reflected in STEPHEN'S address in Acts 7:14, where he follows the LXX tradition, saying seventy-five souls went down to Egypt with Jacob, whereas the MT text says seventy (Gen. 46:27). Perhaps the most serious divergency in the Pentateuch between these families of MSS is Exod. 35 – 36. This section describes the actual building of the tabernacle and it is repetitious of the earlier plan that is presented in the book of Exodus, but in these chapters the LXX text is much abbreviated and it is often followed here by the SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH. Most scholars would agree that the MT text is the more reliable, but this cannot be absolutely proved, since what is left out is already given in the earlier chapters. Although the MT (sometimes referred to as the Babylonian text) is generally viewed as the most reliable, this is not always the case. The Samaritan text, as it presently stands, has many divergencies that are the result of Samaritan sectarian differences. There is still much to be done by scholars in the area of textual criticism of the Pentateuch. See further TEXT AND MANUSCRIPTS (OT).

## IX. The literature of the Pentateuch

***A. Narrative materials.*** Moses presents God's creation of the world as a narrative, a story to be told. He says, "These are the generations of the heavens and the earth" (Gen. 2:4a NRSV); that is, "This is the account [of the origin] of the heavens and the earth" (NIV). Written for even the simplest to understand, the account touches the deepest mysteries. The narratives do not tell everything that happened, but they demonstrate God's relationship with his creature. The account of the FALL is followed closely by the events necessary to show God's nature and purpose in contrast to human determination to thwart that purpose.

The rest of Genesis presents God's program to redeem his fallen creature as revealed in the lives of those through whom God would bring his divine redeemer into the world—Seth, Noah, Shem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph. The narratives themselves center on God's covenant with the patriarchs, which had a dual thrust, a material and a spiritual side: God would make of them a great nation and give them a land, but also he would be their God, their protector, and redeemer. These two aspects of the covenant would uniquely combine in subsequent history to bring about God's program for the redemption of humanity.

The book of GENESIS is built around a Hebrew phrase that is repeated ten times and was alluded

The mountains of Sinai, with Jebel Katarina in the background (tallest peak). It was probably in this general region that Moses received the law.

to above. The formula says literally, "These are the generations of…," but it has a wider meaning, by which it may introduce a narration. Thus it sometimes means, "This is the account of…" It is not only attached to the story of creation (Gen. 2:4a); it also precedes the generations of Adam (5:1, thus a more literal use) and introduces the story of the flood (6:9). In 10:1 it introduces not a strict genealogy but a Table of NATIONS, people who descended from Noah's sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. The formula presents the descendants of Shem (11:10) and also begins the patriarchal narratives by saying, "This is the account [of the descendants] of Terah" (11:27), thus indicating that God's special revelation has moved to the family of Abraham. The other uses present the families of the two sons of Abraham and the two sons of Isaac. Ishmael's descendants are mentioned briefly (25:12 – 18), but the formula is used to introduce Isaac, the son of promise, and his descendants (25:19). Esau's family is introduced with the formula (36:1), and finally in 37:2 the story of Joseph begins with the same type of statement (which may be translated, "This is the history of the family of Jacob"). The strategic use of this formula in Genesis certainly confirms the unity of plan to be found in this book.

The narrative of EXODUS continues with the family of Jacob in Egypt, the ensuing bondage by a pharaoh who did not know Joseph, and the call of Moses to be God's instrument to lead Israel out of bondage into the land promised to their ancestors. God used the stubbornness of the pharaoh to demonstrate his power and glory through a series of plagues on Egypt. The Israelites finally made a hasty escape from Egypt after the death angel slew the firstborn of Egypt but passed over the blood-sprinkled homes of the Israelites. The narrative continues with the Israelites' miraculous crossing of the Sea of Reeds (*Yam Suph,* see RED SEA) and their journey to Sinai, where the narrative of Exodus stops. Israel received the law, the stipulations of God's covenant with them, and here the covenant was ratified (Exod. 24:1 – 11). The remainder of the book of Exodus deals mainly with the plans for and the building of the tabernacle, the place of God's special presence with Israel (chs. 25 – 40). This section of Exodus is interrupted in ch. 32 by a narrative describing the brief defection of Aaron and the people while Moses was in the mountain, but Moses interceded in behalf of the sinful people, and the covenant was renewed (ch. 34).

The book of LEVITICUS presents the priestly code and has only a brief section of narrative, which deals with the ritual sins of NADAB and ABIHU, the sons of Aaron (Lev. 10)—a narrative included only to reinforce the laws of ritual purity, thus stressing the holiness of God. But the book of NUMBERS takes up where Exodus left off, with Israel at Mount Sinai. The book describes two musterings of the Israelite army in preparation for entering the hostile land of promise. The first military census (Num. 1) was at Sinai, and the second (ch. 26) occurred forty years later in the Plains of MOAB. The narrative describes the first commemorative PASSOVER festival in the first month of the second year after leaving Egypt (ch. 9).

Israel moved from Sinai on the twentieth day of the second month of the second year (Num. 10:11). The Israelites journeyed N through the Desert of PARAN, arriving at KADESH BARNEA, an oasis S of the NEGEV region of Palestine. Moses sent twelve spies into the Promised Land, all of whom confirmed that it was a rich and prosperous territory but contained hostile people. Only two of the spies advised the people to proceed into the land. The other ten spies stirred up a rebellion against Moses in fear of having to fight so formidable a foe. They neglected, of course, God's promises, as did the people, who were deterred from stoning Moses, JOSHUA, and CALEB only by a divine THEOPHANY (14:10). In the same story, the people who were guilty of the sin of fear proceeded to commit the sin of presumption by going into battle without God's blessing (14:44). They were defeated and began their long stay in the wilderness until that generation died.

The narrative tells very little of what happened in the years of wilderness wandering. Toward the end of this period Israel reached the Desert of ZIN, adjacent to the homeland of the Edomites. Because EDOM refused Israel passage through its territory, they had to make a trip around Edom by way of the Sea of Reeds, a road that went near the Gulf of AQABAH (Num. 21:4). Near the ancient COPPER refinery at PUNON they were attacked by poisonous serpents, and Moses in obedience to God's command made a serpent of brass and mounted it on a pole for each to look in faith for healing (cf. Jn. 3:14).

Eventually they made their way around both Edom and Moab and came into the territory of the AMORITES, N of the ARNON River. Here God gave several military victories and they took the main cities of the Amorites and all the territory adjacent to the Jordan. The narrative breaks at this point (Num. 22:1) and continues from the viewpoint of BALAK, the king of Moab, who was distressed at Israel's presence and hired a would-be prophet of the Lord to curse Israel. Balaam succeeded only in proving himself to be a religious opportunist, but God allowed only words of blessing on Israel to proceed from his lips. The king of Moab, finding his plan to turn Israel's God away from them thwarted, now proceeded with a plan to turn Israel away from its God. Israelite men were enticed by promiscuous Moabite women into sins of adultery and subsequent idolatry. The last sections of the book (chs. 26 – 36) deal largely with preparation for entry into the land, which included a second military census (of the new generation), various miscellaneous laws, the disposition of the two and one-half tribes in the territory E of Jordan, and the future boundaries of Canaan. There is no narrative in this portion, unless one considers under that heading ch. 33, the itinerary of Israel's journey from Egypt to the Plains of Moab.

The book of DEUTERONOMY is in the form of an address by Moses to Israel to further prepare them for settlement in the land. There is little additional narrative. After reviewing their history up to that point, Moses presented a formal restatement of the law as the stipulations of God's covenant, as well as directions for a ratification ceremony after they entered the land (Deut. 27:11—28:68). The ceremony was carried out (Josh. 8:30 – 34). This time the law was given in view of their imminent settlement in the land of promise as a sedentary people. The only new narrative portions of the book

come at the very end, where we are told that Moses transferred the scepter of leadership from himself to his assistant Joshua (Deut. 31). The brief narrative of Moses' death and burial is recorded in ch. 34.

***B. Legal material.*** The legal portions present a rather complex picture. There are certain literary units, like the so-called Book of the Covenant (Exod. 21 – 23), consisting of lengthy sections of ritual or ceremonial law like those found in Leviticus and parts of Deuteronomy. There are the sermons of Moses in Deuteronomy, where he outlined God's stipulations for ceremonial, civil, and domestic purity. Some special laws are unique and probably were meant to be temporary for the years of the wilderness wandering (Num. 5 – 6; 19). There are the ratification ceremonies of Exod. 24 and Deut. 27 – 28; the latter consists of a declaration of curses and blessings, but it is legal material. Last but most important is the Decalogue, the TEN COMMANDMENTS, given in two slightly different forms (Exod. 20; Deut. 5).

M. Noth (*Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies* [1966]) makes what seems to be a valid distinction between the casuistic (or case) formulations and the apodictic (or direct imperative) formulations as the two main forms of LAW in the Pentateuch. The former always begins by setting up a case, "If *[or* when] a man commits this or that infraction of the law, then…" This format is used in most of the laws in HAMMURABI'S Code and other ANE codes such as the Middle Assyrian laws and the Hittite laws. It is most clearly expressed in Exod. 21 – 23, but it appears also in Leviticus (e.g., Lev. 19 – 20) and sometimes in Deuteronomy. In both form and substance these laws are similar to the common law system of the ancient world. It is not necessary to believe that they are mere selections or even adaptations of Babylonian law. Both correspondences and differences are very clear, for the biblical laws display a superior level of justice and mercy not to be found in the earlier codes.

For example, the Mesopotamian laws often call for extreme mutilation as punishment for minor infractions by the lower classes. There is only one such case of mutilation in the Bible, and it is under extreme circumstances (Deut. 25:11 – 12). Humanitarian principles are found in the biblical laws of this type: one of them warns against the afflicting of widows and orphans (Exod. 22:22); another forbids a creditor to charge interest to the poor (v. 25); still another stipulates that when a man holds his neighbor's coat as surety, he must return it to him at sunset so that his body can be kept warm at night (v. 27). Exodus 23:4 instructs an Israelite not to take advantage of his enemy but actually to do him good, a principle Christ himself stressed as characteristic of the new covenant. The humanitarian aspects of the law of the SABBATH provided for rest for both man and the beasts of burden (23:12). Poor people and field animals are to be treated with compassion (23:11).

Hammurabi's Code, though less brutal than the Middle Assyrian laws, is not of this quality. For example, in a Hebrew case law theft is punished by restitution from double up to fivefold. Hammurabi's Code has an evolution that at first calls for the death penalty for all theft and then moves to the death penalty only for theft from the temple or palace. It finally speaks of a sevenfold restitution or just a fine. The LEX TALIONIS (an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth) is found in both Hammurabi's Code and the Bible, but in the former its application varies according to three very rigid classes—the patrician, the freeman, and the slave. Thus universal justice was thwarted. The principle of *lex talionis* in the OT was never meant to be applied to interpersonal relationships, as was apparently done by some Jews in Jesus' day (Matt. 5:38 – 48). It had the high purpose of securing equal justice under law for all. In Hammurabi's Code it was equal justice only for equal classes of people. The Hebrew law allowed for slavery, but as a temporary servitude among the

Lord's people for the purpose of the payment of debts.

It is evident from some of the laws of the Pentateuch, especially civil and domestic laws, that God allowed his people to live under a system that was not in harmony with his highest purpose, such as polygamy, and there are other laws that represent a similar accommodation to the culture of that time. The practice of selling a daughter as a handmaid (concubine, Exod. 21:7 – 11) was a part of that culture, but even here the law is given for the purposes of securing certain rights and privileges for the handmaid. The inclusion of certain laws is difficult to understand, such as that regarding the wife suspected of adultery (Num. 5:11 – 31). Elements of this law are unique in the Bible, but the law has an underlying general principle of trial by ordeal, a common practice in the biblical world (cf. Hammurabi's Code, no. 132).

The Middle Assyrian laws often were very harsh and cruel, frequently calling for castration and even the mutilation of the whole face of the offender (cf. *ANET,* 181, laws 8 and 15). Hittite laws, in contrast, are characterized by their laxity. Allowance is even made in the Hittite laws for bestiality *(ANET,* 197, law 200A), a practice strictly forbidden among the Hebrews (Lev. 18:23; 20:15; Exod. 22:19), as are homosexuality (Lev. 18:22) and incest (Lev. 20:11 – 12), practices found in the biblical world. The consistently high level of ethics and of civil and domestic morality prescribed in the biblical law is not found in the other codes of the ANE, including compassion for the deaf and blind, fairness in court, warnings on gossip and grudge bearing, and finally the command to love one's neighbor as oneself (Lev. 19:11 – 18).

M. Noth believes that the apodictic formulation was the normal pattern for the earliest legal material of the Israelite tribes. The Decalogue itself is the purest expression of apodictic law: "You shall," "you shall not." The Pentateuch claims that these categorical imperatives were written by the hand of God. These apodictic expressions are not limited, however, to the Decalogue. They are found throughout the Pentateuch, often intermingled with the case laws. They are more apt to express great moral principles and as such show the important relationship between law and covenant in ancient Israel.

The COVENANT principle must be understood to appreciate the purpose of law in the OT economy. The Decalogue was not merely a terse ethical expression, but it represents the entire Sinaitic covenant. M. G. Kline develops this theme, suggesting that the two tablets were complete duplicate copies of the Decalogue. In keeping with the classic suzerain TREATY practice of the 2nd millennium, one copy of the covenant was placed in the sanctuary of the vassal and the other in the sanctuary of the suzerain. In ancient Israel these two sanctuaries coincided, for God was the suzerain, and therefore the two tablets, each containing the complete expression of the Decalogue written on both sides, were placed in the ARK OF THE COVENANT. Kline points out that one copy was a documentary witness to and against Israel of her covenant obligations to her sovereign Lord who had redeemed her, and the other was the Lord's covenant witness of his promise to show mercy to thousands of generations of those who loved him. The place where the documents of witness were kept was both the throne of God and the place of atonement, so that the witness against Israel when she broke the stipulations of God's covenant always went up to God along with the witness of the atonement blood that secured God's mercy (Kline, *Treaty of the Great King,* 22).

This leads to the ceremonial and ritual laws in the Pentateuch. It is not necessary to assume that these came from a late period, because the same cultic terminology found in the Pentateuch was widespread throughout the ANE in the 2nd millennium (see discussion above). The tablets from Ras Shamra even use the term "chief priest." Many of the cultic practices of the surrounding peoples were emphatically rejected by Moses. The most basic general prohibition of cultic worship was the

interdiction against worship of "other gods." Along with this came the rejection of all images, even the prohibition against erecting Canaanite cult PILLARS (Deut. 16:22; and Lev. 26:1). Such stones were used earlier in Israel's history, especially in the days of the patriarchs, as memorial stones of theophanies (Gen. 28:18), but because the Canaanites used them to mark the dwelling places of local deities, the pillars were forbidden when the people were ready to enter the land. All aspects of the Canaanite cult of the dead were rejected (Lev. 19:28; Deut. 14:1), as well as the common practice of Canaanite temple PROSTITUTION (Deut. 23:17 – 18).

Fertility and sex were chief aspects of the Canaanite cult. Their spring festivals celebrated the mating of the god of rain and vegetation, BAAL, with the goddess of fertility, who had various names but eventually came to be known in Palestine as ASHERAH (see FERTILITY CULTS). Her symbol, the sacred tree (or possibly a sacred post, perhaps even a carved post), and the cult pillar (which some believe may have been a symbol of BAAL) were an integral part of every Canaanite shrine. Such interdictions as "Break down their altars, smash their sacred stones and cut down their Asherah poles" (Exod. 34:13) take much more meaning when something of the nature of the Canaanite religion is known. The comparatively large number of figurines of the fertility goddess that are found indicates their importance in the religion of the common people. They were handled like magical objects or charms to secure fertility of humans, animals, and crops. The warning against playing the harlot after their gods is not just a figure of speech for IDOLATRY (vv. 15 – 16), but suggests the particular nature of Canaanite worship.

On the other hand, the Israelite cult had features that were not unlike some of the worship that was carried on in that day. The Hebrew incense altar with horns was similar to the Canaanite altars of incense with horns (Exod. 37:25 – 28; see INCENSE, ALTAR OF). In the peace offering, priests were given the right shoulder of the animal as their portion (Lev. 3), known also to have been the practice in a Canaanite temple discovered at Lachish (G. Ernest Wright, *Biblical Archaeology,* rev. ed. [1962], 115 – 16).

The dietary regulations (Lev. 11; Deut. 14) can be understood only in the light of Israel's relationship to these pagan cults. Animals such as the ox, the sheep, or the goat were sacrificed by the pagan cults, but since these animals were so universally used for sacrifice they were not identified with any particular cult. There were, however, other cult practices peculiar to the worship of certain gods that came into direct conflict with the covenant concept of Israel's allegiance to Yahweh. This is the major reason for the dietary laws. There were certain animals and certain types of animals that were so completely identified with Canaanite cult practice that the Israelites were forbidden to eat these animals or to use them for sacrificial purposes. Hygienic reasons for the dietary laws, if valid at all, played a minor role. (For a different view, see HEALING AND HEALTH.)

Therefore the Pentateuch presents a system of worshiping God that was not foreign to the 2nd millennium B.C. The sacrificial system was not unlike that used by other peoples. God through Moses, however, taught Israel to use those features of worship that were not contrary to their relationship with him and that positively taught Israel something of his character as holy, just, and merciful. The Israelites were unique in interpreting their entire national and individual life in terms of this solemn covenant with a single, divine Lord who called himself the jealous God, thus stressing monotheism. God was also holy, thence an elaborate method of approach to him through mediation, priests, and a system of blood sacrifices was necessary. See SACRIFICE AND OFFERINGS.

The Canaanites also sacrificed, but only to offer food for the god as a gift to bribe their deity. No Canaanite system of ATONEMENT is known, whereas Israel's sacrifices were primarily propitiatory or expiatory; that is, to make approach to God possible through forgiveness and cleansing. For Israel

there was the substitutionary aspect of the sacrificial victim, who bore the guilt of the sinner. It was necessary that hands be laid on the head of the victim and confession of sins be made so that the victim ceremonially bore the sins of the people and died in the place of the worshiper (Lev. 16:21 – 22). This was the only way the covenant could remain intact, since Israel was constantly breaking the stipulations of the covenant. Nor did Israel's sacrificial system allow for the pagan notion that the sacrifice itself accomplished anything. To Israel it was a lesson—it taught a doctrine of atonement and it called for personal commitment, the love of the worshiper for his God. The book of Deuteronomy lays great stress on this aspect of Israel's worship. Moses stressed the true meaning of God's original covenant with Abraham when he admonished the people to circumcise their hearts, to fear the Lord their God and to walk in all his ways, to love him and to serve the Lord their God with all their heart and with all their soul (Deut. 10:12 – 16).

Another important aspect of Pentateuchal law was the annual FEASTS of the Lord. These too were an integral part of the covenant law. The Israelite was expected to present himself before the Lord three times a year—at the Feast of Unleavened

The deer was considered a "clean" animal and therefore permissible for the Israelites to eat (Deut. 14:4 – 5).

Bread and the Passover, the Feast of Weeks, and the Feast of Ingathering (Exod. 23:14 – 17; 34:18 – 24; Lev. 23; Deut. 16:1 – 17). The feasts can also be more clearly understood in the light of the surrounding polytheism. The polytheisms were nature religions that tended to deify every aspect of nature. Each part of nature represented a particular deity; the gods were limited and struggled with each other just as do the powers of nature. Such religion was concerned not with history but with mythology about the lives of the gods that reflected nature and therefore touched the lives of mortals.

There was an underlying pantheism in these religious concepts. In the Pentateuch God is separate from nature. God created nature and is the originator and controller of history. God's creature must obey the sovereign God and be in harmony with God's purpose and movement in history. The festivals of the polytheists were based on their mythology, which consisted of stories of the gods and revolved around the cosmic pattern to which all of life had to adjust itself. To the Hebrews the yearly festivals were remembrances of Israel's history, and Israel's worship consisted of a rehearsal of the

great deeds of their sovereign God. At these festivals they read the stipulations of the law and so were reminded of their covenant relationship with him.

The subject of the Hebrews and history is important because of the tendency of modern criticism to stress "salvation history" at the expense of factual history—real events in space and time. "Salvation history," or "tradition history," is defined as cultic glorification of historic events in the mind of the community. This is how much of the "history" of Israel is explained by those of this school. These critics conclude that it was in the annual festivals that this process evolved; that only a kernel of real history may be found in most of the stories of the Pentateuch, since they are cultic interpretation of events. Therefore the supernatural aspects of the stories (these critics assume that God cannot intervene in such a way in space and time) are conveniently explained away. On the other hand, some of those who accept the supernatural as a viable possibility make the mistake of assuming that the supernatural is God's only way of dealing with man. They forget, for example, that God not only provided the PILLAR OF FIRE AND OF CLOUD to guide Israel, but also used HOBAB'S knowledge of the desert (Num. 10:29 – 31).

The Pentateuch may be accepted as true history, but it is most emphatically not merely history; that is, the Pentateuch was not written simply to include historical events at a given time or among a given people. The Pentateuch is a history of redemption, not in the cultic meaning suggested by the term "salvation history," but in the sense that only those things are recorded that are needed to explain God's redemptive dealings with certain people. The Pentateuch itself is only the beginning of that history. The point is that it is real history, although much is left out that people today in an age of expanding knowledge would like to know. Some of this knowledge is being supplied through archaeology, which tends to uphold in general the historicity of the biblical accounts. There are problems, however, for which there is no answer and for which there may never be a satisfactory answer, but this is true of all areas of human experience and knowledge.

***C. Poetic material.*** Also prevalent in the Pentateuch is poetry, both small and large pieces of poetic composition (see HEBREW POETRY). These can be identified in the Hebrew Bible by the universal Semitic poetic technique called "parallelism." Lines of poetry are in either synonymous or antithetical balance as to meaning and tend to appear symmetrical in form as well. Occasional asymmetrical patterns are used for emphasis or climax.

Some scholars think that Gen. 1 is poetic but few would agree, for the lines really do not strictly meet the requirements of Hebrew poetry. In the book of Genesis the poetry is restricted to various pronouncements of curses and blessings. God's curses on Satan, on Eve, and on Adam (3:14 – 19) are poetic, although this section does not partake of the nature of the highly structured poetry that is found in other Scripture. Lamech's poem (4:23 – 24) is a beautiful example of careful parallelism, whereas Noah's pronouncements on Canaan, Shem, and Japheth (9:25 – 27) are less structured. Melchizedek's short blessing on Abraham (14:19) is poetry. Isaac's blessings on Esau (27:39 – 40) are poetic in nature. The longest piece of poetry in the book of Genesis is Jacob's blessing on his sons (ch. 49), which is preserved in an archaic idiom and contains some of the finest poetic material to be found in the OT.

Moses' victory song (Exod. 15:1 – 18) is a poetic masterpiece and is not unlike the victory songs written by Egyptian kings. Miriam's short piece (15:21), where she is accompanied by the women with dancing and timbrels, is hardly more than a refrain. The priestly blessing on the people (Num. 6:22 – 26) is one of the most familiar pieces of Pentateuchal poetry: "The LORD bless you and keep you…" Numbers 21 contains several short poems; they are informal songs of the people, unlike

the formal composition of the blessings of Jacob or the Victory Song of Moses. The Song of the Well (vv. 17 – 18) is a spontaneous expression of joy over the finding of water in the desert. The victory song (vv. 27 – 30) is a people's song composed by the ballad singers (v. 27). In the Middle E today, BEDOUINS express emotion in similar couplets of spontaneous poetry. The Balaam poems (chs. 22 – 24) represent the formal poetry of the professional prophet. These too come under the curse-blessing motif, for Balak was hoping the prophet Balaam would pronounce a formal curse on Israel. There are four major poems in chs. 23 – 24. Two of them use the same stanza as an introduction (24:3 – 4; 24:15 – 16). W. F. Albright, after careful study of these poems, concluded that they represent a very ancient piece of literature *(JBL* 63 [1944]: 207 – 33). He dated them to the 10th cent. B.C., but there is no reason why they could not go back to the time of Moses.

Leviticus is the only book of the Pentateuch that does not contain poetry. The poetry of Deuteronomy comes at the end of the book. Moses' Song of Witness anticipates Israel's eventual defection (Deut. 32). The heaven and earth are called as witnesses of the covenant: "Listen, O heavens, and I will speak; hear, O earth, the words of my mouth" (cf. 31:28). This poem was a perpetual warning, a warning Israel did not heed. At the end of the poem (v. 43) we read that God "will take vengeance on his enemies and make atonement for his land and people." Such words often are taken out of context, as if they were the only description of the God of the Pentateuch. Extrabiblical sources show that the word here translated "take vengeance" really means "to champion the cause of what is right." It is indeed significant that this great Song of Witness ends with God describing himself as the one who makes atonement for his people.

The last piece of poetry in the Pentateuch is in Deut. 33, Moses' blessing on the people before he dies; this element is in keeping with the ANE final blessing motif so evident in the book of Genesis. Moses gave his final words, his irrevocable testament, in which he pronounced his blessing on each of the tribes and ended with a triumphant promise of God's strength for the people as they faced the struggle of taking the land (vv. 26 – 29). God is to be "your shield and helper and your glorious sword"; "the eternal God is your refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms."

***D. Genealogical material.*** The genealogies have as their purpose the presentation of certain lines of descent, which are necessary for understanding the biblical story (see GENEALOGY). The early genealogies (Gen. 5 and 11) are somewhat schematic, containing gaps, because their purpose is not to show the age of humans on earth but rather to trace the representative names in the line that led to Abraham, the line through whom God would bless all the families of the earth, the line of the promised Redeemer. The genealogies are somewhat short and are presented only because of the closeness of their relationship to the line of promise. Ishmael's genealogy (25:12 – 18) is shorter than the genealogy of Esau (ch. 36), because Esau had a closer relationship to the Hebrews than did Ishmael. One of the most interesting pieces of literature in the Pentateuch (ch. 10) is not really a genealogy at all, but a Table of NATIONS. The Hebrew text does not use the word "to beget" in a form that would indicate literal descent. This passage simply presents the various nations of the biblical world in what might be called their ethnogeographical relationships.

**X. The Pentateuch and Christian theology**. The foundation for all Christian theology is the doctrine of CREATION. Without this biblical doctrine as presented in the book of Genesis, Christianity cannot be properly distinguished from the other philosophical systems of the E, which are pantheistic and identify their deity with the universe. There is no creation account like that of the book of Genesis in all the world. No modern attempt to explain the origin of the universe gives a more satisfying

explanation than what is presented in Genesis. In addition, all the NT says about salvation loses its meaning without Gen. 3 and the rest of the Pentateuch, with its progressive revelation of God. God's redemptive plan has meaning only in the light of the FALL as presented in Genesis.

The apostle PAUL made clear in Gal. 3 and in Rom. 4 that the Christian gospel is based on the covenant history found in the Pentateuch. Christian faith is the same faith as that of Abraham and the same faith as that of the Israelites who kept covenant with God and used the religious institutions that Moses set up in the way that God intended that they should be used. These same religious institutions increasingly pointed to and prepared for the coming Christ. The rest of the Bible, both OT and NT, has its roots in the Pentateuch. The apostle Paul said the law is a tutor to bring people to Christ (Gal. 3:23 – 25). No one can be brought to Christ unless he learns from the tutor what God is like and what sin is. The Pentateuch laid that foundation, but it did even more; through its ritual symbols it taught how God would bring human redemption into effect.

(For an up-to-date and reliable reference work, see R. D. Alexander and D. W. Baker, eds., *Dictionary of the Old Testament: Pentateuch* [2003], which contains a large number of full-length essays on the most significant topics, accompanied by extensive bibliographies. In addition to the titles mentioned in the body of this article, see G. Ch. Aalders, *A Short Introduction to the Pentateuch* [1949]; O. T. Allis, *God Spake by Moses* [1951]; H. F. Hahn, *Old Testament in Modern Research* [1954]; G. T. Manley, *The Book of the Law* [1957]; R. E. Clements, *A Century of Old Testament Study,* rev. ed. [1983]; R. Rendtorff, *The Problem of the Process of Transmission in the Pentateuch* [1990; Germ. orig. 1977]; J. Blenkinsopp, *The Pentateuch: An Introduction to the First Five Books of the Bible* [1992]; R. N. Whybray, *Introduction to the Pentateuch* [1995]; E. Nicholson, *The Pentateuch in the Twentieth Century: The Legacy of Julius Wellhausen* [1998]; A. Rofé, *Introduction to the Composition of the Pentateuch* [1999]; T. D. Alexander, *From Paradise to the Promised Land: An Introduction to the Pentateuch,* 2nd ed. [2002]; K. L. Sparks, *The Pentateuch: An Annotated Bibliography* [2002]; A. F. Campbell and M. A. O'Brien, *Rethinking the Pentateuch: Prolegomena to the Theology of Ancient Israel* [2005]; T. B. Dozeman and K. Schmid, eds., *A Farewell to the Yahwist? The Composition of the Pentateuch in Recent European Interpretation* [2006].)

E. B. SMICK

**Pentateuch, Samaritan.** See SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.

**Pentecost** pen'ti-kost (πεντηκοστή *G4300,* "fiftieth [day]"). The Greek equivalent for the OT Feast of Weeks (Heb. *ḥag šābuʿōt,* Exod. 34:22 et al.). As the second of the three great pilgrimage feasts in Israel, it concluded a cycle of time begun at PASSOVER. Since the fall of the temple, it has been celebrated among the Jews to commemorate the giving of the law at Sinai. It was named Pentecost (already in Tob. 2:1; 2 Macc. 12:31 – 32) because it fell on the fiftieth day after the offering of the BARLEY sheaf during the Passover celebration (Lev. 23:15 – 16). It was the beginning of the offering of FIRSTFRUITS. The NT usage refers to the known Jewish feast. Since the gift of the HOLY SPIRIT to the church took place on the Day of Pentecost (Acts 2:1), Christians emphasize the meaning of the festival in the light of that event.

**I. Other names for the feast.** This festival has been known by several designations, including "Feast of Harvest" (*ḥag haqqāṣîr,* Exod. 23:16; prob. the most ancient name), and "the day of firstfruits" (*yôm habbĕkûrîm,* Num. 28:26). In rabbinic literature it is sometimes referred to as *ʿăṣeret,*

"[concluding] gathering" (e.g., *m. Ḥag.* 2:4). The title "Weeks," used for the special feast day when the firstfruits of the WHEAT harvest were presented to God, refers to the whole period of grain harvest, starting with the reaping of the barley and concluding with the end of wheat harvest, a period of about seven weeks. The period was particularly sacred in Israel, when they recognized the Lord as the source of rain and fertility (Jer. 5:24).

The feast was designated the "day of firstfruits" because it marked the beginning of the season in which the people were to bring voluntarily the fruit that they had gathered first during the HARVEST. It was celebrated as a sabbath with rest from ordinary labors and the calling of a holy convocation (Lev. 23:21; Num. 28:26). Since this feast is mentioned only once in the OT outside the Pentateuch (2 Chr. 8:13), and since there are relatively few references to it in rabbinical literature, many have concluded that this festival was not so important as the Feasts of Passover and Tabernacles.

**II. Reckoning the feast.** In ancient Palestine, the grain harvest lasted seven weeks, beginning with barley harvest during the Passover and ending with the wheat harvest at Pentecost. The offering of the sheaf fell on the day after a sabbath; reckoning this as the first day, the feast was celebrated on the fiftieth day. Disagreement has arisen as to the meaning of *sabbath.* Is the weekly SABBATH meant? Is some other day of rest (Israel has several sabbaths) indicated? The words "after the seventh Sabbath" (Lev. 23:16) argue for the first possibility. If this is true, the festival would always fall on the same day of the week, namely, Sunday. This has its counterpart in the Christian Day of Pentecost.

According to rabbinical judgment, the reference was not to the weekly Sabbath, that is, the one which came in the week of the Feast of Unleavened Bread; rather, it was the 15th day of Nisan, described as a day of "sacred assembly" and of rest from work (Lev. 23:7). The Day of the Sheaf then fell on the subsequent day, the 16th of Nisan. The Jews, therefore, celebrated the feast on the basis of this reckoning. The SADDUCEES started counting on a Sunday, so Pentecost always fell on a Sunday. The PHARISEES understood the "Sabbath" of Lev. 23 as the first day of Passover (15th Nisan). Thus, Pentecost always came fifty days after the 16th of Nisan, and the day of celebration varied from year to year. This view prevailed after A.D. 70. In later Judaism it was considered the concluding feast of the Passover.

**III. The rites of the feast.** The sheaf brought as a wave offering (Lev. 23:11) was garnered when the sickle was first put to the grain (Deut. 16:9). It was presented for the whole land. Before this sheaf was offered, the law forbade the reaping or use of the harvest for personal purposes (Lev. 23:14). A portion of the sheaf was placed on the altar, and the priest ate the rest. A male lamb was sacrificed as a burnt offering (23:12). The ritual of the sheaf offering was a part of the Feast of Unleavened Bread.

Regions represented on the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:9 – 11).


Some have thought that the ritual purification baths on the southern and western areas of the temple mount might have been used on the day of Pentecost to baptize those who received Peter's message with faith.

The feast was one of joy and thanksgiving for the completion of the harvest season. As a holy convocation (Lev. 23:21), the observance prohibited ordinary labor, and the males in Israel were to appear before the Lord (Deut. 16:16). Other festal offerings are specified (Num. 28:26 – 31).

The main offering of the day was a cereal offering of two loaves (Lev. 23:17). The loaves, made

from the new wheat and baked with leaven, were brought by the priest as a wave offering for all the people. Because of the leaven, none of the bread was placed on the altar, but was eaten by the priests. With the two loaves, two lambs were offered as a wave offering also. When seven weeks earlier the sheaf had been presented, it marked the freedom to use the new grain as food. Beginning with this sacrifice, Israel was allowed to use it for liturgical purposes also. The feast was concluded by the eating of communal meals to which the poor, the stranger, and the Levite were invited.

This feast, as stated above, included the offering of the firsfruits (Num. 28:26). After the ceremony of the loaves, the worshipers could offer of the new grain harvest as personal gifts of firstfruits. The offerings were given to the priest, followed by a recital of thanksgiving for God's past deliverances of the nation and their settlement in the land of promise (Deut. 26:1 – 11).

It may be helpful to set forth the sacrifices offered on the Feast of Weeks: (1) the daily burnt offering of two lambs (Num. 28:3, 31); (2) the particular sacrifices for the feast (vv. 27 – 30), identical with those of the new moon celebration and the days of the Feast of Unleavened Bread (vv. 11, 19); (3) the sacrifices at the time of the offering of the loaves and two lambs (Lev. 23:17 – 19). See SACRIFICE AND OFFERINGS.

**IV. Change in celebration.** Because the book of JUBILEES (6.1 – 21) adds the thought of covenant renewal for Noah's covenant on this day, it has been suggested that this paved the way for the later association of the Feast of Weeks with the giving of the law at Sinai. Since Passover and Tabernacles were linked with the exodus and wilderness experiences, later Judaism sought to connect the Feast of Weeks with the Mosaic era. They indicated that Weeks commemorated the giving of the law at Sinai. This change was all the more necessary in view of the loss of the temple in A.D. 70. Some time after its destruction, the joy of the feast was thus transferred to joy over the law. The first certain evidence that the rabbis considered the giving of the law to have taken place on Pentecost is the statement of Rabbi Jose ben Chalaphta (c. 150): "In the third month [Sivan], on the sixth day of the month, the ten commandments were given to [the Israelites], and it was a sabbath day" *(Seder ʿOlam Rabbah,* 5). A century later, Rabbi Eleazar ben Pedath spoke of the common belief of his time that the Feast of Weeks "is the day on which the Torah was given" *(b. Pesaḥ.* 68b). JOSEPHUS, PHILO JUDAEUS, and the earlier rabbis know nothing of this new significance attached in later Jewish history.

In keeping with the rejoicing over the law, some leaders arranged special reading sections for the Pentecost eve, consisting of excerpts from the beginning and end of every book of the Bible and MISHNAH, which abridgement they considered tantamount to the reading of the entire works. The reading takes some till morning, but others finish it at midnight. About A.D. 200, the custom arose of reading Exod. 19 on Pentecost. It has been traditional for years to read the book of Ruth with its harvest background, and the custom continues to this day.

**V. NT references.** The primary reference to Pentecost in the NT is in connection with the pouring of the HOLY SPIRIT to dwell in the CHURCH (Acts 2:1). This event was in answer to the explicit promise of Christ (Jn. 16:7, 13; Acts 1:4, 14). It is almost universally agreed among theologians that Pentecost marks the beginning of the church as an institution. It cannot be too strongly stressed that Pentecost in Acts 2 has nothing to do with the tradition concerning Sinai, although some have labored to prove it.

During his third missionary journey, PAUL told the Corinthians he was planning to visit them, but that he wanted to stay in EPHESUS until Pentecost because of the opportunities for ministry in that city (1 Cor. 16:7 – 9). The following year, after having spent time in CORINTH and on his way back to Jerusalem, the apostle stopped at MILETUS, and Luke tells us: "Paul had decided to sail past Ephesus

to avoid spending time in the province of Asia, for he was in a hurry to reach Jerusalem, if possible, by the day of Pentecost" (Acts 20:16). In both these instances, the reference is to the Jewish calendar, and it is possible that in Jerusalem the believers participated at first in the Jewish Pentecost. In addition, J. C. Rylaarsdam *(IDB,* 4:828) thinks that Paul's references to firsfruits (Rom. 8:23; 11:16; 1 Cor. 15:20, 23) are allusions to the Feast of Weeks "in terms of the symbolic meaning of the sacrificial loaves."

**VI. Historical observances.** As the second of the three annual pilgrim feasts (Deut. 16:16), the feast was observed in Solomonic days (2 Chr. 8:13). During the period of the second temple, the men went up to Jerusalem to present their offerings of the harvest. When they reached the bounds of the city, the priests and Levites met the crowds and conducted the pilgrims to the temple. To the accompaniment of songs, they entered the sanctuary with baskets on their shoulders. At the presentation of the firstfruits, the offerer recited the words of Deut. 26:3 – 10. As stated above, in the intertestamental and later periods Pentecost came to be regarded as the memorial of the giving of the law at Sinai *(Jub.* 1.1; 6.17). The Sadducees celebrated it on the fiftieth day from the first Sunday after Passover. The Pharisees construed the "Sabbath" of Lev. 23:15 as the Feast of Unleavened Bread, and their computation prevailed in Judaism after A.D. 70. Now Pentecost occurs on different days of the week in the Jewish calendar.

The church fathers set high regard on Pentecost. Easter was always on Sunday, so Pentecost was also. Between Easter and Pentecost there was to be no fasting. Praying was done standing rather than kneeling. During this time, catechumens were baptized. Because the Ascension had taken place near Pentecost, many expected that Christ would return in the same season. The custom, still common in the Roman Catholic Church and among Protestants who observe the ecclesiastical calendar, is to celebrate the festival for two days. The practice of dressing in white preparatory to baptism on Pentecost gave rise to the name "Whitsunday" (for "White Sunday").

It is a popular custom among Jews on Pentecost (Weeks) to eat dairy products and cheese cakes in honor of the law, which has been compared to milk and honey (Cant. 4:11). A meat repast follows the milk meal, both meals recalling the offering of two loaves of bread in the temple. (See further H. Schauss, *The Jewish Festivals* [1938], 86ff.; *TDNT,* 6:44 – 53; *ABD,* 5:222 – 23 [s.v. "Pentecost"] and 6:895 – 97 [s.v. "Weeks, Festival of]".)

C. L. FEINBERG

**Penuel (person)** peh-ny*oo*'uhl (פְּנוּאֵל *H7158* [1 Chr. 8:25 *Ketib*, פְּנִיאֵל], "the face of God"; cf. PHANUEL). (1) Son (or descendant) of HUR, descendant of JUDAH, and "father" (i.e., founder) of GEDOR (1 Chr. 4:4). Apparently, the town of Gedor was founded by both Penuel and JERED (v. 18).

(2) Son of Shashak and descendant of BENJAMIN (1 Chr. 8:25).

R. L. ALDEN

**Penuel (place)** peh-nyoo'uhl (פְּנוּאֵל *H7159* and פְּנִיאֵל *H7161* [only Gen. 32:30], "the face of God").

Ancient Penuel was located in this area along the Jabbok River. (View to the E.)

Also Peniel. A place on the JABBOK River E of the JORDAN where JACOB wrestled with the angel. The name Pernual, in Pharaoh SHISHAK'S list of conquered cities, is probably Penuel (cf. Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography,* rev. ed. [1979], 325). Late Assyrian records mention Panili, which also may be the same place. Penuel is identified with modern Tell edh-Dhahab esh-Sherqiyeh, 8 mi. E of the Jordan on the Nahr ez-Zerqa (the biblical Jabbok). The NIV uses the variant form *Peniel* consistently to distinguish this place from PENUEL (PERSON).

Genesis 32:22 – 32 records what happened when Jacob stayed at the ford of the Jabbok on his way back from PADDAN ARAM. That night he wrestled with "a man" (v. 24; "the angel," according to Hos. 12:4) who finally blessed him and changed his name to Israel. "So Jacob called the place Peniel, saying, 'It is because I saw God face to face, and yet my life was spared'" (v. 31; in the Heb., the following verse and subsequent references spell the name as *pĕnû)ēl,* "Penuel"; the LXX in this passage renders the name as *Eidos theou,* "form *[i.e.,* what is seen] of God").

A town was evidently built on the site, for the name appears again in connection with the judgeship of GIDEON (Jdg. 8). In his pursuit of the Midianite kings ZEBAH AND ZALMUNNA, Gideon sought help from SUCCOTH and Penuel. Not only did those two cities refuse to give help but they also insulted Gideon. Whereupon, when he captured the two enemy kings, he punished both towns. "He also pulled down the tower of Peniel and killed the men of the town" (8:17). Whether Penuel fell into ruin and was vacated at this time is not certain, but we are told that many years later King JEROBOAM "built up" the town (1 Ki. 12:25).

R. L. ALDEN

**people.** See NATIONS.

**people of the east.** See EAST, PEOPLE (CHILDREN) OF.

**people of the land.** See AM HA-AREZ.

**Peor** pee'or (פְּעוֹר *H7186,* derivation uncertain). (1) A mountain in MOAB in the vicinity of NEBO

(Num. 23:28), associated with #2 below. Here BALAK brought BALAAM to curse Israel. The precise location of this high point is unknown.

(2) The name of a Moabite deity (Num. 25:18). See BAAL PEOR.

(3) According to the SEPTUAGINT, Peor (Gk. *Phagōr)* was also one of the towns allotted to the tribe of JUDAH (Josh. 15:59; this town and several others are not mentioned in the MT). Peor of Judah is identified with the modern Khirbet Faghur, c. 4.5 mi. SW of BETHLEHEM.

R. L. ALDEN

**Peraea.** See PEREA.

**Perath.** NIV rendering of a Hebrew word in Jer. 13:4 – 7 that is elsewhere translated EUPHRATES.

**Perazim** pi-ray'zim (פְּרָצִים *H7292,* "breaches" or "the ones that break through"). A mountain mentioned by Isaiah to illustrate God's rising against the scoffers in Jerusalem (Isa. 28:21). See BAAL PERAZIM.

R. L. ALDEN

**perdition.** This English term is used eight times in the KJV as the rendering of Greek *apōleia G724,* "destruction, ruin," but it is seldom used in modern versions (not at all in the NIV). The Greek term occurs almost twenty times in the NT, but it is used literally in only one context (Matt. 26:8 = Mk. 14:4, with reference to the waste of the ointment). Otherwise it is used in the NT in a metaphorical sense of the doom of the enemies of God. JUDAS ISCARIOT is described as "the son of perdition" (Jn. 17:12 KJV), a Semitic phrase meaning "the one doomed to destruction" (NIV). The same phrase is used of the eschatological "man of lawlessness" (2 Thess. 2:3). The beast of Revelation is described as going "to his destruction" (Rev. 17:8, 11), where, with the devil and the false prophet, he is thrown into the lake of fire and brimstone, and is tormented for ever and ever (20:10; cf. Matt. 7:13, "the road that leads to destruction"; Rom. 9:22, "prepared for destruction"). Elsewhere, the perdition that awaits persecutors of the church is contrasted with the salvation of believers (Phil. 1:28; cf. 3:19). From the foregoing, it appears that the meaning is not annihilation, but the state of being lost—outside the enjoyment of God's SALVATION and ETERNAL LIFE, and under God's WRATH and JUDGMENT. (See *TDNT,* 1:394 – 97; *NIDNTT,* 1:462 – 65.)

R. E. DAVIES

**Perea** puh-ree'uh (Περαία, from πέραν *G4305,* "beyond, on the other side"). Also Peraea. The Greek term for TRANSJORDAN (cf. LXX *peran tou Iordanou,* "beyond the Jordan," Gen. 50:10 – 11 et al.). This name never occurs in the Bible (except in a variant of Lk. 6:17), but it is regularly used by JOSEPHUS and others to describe not only the land beyond the JORDAN in general, but more specifically the political district known as Perea.

Before the Israelite conquest, Transjordan was occupied by Moabites, Ammonites, and others. Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh inherited it in the original allotment. Being on the eastern frontier of the Promised Land, this area often was the first to suffer as a result of invasions from the E. According to 1 Macc. 5:9 – 54, Judas MACCABEE rescued a Jewish minority living there. The HASMONEAN ruler Alexander Jannaeus conquered and forcibly converted the Pereans to Judaism (Jannaeus himself died in Ragaba in 76 B.C.). After the death of Herod the Great in 4 B.C., and

during the life of Christ, Herod Antipas (see HEROD V) controlled Perea and rebuilt Beth-aramphtha (BETH HARAM of Josh. 13:27), naming it Julias (Jos. *Ant.* 28.2.1).

The MISHNAH speaks of three districts in dealing with certain legal matters: JUDEA, the region beyond Jordan, and GALILEE *(m. Baba Batra* 3:2; *m. Ketubbot* 13:10). This being the case, Jews from Galilee could reach Judea, where Jerusalem was, without passing through SAMARIA, which lay on the W bank between Galilee and Judea. A Jew could thus avoid setting his foot on "unholy ground" during his three annual pilgrimages (provided that the DECAPOLIS was not considered separate from Perea). Josephus's boundaries, however, seem to exclude the Decapolis, since the N boundary was S

Perea.

of PELLA (Jos. *War* 3.3.3). Thus Perea and Galilee would not be contiguous. The S boundary of Perea was MACHAERUS, a Herodian fortress halfway down the E shore of the DEAD SEA. According to Josephus (*Ant.* 18.5.2), Herod beheaded JOHN THE BAPTIST at Machaerus. Jews from Perea joined in the unsuccessful rebellion against Rome (Jos. *War* 4.7.4 – 6). Agrippa II (see HEROD VIII), under

Callirrhoe in Perea was Herod the Great's harbor on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea.

Emperor NERO, ruled Perea until his death in A.D. 100. After that, it was sometimes ruled from DAMASCUS and sometimes from KERAK. Today the area is included in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, but the term "Perea" has been in disuse for centuries.

NT scholars often speak of a "Perean ministry" during the last few months of Christ's life. It is said to begin with his departure from Galilee (Matt. 19:1; Mk. 10:1), ending with the anointing by MARY in Bethany (Matt. 26:6 – 13; Mk. 14:3 – 9). However, very few of the incidents recorded for that period of our Lord's ministry actually took place beyond the Jordan, so the designation "Perean ministry" is somewhat of a misnomer.

The Bethany of Jn. 1:28 where Jesus was baptized is described as being "beyond the Jordan." See BETHANY #2. Jesus certainly passed through Perea on his many journeys from NAZARETH to JERUSALEM in the years before his public ministry. According to Matt. 4:25 and Mk. 3:8, crowds came from Perea to be healed by Christ. (See further G. Dalman, *Sacred Sites and Ways* [1935], 233 – 39; *ABD*, 5:224 – 25.)

R. L. ALDEN

**peres** pee'res. See MENE, MENE, TEKEL, PARSIN.

**Peresh** pee'rish (פֶּרֶשׁ *H7303,* derivation uncertain). Son of MAKIR (by his wife MAACAH) and grandson of MANASSEH (1 Chr. 7:16).

**Perez** pee'riz (פֶּרֶץ *H7289,* "breach," but original meaning of name disputed [see *HALOT,* 3:973]; gentilic פַּרְצִי *H7291,* "Perezite" [KJV, "Pharzite"]; Φάρες *G5756*). KJV Pharez (OT except 1 Chr. 27:3; Neh. 11:4, 6) and Phares (Apoc. and NT). Son of JUDAH by his daughter-in-law TAMAR; his twin brother was ZERAH. Popular etymology attributes his name to the manner of his birth: one of the boys "put out his hand; so the midwife took a scarlet thread and tied it on his wrist and said, 'This one came out first.' But when he drew back his hand, his brother came out, and she said, 'So this is how you have broken out!' *[Lit.*, What a breach you have breached for yourself!] And he was named Perez. Then his brother, who had the scarlet thread on his wrist, came out and he was given the name

Zerah" (Gen. 38:28 – 30).

The story may well reflect the rivalry between the two Judahite lines of Perezites and Zerahites. In the genealogies Perez and his progeny (Hezron and Hamul) take precedence over Zerah (Gen. 46:12; Num. 26:20 – 21; 1 Chr. 2:4 – 5), and some leading families of Judah traced their lineage to him (1 Chr. 9:4; 27:3; Neh. 11:4, 6; 1 Esd. 5:5 ["Phares"]). Perhaps his real prominence derives from the fact that he was an ancestor of DAVID (Ruth 4:18 – 22). It should be noted that Ruth 4:12 makes reference to Gen. 38: the stories of both Tamar and RUTH concern the principle of LEVIRATE LAW and stress the twofold promise (great posterity and landed property) made by God to Abraham (Gen. 13:14 – 17). Perez is included in the GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST (Matt. 1:3; Lk. 3:33). (See also PEREZ UZZAH; RIMMON PEREZ.)

R. E. HAYDEN

**Perez-uzza** pee'riz-uh'zuh. See PEREZ UZZAH.

**Perez Uzzah** pee'riz-uh'zuh (פֶּרֶץ עֻזָּה *H7290* [2 Sam. 6:8] and פֶּרֶץ עֻזָּא *H7290* [1 Chr. 13:11], "the breach of Uzzah"). Also Perez-uzzah and Perezuzza. The name given to the place where God struck UZZAH dead for touching the ARK OF THE COVENANT. Both 2 Sam. 6:6 – 11 and 1 Chr. 13:9 – 14 record the sin of Uzzah. The ark was being transported on an oxcart, and as the procession reached "the threshing floor of Nacon" (or Kidon), Uzzah touched the ark to stop it from tipping. God killed him for that, and David reacted in anger. The place was named Perez Uzzah "because the LORD'S wrath had broken out *[pāraṣ pereṣ, lit.,* breached a breach] against Uzzah." P. K. McCarter (*II Samuel,* AB 9 [1984], 170) speculates that the noun *pereṣ H7288* "must have been a geographical term designating a breach or gap in the fortifications of Jerusalem, which served as an entrance through which David had intended to convey the ark," but that since the word can also be used of a gap in progeny (Jdg. 21:15), the name was interpreted as "an interruption in the descent of [Uzzah's] family line." The site is unknown, but it must have been a short distance W of JERUSALEM (see discussion under KIDON).

R. L. ALDEN

**perfect.** Definitions of this adjective (or of the verb *to perfect* and the noun *perfection)* tend to be either (a) intrinsic, or (b) functional. In the former sense, the term connotes the state of meeting supreme standards of excellence or of having total correspondence to an archetype. In the latter sense, it suggests a condition of being accomplished in knowledge or performance, or having distinctive qualities that are fully developed.

**I. Use of the terms in Scripture**. In the OT, the primary relevant words are the adjectives *šālēm H8969* (1 Ki. 8:61 et al.) and *tārn H9447* (Cant. 6:9 et al.), as well as their cognates. The meaning is that of wholeness or completeness, and this quality often is ascribed to a person (Job 1:1, 8; 2:3; Pss. 37:37; 64:4). The words are used to describe the hearts of individuals (1 Ki. 8:61; 11:4; 15:3; 15:14; 2 Ki. 20:3; 1 Chr. 12:38; 28:9; 29:19; 2 Chr. 16:9; 25:2; Isa. 38:3), the quality of offerings (Lev. 22:21), God's way (2 Sam. 22:31; Ps. 18:30), the way of the righteous (Pss. 18:32; 101:6), the law of the Lord (Ps. 19:7), and so forth. (See *NIDOTTE,* 4:133 and 306 – 8.)

The main adjective employed in the NT is *teleios G5455* (e.g., Jas. 1:4, here used with its partial synomym *holoklēros G3908;* cf. also *artios G787,* which occurs only in 2 Tim. 3:17). This term is employed to describe God himself (Matt. 5:48), God's will (Rom. 12:2), the function of

spiritual discipline (Jas. 1:4), God's gifts (1:17), the "law of liberty" (1:25), the quality of love (1 Jn. 4:18), and persons (Matt. 19:21; Eph. 4:13; Phil. 3:15; Col. 1:28; 4:12; Jas. 3:2). Among its cognates are the verb *teleioō G5457* (e.g., Jn. 17:23; cf. the compound *epiteleō G2200,* as in Gal. 3:30), the adverb *teleiōs G5458* (only 1 Pet. 1:13), and the nouns *teleiotēs G5456* (Col. 3:14 and Heb. 6:1), *teleiōsis G5459* (Lk. 1:45 and Heb. 7:11), and *teleiōtēs G5460* (only Heb. 12:2). (See *NIDNTT,* 2:59 – 66.)

**II. Theological significance.** As applied to God, perfection indicates the possession of every affirmative quality in superlative degree, so that he is above all comparison, admitting of no deviation from absolute completeness in the embodiment of every excellence. This does not militate against empirical expressions of his perfections in concrete ways in the experiences of human beings, so that he distributes the fruits of his benevolence without reference to the fitness of those who receive them. His perfection is to be the archetype of the perfection of his creatures (Matt. 5:48), since he is the common subject of all perfections, and specifically of absolute moral perfection. The Schoolmen expressed it thus: God is *ens perfectissimum*— thus having real existence and absolute perfection.

The attribution of perfection to God's works frequently suggests completeness or the meeting of supreme standards of excellence. Thus is described "the law of the LORD" (Ps. 19:7), God's "way" (18:30), and his "knowledge" (Job 37:16). Expressed here is the full congruence between God's person and the expression of his activity or energy among men and women.

Of particular interest is the way the author of the epistle to the Hebrews makes use of the relevant terms with reference to Jesus. God is said to have made Jesus, the author of our salvation, "perfect through suffering" (Heb. 2:10). Again, "Although he was a son, he learned obedience from what he suffered and, once made perfect, he became the source of eternal salvation for all who obey him" (5:8 – 9). As a result, Jesus is "the author and perfecter of our faith" (12:2). This line of thought is evidently connected to the EXALTATION OF CHRIST (cf. 2:9), to the lack of perfection of the old covenant (7:11; 9:9; 10:1), to the perfection of the new covenant (9:11; cf. 8:13), and to the perfecting of believers (11:40). By his death and resurrection, Jesus brings in eschatological fulfillment and perfection, which is now experienced by his "brothers" (2:11; see further M. Silva in *WTJ* 39 [1976 – 77]: 60 – 71; D. Peterson, *Hebrews and Perfection: An Examination of the Concept of Perfection in the "Epistle to the Hebrews"* [1982].)

In an ethical sense, the biblical application of the term *perfect* to human beings is uniformly relative and teleological. Thus in the case of persons, perfection varies with the capabilities, the placement, and the state of knowledge that they enjoy, so that the one who is pronounced to be "perfect" embodies the divine ideal in terms of the possible realization of that ideal in his age. In this sense, NOAH was pronounced a perfect man (Gen. 6:9), and ABRAHAM was commanded, "walk before me and be blameless" (17:1; in both cases the Heb. word is *tāmîm H9459).* Similarly JOB was pronounced to be "blameless *[tām]* and upright; he feared God and shunned evil" (Job 1:1).

The same form of usage appears in those passages in which the heart of a person is pronounced to be perfect (or lacking in perfection), as in 1 Ki. 11:4; 15:14. The NT continues the teleological and developmental aspect of the usage. Jesus announced in the SERMON ON THE MOUNT (Matt. 5:48) that the evangelical objective is human perfection after the model of the divine perfection. The two stand related to one another as the relative to the absolute.

PAUL'S employment of the term in a more specialized manner appears in Phil. 3:12, 15. In the former passage, the apostle seems to disclaim final certainty of his attainment of resurrection-perfection, whereas in the latter he identifies himself with those "who are mature."

In historical theology, it may be noted that AUGUSTINE felt that Christian perfection was theoretically possible in this life, since to deny this would call into question the grace of God. In view, however, of the power and pervasiveness of SIN, he doubted whether many, if indeed any, attained it in human experience. The Roman Catholic Church placed, and continues to place, the stamp of perfection on the saints by canonization. Within monasticism, the mandate of Matt. 19:21, "sell your possessions," as the doorway to perfection has been maintained. During the late medieval period the mystics kept the aspiration toward perfection alive.

In more recent times, George Fox and the Wesleys articulated a view of relative, or "Christian," perfection, emphasizing the role of the HOLY SPIRIT in the lives of believers, especially in the dethroning of self-love and the impartation of "perfect love" as the badge and seal of the "perfect" Christian. It was John Wesley who distinguished most sharply between the state of regeneration and the condition of the one "made perfect in love." (See further C. Hodge, *Systematic Theology,* 3 vols. [1871 – 73], 1:366 – 441; F. Platt in *ERE,* 9:728 – 37; B. B. War-field, *Perfectionism*, 2 vols. [1931], 1:305 – 41 and 2:561 – 611; A. Köberle, *The Quest for Holiness: A Biblical, Historical and Systematic Investigation* [1936], 84 – 136; P. J. Du Plessis, *TELEIOS: The Idea of Perfection in the New Testament* [1959]; J. R. Walters, *Perfection in New Testament Theology: Ethics and Eschatology in Relational Dynamic* [1995].)

H. B. KUHN

**perfectionism.** See SANCTIFICATION.

**perfume.** The ancients were fond of sweet perfumes of all kinds (Prov. 27:9) and used them in various ways on their bodies and belongings.

**I. Terminology.** Several Hebrew words can be translated "perfume." For example, in Prov. 27:9 the terms *šemen H9043* ("oil") and *qĕṭōret H7792* ("incense") are rendered by the KJV respectively as "ointment" and "perfume," but by the NIV and NRSV as "perfume" and "incense." Another noun, *rêaḥ H8194*, which means "smell, odor" (Gen. 27:27 et al.), often has the nuance "aroma" (Gen. 8:21 and frequently) or "fragrance, perfume" (Cant. 1:3 et al.). The verb *rāqaḥ H8379* has the meaning "to mix spiced ointments," and its participle can be translated "perfumer" (KJV, "apothecary," Exod. 30:25 et al.). The word "perfume" does not occur in most English versions of the NT, but the NIV uses it to render the common Greek word for "ointment," *myron G3693* (Matt. 26:7 et al.).

**II. Manufacture.** The sources of perfume, INCENSE, and OINTMENT in the OT were in the vegetable kingdom, and the list of such sources (aloes, almug, balm, bdellium, calamus, cassia, cinnamon, etc.) reflects the extent of Hebrew trade and commerce (Arabia, India, Persia, Ceylon, etc.). This trade is reflected in OT passages (Gen. 37:25; 1 Ki. 10:10; Ezek. 27:22). Perfume could be produced from sap, bark, flower, or root.

So strong were the better kinds of ointments, and so perfectly were the component substances compounded that they have been known to retain their scent for centuries. Sometimes it was produced in a powdered form (Cant. 3:6), perhaps like a sachet powder. The first maker of perfume mentioned in the Bible is BEZALEL (Exod. 37:1, 29), and the profession became highly developed in Israel as elsewhere. When Israel asked for a king, SAMUEL warned that their king, among other demands, would take their daughters "to be perfumers and cooks and bakers" (1 Sam. 8:13). Certain sons of the priests were responsible for mixing the perfumes for incense (1 Chr. 9:30).

The Bible mentions various containers for perfume and ointments. The dry material was simply kept in a bag (Cant. 1:13; NIV, "sachet"); one passage speaks of "perfume boxes" (Isa. 3:20 NRSV; perhaps better, "perfume bottles," as in NIV). The ointment Mary used on Jesus (Matt. 26:7) was kept in an ALABASTER jar.

**III. Use.** Perfumes and ointments were used to mask the odor of the body, which easily became strong and disagreeable in hot countries; especially was it used on the feet (Lk. 7:38; Jn. 12:3). Mention is made also of anointing the hands (Cant. 5:5) and the body after bathing (Ruth 3:3). At feasts and in religious services, scented oil, sweet-smelling solutions, and incense were used—often in a lavish manner. The psalmist described the anointing oil on the head of AARON (Ps. 133:2) as it flowed over his beard and down on the collar of his robe. Perfume apparently was used on garments (Ps. 45:8; Cant. 4:11), as well as being used on couches or beds (Prov. 7:17). At the burial of King ASA, it is recorded that he was placed "on a bier covered with spices and various blended perfumes" (2 Chr. 16:14). NICODEMUS brought approximately 100 pounds of MYRRH and ALOES for the burial of Jesus (Jn. 19:39). See also SPICE.

The liturgical uses were many and varied. In the NT, perfume as an incense is a symbol of the knowledge

Mosaic at the Church of Lazarus in Bethany depicting Mary's anointing of Jesus with costly perfume.

of Christ (2 Cor. 2:14) and the self-sacrifice of Christ (Eph. 5:2). (See further R.J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology,* 8 vols. [1955–64], 3:9–10; G. W. Van Beek, "Frankincense and Myrrh in Ancient South Arabia,"JAOS 78 [1958]: 141–52; P. J. King and L. E. Stager, *Life in Biblical Israel* [2001], 280–81.)

L.L.WALKER

**Perga** puhr'guh (Πέργη *G4308*). Also Perge. The chief city of PAMPHYLIA in ASIA MINOR. Perga stood some 8 mi. inland from the coast, a situation frequently found with cities in the E Mediterranean, where the Cilician pirates were a recurrent danger. The intervening tract of land formed a glacis and served as protection against a surprise attack by night.

PAUL and BARNABAS passed through Perga twice on their first penetration of Asia Minor, both

on the way into the territory and on the way out (Acts 13:13–14; 14:24–25). Attention seems to have been paid to Perga only on the outward journey (14:25). It might have been expected that such an opportunity should rather have been taken on the inward journey, and the question arises why the missionary party did not do so. Writing later to the churches of S GALATIA, founded on this occasion,

The Roman stadium at Perga.

Paul mentioned a serious illness that was physically apparent when he first visited them (Gal. 4:13). Since the climate of the Pamphylian plain is enervating, it is not impossible that, after the strain of CYPRUS, Paul fell a victim at Perga to the malaria that seems to have been endemic in the area. If so, the surest alleviation of the condition would be a rapid move to the higher country of PISIDIA, an arduous bandit-ridden journey of 90 mi. to a level of 3,600 ft. According to many scholars, the reason for John Mark's withdrawal from the party at Perga is to be found somewhere in this set of circumstances, whether it was dispute over the priority of the Perga synagogue, resort to a Roman colony, or confrontation with physical peril. Some, however, attribute it to the young man's possible misgivings about the distinctive Pauline mission to Gentiles (see MARK, JOHN; PAUL III.A).

Little that is certain is known of the early history of Perga. The name itself is probably pre-Greek. It seems likely that Greek-speaking colonists occupied the Pamphylian coastal plain in an early AEGEAN diaspora associated perhaps with the continued pressure and irruption of the Dorian tribes into the area, and the ensuing collapse of the Mycenaean civilization. If Rhys Carpenter's theories of climatic change, and the shifting of population in consequence to maritime environments exposed to the wet W winds, are found acceptable, a spread of colonization along the Pamphylian coast is equally probable. At any rate, there is some evidence of Arcadian speech in the region, lending support to the contention that Perga was a foundation of very early Greek origin.

Legends and dedications mention Calchas, the diviner of the Greeks before Troy, and Mopsus, diviner of the Argonauts, as foundation heroes. Both figures, coming from the area of mingled myth and history associated with the breakdown of the Mycenaean culture, give color to a theory of early settlement from a disrupted Aegean. Like the founders of EPHESUS, the founders of Perga took over a Bronze Age goddess under the name of ARTEMIS, and Perga became notable for her cult. Artemis of Perga, like Artemis of Ephesus, was no doubt worshiped in the form of some primitive image, perhaps a meteoric stone.

Little is known of Perga during the period of Persian domination in Asia Minor. ALEXANDER THE GREAT, in his first movement into Persian imperial territory, passed through the city twice, and under his "Successors" the city seems to have been firmly in the control of the SELEUCIDS of Syria. When the Romans passed through in 188 B.C., it was a Syrian garrison that they encountered there.

With the breaking of the Seleucid power at this time by the Romans, Perga appears to have become independent, and subsequent coinage tells a story that runs from this time until three centuries into the Christian era. Little, however, is known of the history of the city, beyond the fragmented evidence of coinage and inscriptions. The notorious Verres, destroyed in court by a set of famous forensic orations of Cicero, appears to have practiced some of his familiar depredations there, and sundry emperors of the first two centuries are honored in surviving inscriptions.

It is archaeology and the imposing remnants of the city itself, still surviving on the site, that have most to say on the ancient prosperity and standing of the Pamphylian city. The ruins are well known, standing as they do near the modern Murtana, some 11 mi. to the E of Antalya (ATTALIA), in the province of Konia. There is an acropolis, naturally formed by a rocky eminence some 160 ft. high, a position of vantage and defensive strength that must have attracted the first colonists.

Surviving remnants of the lower city are chiefly Hellenistic. Surrounding fortifications and a fine city gate are visible, the whole complex elaborated and adorned by the benefactions of a noble Roman matron, Plancia Magna, to whom considerable epigraphic tribute is found. Curbed and channeled Roman shopping streets, over a chain wide and lined with Ionic columns, are characteristic of this period of city building. The Roman marketplace has cloisters formed by Corinthian columns. A palaestra and baths are within the walls. Outside is a Roman stadium and a theater cleverly built into a hillside. The seating capacity, some 12,000, is an indication of the population of the city in imperial times.

The site of the temple of the patron goddess Artemis has not yet been located, but four late Christian churches have been identified, two from the 4th cent. and two medieval. The dates suggest that Christianity did not take early root in Perga, and it may be significant that the city has no mention in the early tales of martyrdom and persecution. The only modern bishopric in the region is at Ata-lya, ancient Attaleia, port of Perga. It is nine centuries old. (See W. Ruge, "Perge," in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* 19 [1937], 694–704; H. Abbasoğlu and W. Martini, eds., *Die Akropolis von Perge* [2003– ].)

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

**Pergamos** puhr'guh-muhs. KJV form of PERGA-MUM.

**Pergamum** puhr'guh-muhm (Πέργαμος *G4307*). Also Pergamon, Pergamos (KJV), Pergamus. A city in the region of MYSIA, located 15 mi. from the AEGEAN SEA, with the hills around SMYRNA and the island of Lesbos in distant view, on a great humped hill that dominates the plain of the Caicus River. This eminence formed Pergamum's first acropolis (an upper, fortified part of the city). The name is also applied to a kingdom that had this city as its capital and that for a time covered most of ASIA MINOR.

The foundation of Pergamum was contemporary with the beginnings of urban life in Asia, but little is known of the first centuries. It is certainly pre-Greek in origin, and its non-Greek name, also applied to TROY, means "citadel." Coinage goes

Pergamum.

back five centuries before Christ. The city's royal estate dates to the year 282 B.C., when Philetaerus threw off allegiance to LYSIMACHUS, who ruled the land after the breakup of the empire of ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

Philetaerus's dynasty endured only twenty years, but the kingdom of Pergamum thus founded (known as the Attalid Kingdom; see ATTALUS) lasted until 133 B.C., almost exactly a century and a half. Over this time, the frontiers advanced or retreated as the power of the greater rival and successor-state, SYRIA, ebbed or flowed. When ROME was forced to intervene in Asia Minor, to protect her E flank from the imperialism of ANTI-OCHUS of Syria, Pergamum was a useful ally and an equally useful buffer state. Antiochus was decisively checked in 190 B.C. at the battle of Magnesia; it was then that Pergamum reached its highest point of power. The major event of the early royal history of Pergamum was the struggle against the Gallic tribes, who left their name in GALATIA.

Like Smyrna, Pergamum read well the signs of history, and when Attalus III bequeathed the kingdom to Rome in 133 B.C., the legacy was no doubt approved by his people, who saw little future for independence in the growing chaos of the Middle E. It was shrewd policy to seek early protection, as the Mediterranean world moved obviously nearer to an era of great rivalries and power politics on a far grander scale than the centuries of the city-states had known. Rome, in such peril, was the better

An altar dedicated to Zeus at Pergamum. (View to the E, with modern Bergama in the background.)

wager. The republic saw the advantage of a strong bridgehead beyond the Aegean, accepted the royal bequest, and organized the kingdom of Pergamum into the province of ASIA. For another two and a half centuries, Pergamum remained Rome's official center in the province. The city was therefore a seat of sovereign government for four full centuries.

Pergamum (modern Bergama) has been extensively and expertly excavated in modern times, and it is possible to gain a better picture of it, with its sweep of temples and public buildings crowned by the great altar to ZEUS, than of any other Asian city. The imperial cult, the worship of the spirit of Rome and of the emperor, with its loyalty test of formal incense burnt at the foot of Caesar's statue, found a center, appropriately enough, in Pergamum, and colored the city's life. See EMPEROR WORSHIP. The first temple of the cult was located there in 29 B.C., and is shown as a device on coins down to the principate of TRAJAN at the end of the 1st cent. In Trajan's honor a second temple was built, and a third was dedicated to Severus. Only the first temple functioned when John wrote his letter from PATMOS, but its presence and its ritual was enough to make Rome's authority oppressively apparent in the city. In his imagery of One "who has the sharp, double-edged sword," John wrote in reference to the imperial power that challenged Christianity so strongly in this important center of the state religion (Rev. 1:11; 2:12–17).

The implied hostility to Rome shows how far the clash of church and state had gone. It is a far cry from PAUL, who had hoped, a generation before, that the empire might find in Christianity the social and political cement that imperial authority had sought since the days of AUGUSTUS to bind into unity the states and cities of the Mediterranean world. The Christians of Pergamum lived in the presence of the dire alternative, for Rome had made her choice, and the Christian religion had been officially proscribed for twenty years. They dwelt, says John of those who followed the faith in Pergamum, "where Satan has his throne."

The significance of that phrase has become apparent since archaeology opened up a more detailed knowledge of the life of Pergamum and the structure of its pagan cults. Paganism lay in three

strata. There was an Anatolian substratum represented by the worship of DIONYSUS, the god of vegetation, and ASCLEPIUS, the god of healing. Snakes and the handling of reptiles were associated, as the *Bacchae* of Euripides shows, with the cult of Dionysus. Snakes were the symbol of Asclepius. A Pergamenian coin shows the emperor Cara-calla standing spear in hand before a great serpent twined around a bending sapling. He raises his right hand in the salute that Hitler's Nazis brought back to another world. Pausanias, who has left descriptions of his journeys in the Mediterranean lands, describes the same god enthroned with a staff in one hand, and the other on the head of a serpent. Christians must thus have found the cult of the god of healing, and his serpent-infested temple, peculiarly revolting.

Pausanias, in his account of Pergamum, also describes the throne-like altar to Zeus on the top of the crag above the city. It was discovered in 1871 and taken to Germany, where it stands reconstructed today in Berlin's Pergamonmuseum. The structure, a perron of steps leading to a great altar, commemorated the defeat of a Gallic invasion two centuries before. The wandering Celts who reached Rome and Delphi in the era of their folk-wanderings also infiltrated Asia Minor. Pergamum, strong enough to drive them off, 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, another offense to Christian minds. Perhaps the altar was actually the throne of Satan referred to in the letter's apocalyptic imagery (Rev. 2:13). (See R. Dreyfus and E. Schraudolph, eds., *Perga-mon: The Telephos Frieze from the Great Altar, 2* vols. [1996–97]; H. Heres and V. Kästner, *Der Perga-monaltar* [2004].)

The second stratum in Pergamum's religious history, represented by the Hellenistic kingdom, shows the worship of Zeus and Athena. The third stratum represents the Roman period and the imperial cult. Perhaps the ANTIPAS mentioned in Revelation was the first to suffer martyrdom for rejection of the cult. He died by burning in a brazen bull, says tradition, in DOMITIAN'S day, and he must have been one of many in this place of pervading paganism. Wherever the Christian turned, he met the flaunting symbols of the things he hated. It perhaps helped to realize that One knew "where he lived," but for those whose daily lot it was to live in such oppressive proximity to the mingled cults of paganism, there was deep temptation to compromise.

The spirit of the city's paganism prompted this tendency. Pergamum synthetized the deities of three races, and of three successive periods in the history of the state. There were pagans, no doubt, who thought that their complex scheme of worship could absorb yet another faith. There were also Christians who thought that the notion was not without merit. Could Christianity avoid a head-on collision with the pagan world, at least with the simple imperial cult, by a little judicious compromise? The thought had its temptation in a place where dissent was more likely to be viewed with hostility than anywhere else in Asia. Perhaps Dionysus, Asclepius, Athena, and Zeus could be avoided as objects of worship, impossible though it was to escape their presence in shrine and image. To avoid the worship of the emperor in the center of his cult—where that worship was thought to conflict with no other and to be also a test of loyalty—was not so simple.

Hence, the popularity of the sect of the NICO-LAITANS in Pergamum. Little is known about them, but it is clear enough that they were those who thought that a measure of compromise could be worked out, perhaps only in the comparatively harmless sphere of the state cult. The apostles saw with clarity that no compromise at all was possible. Allow the pinch of incense before the emperor, and the landslide would begin. The guild-feasts would follow, a problem for Christians in THYATIRA.Then would come the immoralities of CORINTH'S worship of Aphrodite and the breakdown of Christian

morality—the whole challenging distinctiveness of the Christian faith, the whole purpose of its being. Those who stood firm, in spite of misunderstanding, misrepresentation, the harsh criticism of less rigid friends, and the fierce resentment of a corrupt society, held and passed on the integrity of the faith. Nowhere was it more difficult to stand thus lonely and execrated than in Pergamum, where Christianity and Caesarism confronted each other face to face.

(See further G. Cardinali, Il *regno di Pergamo* [1906]; A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* [1937]; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World,* 3 vols. [1941]; E. Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon,* 2nd ed. [1971]; E. Yamauchi, *The Archaeology of New Testament Cities in Western Asia Minor* [1980], ch. 2; R. Allen, *The Attalid Kingdom: A Constitutional History* [1983]; C.J. Hemer, *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia in Their Local Setting* [1986], ch. 5; H. Koester, ed., *Pergamon, Citadel of the Gods: Archaeological Record, Literary Description, and Religious Development* [1998]; W. Radt, *Perga-mon: Geschichte und Bauten einer antiken Metropole* [1999].)

E.M.BLAIKLOCK

**Perge.** See PERGA.

**Perida** pi-ri'duh. Alternate form of PERUDA.

**Perizzite** per'uh-zit (פְּרִזִּי *H7254,* possibly "of the open country," but perhaps a non-Semitic name). A collective term for one of the older population groups of Palestine, who lived in the hill country of JUDAH. The name is frequently coupled with those of other peoples living in Palestine before the conquest under JOSHUA; for example, Perizzites and Canaanites (Gen. 13:7; 34:30; Exod. 23:23; et al.); Perizzites, Hivites, and Jebusites (Josh. 9:1; 12:8; Jdg. 3:5; et al.); Perizzites and Hittites (Exod. 3:8, 17; Josh. 24:11; et al.). The Perizzites are included among the groups that the Israelites were unable to exterminate, and whose descendants were made slaves by SOLOMON (1 Ki. 8:20; 2 Chr. 8:7; cf. also Jdg. 3:5). The older view that assumed the term to mean simply "villager" as distinguished from other nomadic peoples is now unacceptable. There is little question that a specific group or tribe is meant in the various biblical lists.

The Bible usually describes the pre-Israelite nations either by including them in a list of ten groups that inhabited CANAAN (Gen. 15:19), or by simply mentioning the Canaanites and summarizing all the others as Perizzites (13:7). The specific connotation and origin of the term is obscure, though some think that it is an equivalent to AMORITE; others have suggested that the name is HURRIAN. That the Perizzites are not mentioned with such groups as the PHILISTINES supports the judgment that they were not Indo-European but Semitic. The mention of them as distinct from the Amorites (Exod. 3:8, 17) could indicate that the Perizzites were considered a separate group because of their more westerly location.

The mention of the Perizzites with the Transjor-danian REPHAITES (Gen. 15:20; Josh. 17:15) has been the subject of much controversy, as it might suggest either an E Jordan location for the Perizzites or a W Jordan location for the Rephaites. On the basis of the OT citations (e.g., Josh. 11:3), it is likely that the Perizzites lived somewhere W of the Jordan and N of the Dead Sea in the hilly flanks between BETH SHAN and BEZEK, extending to the base of the ridges (cf. Jdg. 1:4). This would have placed them in the territory allocated to the tribe of MANASSEH, but possibly extending down into the claim of EPHRAIM (for other possibilities, see *ISBE,* rev. ed. [1979–88], 3:771). To date the Perizzites are unknown in any but the biblical citations, with the possible exception of similar but

uncertain names used in documents from Nuzi and TELL EL-AMARNA. (See further T. Ishida in *Bib* 60 [1979]: 461–90, esp. 478–80.)

W. WHITE, JR.

**perjury.** See OATH.

**persecution.** The act of punishing or causing others to suffer because of their beliefs, practices, and the like. The term can be ambiguous, since its use often depends upon the particular point of view. The persecutors usually think of themselves as the preservers of truth and order, or as the initiators of reforms, whereas those persecuted see them as oppressors. In the NT the persecutors of Christians were the Jews and Romans who wished to preserve the status quo. This concept was then applied to the OT, where those faithful to the COVENANT (the prophets, the faithful remnant) were persecuted by the unbelieving majority of Israel.

**I. Persecution in the OT.** Persecution began with the murder of ABEL (Gen. 4:5–8) and is exemplified in the enslavement of JOSEPH (37:23). As a social phenomenon, however, persecution appeared only after Israel became a nation in Egypt. There the Israelites suffered persecution (Exod. 1:8–22) owing to the Egyptians' fear of their growing numbers. Once in Palestine, repeated defections from the worship of Yahweh occurred, and when prophets came from God to warn against such apostasy, they were attacked both by the rulers and by the people as a whole. ELIJAH, JEREMIAH, and others received similar treatment for their clear demands that Israel should repent and return to God. They, in turn, demanded that those who were leading Israel astray should be persecuted and destroyed for their false teachings (1 Ki. 19:1–18).

**II. Persecution in the NT**

***A. NT view of OT persecution.*** The references in the NT to persecution in the OT illuminate much that is said in the NT concerning the relation of the Christian to the world and particularly to Israel. Jesus spoke of OT persecution as though it were a constant element in Israel's history. He pointed out that the prophets were persecuted because of their hunger and thirst after righteousness (Matt. 5:12) and that Israel's history had been a continuing story of attacks upon God's witnesses, from Abel until the death of the prophet Zechariah, who was killed between the altar and the sanctuary (Lk. 11:51). STEPHEN in his defense before the SANHEDRIN virtually insured his own martyrdom by attacking the Jews as the descendants of those who had killed the prophets (Acts 7:52), a view already expressed by Christ (Lk. 11:47–48). The writer to the Hebrews and John both see the OT persecutions as deriving from the same source—the unrighteousness of the world (Heb. 11:38; 1 Jn. 3:12). On this OT basis, the writers of the NT instructed Christian believers that persecution was a natural consequence of their witness.

***B. Warnings of Jesus.*** Along with the examples of the OT, Christ directly warned his disciples of impending persecution. Throughout his ministry he stressed the price Christians would have to pay for following him. He warned that opposition would come as the result of their preaching the gospel (Matt. 5:11,44; Lk. 11:49; 21:12; Mk. 4:17) even as attacks had come upon him (Jn. 15:20). At the same time, he told his disciples not to resist, but to escape if they could (Matt. 10:23). They should realize that in all their tribulations they would ultimately conquer through him (Jn. 16:33). The theme

of persecution entered the essence of Jesus' teaching.

***C. Christ's trial and death.*** The TRIAL OF JESUS, leading to his death, was a prototype of all subsequent persecution. For his teaching the Jews persecuted him, ultimately laying charges against him before the Sanhedrin and the Roman governor. A number of writers have pointed out that much of the action taken in his trial was illegal according to both Jewish and Roman law. This also characterized much of the early church's experience of persecution.

The other interesting parallel to what the church later suffered was the pattern of the legal action. Christ was first brought to trial before the Jewish authorities on the charge of blasphemy, for he had claimed to be the Son of God (cf. Jn. 10:24–33). Although condemned for his assertion, they could not kill him, because the final authority rested in the hands of the Roman governor. Therefore, they brought him before PILATE, but changed the charge to one of subversion and *crimen maiestatis,* or high treason (Jn. 19:12–13). On this latter indictment he finally suffered CRUCIFIXION. This process—persecution first under the Jews and then under the Romans—was repeated for the next eighty or ninety years.

***D. The church in Jerusalem.*** Although the disciples after Christ's crucifixion hid themselves behind locked doors because of the Jews, with the coming of the HOLY SPIRIT at PENTECOST they received boldness to go out and preach. The result was persecution (cf. Jn. 20:19). The first incident recorded is that of the arrest and trial of Peter and John for preaching, after they healed the lame man at the Beautiful Gate of the temple (Acts 3–4). This was followed by the attack upon Stephen, culminating in his martyrdom (chs. 6–7). Shortly after, HEROD Agrippa executed James and imprisoned Peter (ch. 12). Up to this point, persecution had been largely spasmodic and limited to Jerusalem and its immediate environs.

***E. The apostle Paul.*** With the conversion of Saul (PAUL) of Tarsus, the situation changed radically. Saul, a PHARISEE trained under GAMALIEL, had been a leader in the attacks on the Christians (Acts 9:1–9; Phil. 3:6), but after his conversion on the road to DAMASCUS he became the leading missionary of the movement, carrying the gospel to ASIA MINOR and GREECE. In his efforts to win people to Christ he often fell afoul of the religious authorities of the Jewish DIASPORA and of the Roman civic officials with the result that he was beaten, imprisoned, and even may have fought with wild animals at Ephesus (1 Cor. 15:32; 2 Cor. 11:23–27). Finally, arrested in a tumult raised by the Jews in Jerusalem, he appealed to Rome for justice and was sent there in chains. Eventually he was executed, according to tradition, in the persecution of the Christians that took place at the close of NERO'S reign (c. A.D. 66). See MARTYR.

## III. Persecution under the Roman empire

***A. Early sporadic persecution.*** NT persecution as a whole began with the Jews' attacks upon the church, but before long they sought the assistance of Gentiles, especially the Roman authorities. On occasion they succeeded in raising riots against the Christians by inciting Gentile opposition, as happened in ANTIOCH OF PISIDIA, ICONIUM, and LYSTRA on Paul's first missionary journey (Acts 13–14). At first the Roman officials seemed uncertain as to how they should act, for they were not consistent, some assisting in the persecution (e.g., 16:22–24) and others refusing to do so (e.g., 18:12–17). Before long, however, the Roman authorities began to adopt a more hostile attitude

toward the spreading Christian church. Thus in the later writings of the NT, the threat of attack by the government is in the background, especially of 2 Peter and the Apocalypse.

As the church advanced beyond the borders of Judaism, Jewish antipathy to the Christians tended to decline in intensity. With the Christian expansion, however, the church increasingly came into direct conflict with the civil authorities, especially in Rome itself. For some centuries the Roman authorities had followed the policy of recognizing as "official religions" those of considerable numbers of the population, and to these they added new cults as people of different faiths moved into the city. Whereas Roman citizens might find that joining one of the new religious groups, such as the worshipers of Isis (see OSIRIS), would bring them into disfavor with the government, generally the latter's policy was that of toleration for all religions that were neither immoral nor subversive. Christianity, however, with its exclusivist attitude and its refusal to accept the developing EMPEROR WORSHIP, inevitably had a confrontation with the imperial authorities. This came during the reign of Nero (A.D. 54–68).

***B. The Neronian persecution.*** According to the historian TACITUS, the first Roman persecution took place when Nero sought to divert public suspicion from himself as the originator of the fire that burned a large part of Rome in A.D. 64. He accused the Christians of being the incendiaries, charging them with "hatred of mankind," and had them put to death with horrible tortures, usually in imitation of some classical myths. Although no other early historians seem to make this connection between the fire and the persecution, most modern historians have followed Tacitus. However, as pointed out by L. H. Canfield (*The Early Persecutions of the Christians* [1913]), the persecution took place in 66–67, two years after the fire. Although there is little information concerning the church in Rome at this time, it would appear to have been largely Gentile in membership, but relatively small. There is no indication as to how many suffered or that the persecution extended beyond the imperial city.

The legal grounds for the persecution of the church are obscure. Judaism had been tolerated from the days of Julius CAESAR, and until A.D. 70 when Jerusalem had fallen to the Roman armies, the Jews paid their temple tax to Jerusalem as well as to Rome. Considered a sect of Judaism, Christians had at first been tolerated; but when the differences between Judaism and Christianity became more obvious to the Romans, toleration became somewhat less certain. Furthermore, the Christians in their vigorous proselytizing among non-Jewish citizens tended to come into conflict with the Roman ethos. They disrupted families, refused to serve in the army, and generally formed a divisive element in society. On these grounds the local magistrates had the "right" to institute persecution, particularly if popular opinion demanded such action. This would seem to have been the legal basis for Nero's action and for other persecutions.

***C. Persecution under the Flavian emperors.*** During the next thirty years, the government followed Nero's policy toward Christians. There was no general law against them, but the magistrates could take action as they saw fit, or as the populace might demand. This accounts for the spasmodic and localized character of persecutions under the Flavians, if persecutions did indeed take place. It has usually been held that the Emperor DOMITIAN (81–96) authorized a widespread persecution that involved even some of the Roman nobles. Canfield points out, however, that the evidence for this is very weak. Although Domitila, a Roman lady of noble lineage, and the apostle John were banished for their Christian beliefs, it would seem that persecution was not very extensive.

***D. Persecution under Trajan.*** Under TRAJAN (98–117) the situation of the Christians changed.

Around the year 112, PLINY THE YOUNGER was sent as governor to BITHYNIA to deal with some political and financial matters. While fulfilling his office, he encountered the problems caused by the spread of Christianity. Apparently the butchers who sold meat for pagan sacrifices had difficulties because people were forsaking the temples; therefore, a number of people were reported to him as Christians. For those who obstinately refused to give up their beliefs he ordered execution, but those who recanted he imprisoned until he could be sure of what he should do. Possibly he had doubts about the justice of executing even the "obstinate" Christians. To set his mind at rest he wrote to the emperor requesting instructions concerning the treatment of these people.

Trajan's rescript on the subject of the Christians is of great importance in the history of persecution. He instructed Pliny that those who confessed themselves Christians and refused to give up their beliefs were to be executed. On the other hand, those who recanted could be released. He also added that Pliny should neither hunt for Christians nor receive anonymous accusations. Such was the first clear statement of imperial policy. Two things

Bust of Emperor Trajan, who issued the first Roman edict to execute Christians who did not renounce their beliefs.

to be noted are that Trajan took a middle ground between complete toleration and complete persecution, and that although he gave an answer concerning a local problem, his views undoubtedly would be followed in the other imperial provinces. Trajan's rescript remained the basis for action against the church until the middle of the following century.

In summary, there were not many persecutions by the Roman authorities down to the time of Trajan, nor apparently did many Christians suffer in those that took place. Generally sporadic and localized, they may have occurred largely as the result of popular outcry and perhaps mob action. There is no evidence for ten separate persecutions, as some have postulated.

**IV. Reasons for persecution.** Persecution of Christians by the Jews can be traced primarily to the Jewish unwillingness to accept the Christian teaching that Jesus Christ was their long-expected MESSIAH. They also resented the Christians' claim that their church with its teaching was the fulfillment of Judaism, while at the same time Christianity seemed to be undermining their whole Judaistic system. To the Romans, on the other hand, although Christianity might cause little religious trouble to the government, it was subversive of the mythical imperial unity. It was disruptive both socially and politically; therefore, it must be stamped out. These are the views usually set forth by historians as the cause of the antagonism and hatred of the Christians.

Basically, the Christian message is of itself offensive to unbelieving men and women. The demand for faith and commitment to Christ as Savior and Lord has always prompted hatred by those who will not believe. This interpretation often is omitted. Persecution was not a problem just for the NT church, but remains a problem for Christians in every age.

(See further E. G. Hardy, *Christianity and the Roman Government* [1894]; H. B. Workman, *Persecution in the Early Church: A Chapter in the History of Renunciation* [c. 1906]; A. Harnack, "Persecution of Christians in the Roman Empire down to Decius," in *SHERK,* 8:467–69; W. H. C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church: A Study of a Conflict from the Maccabees to Donatus* [1965]; R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* [1986]; R. Selinger, *The Mid-Third Century Persecutions of Decius and Valerian* [2002]; M. Gaddis, *There Is No Crime for Those Who Have Christ: Religious Violence in the Christian Roman Empire* [2005].)

W. S. REID

**Persepolis** puhr-sep'uh-lis (Περσέπομις, "Persian City"). This city, mentioned by numerous Greek historians from Strabo on, apparently was known originally as *Persai Polis,* a name that was later contracted. It was built by DARIUS (520–485 B.C.) in his home province of Pārsa (modern Fārs). Situated about 40 mi. S of the older ACHAEMENID capitol at Pasargadae, its ruins lie about 35 mi. NE of modern Shiraz.

From about 519 B.C. on, Persepolis was one of the principal residences of the king. Darius had an enormous terrace constructed near a natural hill, the floor of the terrace being partly excavated and partly raised with massive stone blocks fastened in place by iron staples set with lead. Since

Sculpture of Artaxerxes III found in Persepolis (c. 350 B.C.).

Darius made use of craftsmen and builders from SUSA, the palace and decorations are very similar to the Achaemenid buildings at that site. On this terrace were raised seventy-two massive columns some 65 ft. in height, which were surmounted with elaborate capitals formed like bulls and the majestic horned lion.

The severity and simplicity of line characteristic of high Achaemenid art is overwhelming in its closure of space. The entire palace area and the city nearby were enclosed by a triple defense wall and fortified towers. Atop the terrace stood the royal palace, which had inscribed on its walls, "(I am) Darius the Great King, King of Kings, King of (all) lands, the son of Hystaspes, the Achaemenian, who constructed this palace" (text and trans. in R. Kent, *Old Persian* [1950], DPa 135). Several enormous stairways led to the various parts of the palace. One stairway was enclosed by a long relief showing dignitaries coming before the king. Of special interest are the depictions of the representatives of the various subject peoples bearing the presents and tributes of their respective nations. The execution of the rare and valuable animals and the representation of the bearers of the gifts are one of the high points in Persian plastic arts.

The son and successor of Darius, XERXES (485–465), completed and extended the palace. He finished off the great throne room, or audience hall, called the *Apadana* (an Old Pers. word meaning "palace" or "hall"). Its numerous side chambers and massive roof, supported by the seventy-two columns, enclosed a floor of almost 30,000 square ft. Xerxes imitated the grandiose style of Assyrian bull-monsters and ornate extravagance in his additions to the palace. Xerxes' son and imperial heir, ARTAXERXES I (465–425), finished the third great audience hall, which was even larger than that of Xerxes. It was roofed with wooden beams on one hundred stone columns.

After the Greek victory at Gaugamela in 331 B.C., ALEXANDER THE GREAT bore down upon Persepolis. He looted the famed "treasury," after which his troops burned the vast palace complex.

This wanton destruction was the source of many legends and rival accounts in antiquity. In 166 B.C., ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes, the Hellenist ruler, tried to loot the last remaining temple on the site, "with the result that Antiochus was put to flight by the inhabitants and beat a shameful retreat" (2 Macc. 9:2). The ruins are now called Takht-i Jamshîd, "The Throne of Jamshid," a legendary Iranian king.

(See further G. G. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets* [1948]; E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis,* 3 vols. [1953–70]; R. Ghirshman, *Iran* [1954]; R.T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* [1969]; A. B. Tilia, *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and other Sites of Fārs, 2* vols. [1972–78]; E. Porada in *Cambridge History of Iran, 2* [1985], 793–827; E. M. Yamauchi, *Persia and the Bible* [1990], ch. 10; G. Wirth, *Der Brand von Persepolis: Folgerungen zur Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen* [1993].)

W. WHITE, JR.

**Perseus** puhr'see-uhs (Περσεύς). Son of Philip V of MACEDONIA. He succeeded to the throne in 178 B.C. and was the last Macedonian king. Perseus was defeated at the Battle of Pydna by Aemilius Paulus in 168, and Macedonia became a Roman province; he died in captivity at Rome. According to 1 Macc. 8:5, the conquest of Perseus was part of the "fame of the Romans" (v. 1) that Judas MACCABEE heard about and that caused him to try to make an alliance with Rome.

S. BARABAS

**perseverance.** This English term is used a number of times in the NIV to render Greek *hypomonē G5705,* "patience, endurance" (Rom. 5:3–4 et al.). The KJV uses it to render *proskarterēsis G4675,* which occurs only once (Eph. 6:18). Note also such verbs as *kartereō G2846* (Heb. 11:27) and *hypomenō G5702* (1 Cor. 13:7; Jas. 1:12; et al.), both of which mean "to be patient, endure, persevere."

The Christian doctrine of perseverance, however, is based not on particular uses of such terms but on explicit declarations of Scripture. In Jn. 10:29, for example, in a continuation of the passage on Jesus as the great shepherd, the Lord said: "My Father, who has given them to me, is greater than all; no one can snatch them out of my Father's hand." Paul wrote that "God's gifts and his call are irrevocable" (Rom. 11:29). And again he gave assurance to the Philippians: "being confident of this, that he who began a good work in you will carry it on to completion until the day of Christ Jesus" (Phil. 1:6; cf. 2 Thess. 3:3; 2 Tim. 1:12; 4:18). On the basis of such promises, a strong position has been taken historically by those of the Reformed and Calvinistic tradition, which maintains that those whom God has elected and upon whom he has poured out his Spirit effectually will persevere to the end.

The doctrine of perseverance is characteristic of those theologies where ELECTION and predestination are firmly maintained (though other persuasions often speak of "eternal security," or the view that "once saved, always saved"). The doctrine tends to slide away in any theology where the sinner is considered to have any decisive part in his own salvation. The synergism and Semi-Pelagianism that show themselves in the Church of Rome, in Lutheranism, and especially in churches of Arminian descent, naturally undermine the doctrine of perseverance. Those who hold a complete view of perseverance emphasize that the persevering is God's, not man's; that salvation is all of God, "all of grace," and that any persevering done by believers is not because this would be normal or natural with them, or even desired by them, but because the persevering God bestows his HOLY SPIRIT to make them hold fast. The believer holds steady to the end because he is held by God.

On the other hand, there are scriptural reasons why perseverance is brought into question. The

words of the writer to the Hebrews pose a constant threat to those who would rest in perseverance: "It is impossible for those who have once been enlightened, who have tasted the heavenly gift, who have shared in the Holy Spirit, who have tasted the goodness of the word of God and the powers of the coming age, if they fall away, to be brought back to repentance, because to their loss they are crucifying the Son of God all over again and subjecting him to public disgrace" (Heb. 6:4–6). Or again, "If we deliberately keep on sinning after we have received the knowledge of the truth, no sacrifice for sins is left, but only a fearful expectation of judgment and of raging fire that will consume the enemies of God" (10:26–27).These are strong statements and give reason for those who point out that a person's behavior even after his REGENERATION may destroy everything that God has done for him.

Those who argue for perseverance insist that what is said in Jn. 10:27–29 cannot in the consistency of the Bible be gainsaid in Hebrews. Two things must then be kept in mind about those portions of Scripture that seem to indicate a falling from grace: (1) The person in view was not truly saved in the first place in spite of any appearances to that effect. (2) The necessary fruit of the fact of regeneration will be the works that necessarily follow a new life principle, a "new birth," and therefore a believer will consciously strive for the things of Christ; if he does not, one can question the reality of his experience of Christ. Even what appear to be cases of real APOSTASY (1 Tim. 1:19–20; 2 Pet. 2:1–2; et al.) are faced by the same argument: the apostasy is impossible once a person has been saved, and if it takes place after he appears to have been saved, the apostasy proves that regeneration never really took place (cf. 1 Jn. 2:19), to which is added the ever possible argument that no one really knows what has finally taken place in a person's heart even up to death.

Questions concerning perseverance are perennial and end with two basic theological questions: (1) How does an absolutely sovereign God act and interact with a morally responsible human being? (2) What assurance does anyone have in a universe where God is not completely in control, that is, how sure is salvation if it depends on the unde-pendability of the human will? (See J. Edwards, *Works,* 3:509–32; C. G. Finney, *Lectures on Systematic Theology* [1878], 544–619; A. H. Strong, *Systematic Theology* [1907], 868, 881–86; L. Berkhof, *Systematic Theology* [1946], 545 –49; G. C. Berkou-wer, *Faith and Perseverance* [1958]; I. H. Marshall, *Kept by the Power of God* [1969]; J. M. Gundry Volf, *Paul and Perseverance: Staying In and Falling Away* [1990]; W. Grudem, *Systematic Theology: An Introduction to Christian Doctrine* [1994], ch. 40; J. M. Pinson, ed., *Four Views on Eternal Security* [2002].)

A. H. LEITCH

**Persia** puhr'zhuh (פָּרַס *H7273,* gentilic פָּרְסִי *H7275,* "Persian"; from Old Pers. *Pārsa,* later *Pars* and *Fārs;* Gk. Περσίς, gentilic Πέρσης). A country of SW Asia, to the E of Babylonia. In 1935 its name was changed to Iran (from the Avestan term *Airyana;* cf. English *Arian*).

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**I. The land.** Persia/Iran is a rugged land of climatic and geographical extremes. The modern country is bordered on the N mainly by Turkmenistan (formerly within the Soviet Union) and the Caspian Sea, on the S by the Persian Gulf and the Gulf

Remains of an Achaemenid palace in Persia.

of Oman. Iraq and Turkey lie on the W border, whereas on the E it is bordered by Afghanistan and Pakistan. The total land area is over 630,000 sq. mi., with about 1,600 mi. of coastline.

The Persian expanse is divisible into four geographic regions. Most of the land lies on a great triangular plateau, with the longest side running from NW to SE for almost 800 mi. through the middle of the country. This plateau has an elevation of nearly 4,000 ft. and is bordered by numerous ridges and mountains. This plateau and the Zagros and Elburz mountain ranges are the two largest geographic regions. The third region is the desert, which is divided by mountains and some fertile valleys into the northern *Dasht-i-Kavir* and the more southern *Dasht-i-Lut*. These are rock-strewn wastes coated in many areas with alkali salts. The fourth and smallest environ is the flat, barren Khuzistan Plain. It lies at the N end of the Persian Gulf between the Tigris-Euphrates watershed and the Zagros Mountains. This is the site today of Iran's oil reserves, which are shipped out through the seaport of Abādān.

The mountains effectively block rain clouds from crossing the central plateau so that the foothills of the ranges yield the best crops. The temperatures are extremely variable, ranging across the land from below 32°F in winter to well over 112°F in summer. Most of the available lake water is not suitable for agricultural purposes, as it has a high degree of salinity, since many bodies of fresh water lose 50 percent of their volume during the summer months. By far the biggest obstacle to habitation in many parts of the land is the lack of water. Although there are many types of grazing and herding animals, in the more remote areas deforestation has continued from remote antiquity and trees are found in very few areas at present. Only in the coastal lowlands S of the Caspian are there extensive areas of natural vegetation. Aside from the petroleum deposits there are those minerals found in desert and arid locations. On the sea coasts and in such inland bodies as Lake Urmia and the larger rivers, fishing is a major industry.

**II. The people.** Although no Neanderthal sites prior to the late Stone Age have yet been excavated in

Iran, people of such antiquity and racial types must have lived in this area of Asia. Little archaeological information, however, has been published from a number of modern excavations made in Iran. The major population groups since antiquity have been of the Caucasoid type, whereas in the NW the Kurds and other subgroups of the Caucasoids have made their home. In other parts of the country, the tribespeople—Lurs, Bakhtiyaris, Qashqais, Kamsehs, and Arabs—are found. Near the eastern borders some Afghanis and Armenians are settled, and in the W some villages of Turkomens. There are also some mixed groups, however, such as the Mandeans and the Jewish-Persian offshoots. The summation of most of these groups into the general term Indo-Aryan or Indo-Iranian, although not technically accurate, best describes the populace, because the great migrations of antiquity that brought racial and cultural types into this plateau are ultimately of Indian and even S Indian origin.

**III. History.** Systematic excavations, which were begun in Iran as early as the 19th cent., were not consistently carried forward until after the Second World War and the modernization of the political system. Excavations and translations of ancient records, carried on largely by native Iranian experts, have aided reconstructions of the early and middle periods of Iran's history.

***A. Prehistory.*** The cultural finds from various excavations carried on at widely distributed sites throughout Iran have shown that the types of assemblages were in the main similar around the country until the migrations and invasions of the Neolithic peoples of India and Mesopotamia, which began during the 6th millennium B.C. The Palaeolithic of Iraq, particularly of the Zagros foothills, is also found in those same regions, where they extend into W Iran. Mousterian remains have been found at the cave near Bisitun, on the Iranian frontier, similar to the finds at Hazar Merd, Shani-dar, and other such sites in Iraq. Major Mesolithic remains of the food-gathering cultures have been located on the S shores of the Caspian.

The great difficulty of making cross-cultural chronological judgments based on pottery sequences is apparent in Iranian prehistory. It seems that there were two great routes of migration and cultural innovation coming from W to E and originating in the upper reaches of the TIGRIS Valley. The earliest evidence of such is a soft ware similar to that of pre-Jarmo levels from Iraq and found at Tepe Guran in the area called Luristan, S of the Diyala River. Subsequent to this are ceramics directly related to the Jarmo and Hassuna levels of Iraq. These are located in Iran at Sarab, Ali Kosh, Hajji Firuz, and Hotu; they are definitely Neolithic, dating after 6000 B.C.

From the southern Ubaid, later protoliterate, and subsequently Sumerian culture of Iraq, a strong

The Persian Empire.

influence is apparent in the Susiana culture of Iran, which ultimately led to the historic Elamite civilization. See ELAM (COUNTRY). This branch seems to have continued on down the W slopes of the Zagros to the gap in the ridge at Bakun. From there a branch went S to the gulf coast in the area of Khuz-istan and another continued still SE to the Kermān area. From the northern area of Mesopotamia a strong cultural current, the northern Ubaid, influenced the mountain peoples below Lake Urmia and the archaeological site at Pisdeli. A further extension of this branch went through the mountains to Sialk, one of the foremost sites in Iran, just S of the lake Darya-yi-Namak, the modern city of Kāshān. From there another northern extension went on to Tepe Hissar and Hotu and ultimately to Nishapur, the most northeasterly site in Iran.

Undoubtedly, the cultural tracings along these routes mark the paths of ancient caravan trails, the very ones over which the Indus Valley peoples traded with the irrigation cultures of Mesopotamia. The seven cultures now delineated in Iranian prehistory are: Susiana, Giyan, Sialk and the closely related if not derivative Hissar, Hotu-Yarim Tepe, Bakun-Khurab-Bampur (similar to Susa D in the later stages), and Geoy. The earliest and most extensive are those of Giyan in the central Zagros and those at Susa and possibly Choga Mish in the SW plains of Khuzistan.

Certainly by 3000 B.C. the proto-Luric people known as the Elamites had begun the towns that were to become the kingdom of the dynasty of Awan. The history of Persia before the rise to prominence of the Medo-Persian kingdom is primarily the history of the Elamites. They utilized a hieroglyphic script peculiar to themselves, which later gave way to the Sumero-Akkadian cuneiform syllabary (see SUMER; WRITING). They wrote their name as *Haltamti,* "Land of god." They are mentioned in connection with the king of Sumerian Kish, Enmebaragesi, who ruled about 2700. According to the same Sumerian king list, the legendary hero-king GILGAMESH is supposed to have gone on beyond Elam in his conquests. About 2600, however, an unknown Elamite king overthrew the city-state of UR and carried off its kingship to his capital of Awan.

Wars between the Sumerians and the Elamites appear to have been frequent. Late Sargon of Agade (2371–2316) overcame Elam in 2325 and overthrew the *zunkir,* "king," Lukhishshan. A later Semitic ruler, Naram-Sin (2291–2255), concluded a treaty with the most important ruler of ancient Elam, Kutik-In-Shushinak, the governor, or *haimenik,* of Susa. Both the Sumerian religious states and the confederacy of Elam fell to the invading Guti (2211), after which an Elamite dynasty at Simash

appeared. The chief goddess and head of the pantheon was a certain deity of astrological character called Pinikir; the chief male deity was Khumban. This strange set of deities undoubtedly influenced the later Persian pantheon. After the fall of Simash the new kings styled themselves, "Kings of Anshan and Susa." The arrival of the art of bronze casting about 2000 B.C. does not seem to have been that of a violent conquest but probably was learned from merchant craftsmen.

For the centuries after the beginning of the 2nd millennium, the center of Elamite and thus Persian culture was Mālamîr, in Susiana, and a later capital, Liyan.The general disruption of the Mesopotamian states brought about by Semitic and central Asian invaders also swept over Elam. The Kassites ruled Babylon and much of the lower Tigris-Euphrates Valley, although in 1174 B.C. the Elamite ruler Shutruk-nahunte overthrew the Kassite dynasty of Babylon and began a resurgence of Elamite power. This impetus was carried on through the regnal years of his son, Kutir-nahunte, and reached its culmination in the reign of his younger son, Shilkhak-In-Shushinak, who raised the name of his chief deity, In-Shushinak, and those of the other gods of Elam, Susa, and Anzan to prominence throughout the Iranian plateau and into Mesopotamia. His fame both as a warrior and a builder are symbols of the Elamite golden age. His son and successor, Khutelutush-In-Shushinak, was unable to hold his kingdom, and after the battle with the Babylonian King Nebu-chadnezzar I (1124–1104) at the Hulai River, Elam passed into obscurity. The political vacuum was not destined to last, for a new power emerged.

***B. Medo-Persian ascendancy.*** As early as 2000 B.C., Indo-Aryans from the steppes of S Russia and the valley of the Indus had begun to settle in Iran and the Black Sea coast. These people, usually styled Indo-Europeans, affected the kingdoms of the HITTITES and HURRIANS and became the overlords of MITANNI. By 1600 they had reached the more primitive cultures of the Balkan peninsula and triggered the rise of GREECE. Strange as it may appear, the Persians and the Greeks who later would be locked in deadly combat for centuries both arose from the same origins and carried with them similar languages, cultures, and customs throughout their history.

Two of these Indo-European tribes settled on the Elamite borders and to the E of the Zagros range. There they were discovered by the expeditionary forces of SHALMANESER III (858–824); in his inscriptions they were first noted as the Parsua (Persians) and Madai (Medes; see MEDIA). Other still more obscure Indo-European tribes were settling in the Iranian plateau: Zikirtu (Sagartians), Parthava (Parthians), and various branches of the Medes. The Persians, however, under pressure by the recently strengthened kingdom of Urartu (see ARARAT), moved S along the ridges of the Zagros. Numerous Assyrian rulers fought against Urartu and frequently came up against Persian towns and mercenaries allied with their enemies.

In the face of the continual attacks of the Assyrian King SARGON II (721–705, Isa. 20:1), the loosely organized Median tribes appear to have united under the chieftain Daiakku (Deioces) and to have begun their rise to national statehood. This trend was set back by the violent invasions of another wave of Indo-Europeans consisting of the CIMMERIANS and SCYTHIANS, who overthrew the small Neo-Hittite kingdoms of northern Syria-Anatolia—the Phrygians, Urartians, and numerous lesser states—and finally settled in the area of modern Azerbaijan. Daiakku was carried off into captivity by Assyria in 715. He was succeeded by his son—the legendary Uvarkhshatra (Cyaxares I), who paid tribute to Sargon II. He in turn was succeeded by his son Khshathrita, Assyrian Kashtaritu (Phraortes), who died in battle against ASHURBANIPAL. The fortunes of Media were drawing to a close, soon to be eclipsed by the House of Hakhamanish.

***C. Achaemenid era.*** The historicity of Hakhamanish (Gk. form, Achaemenes), chieftain of the Parsua, is doubted by some, but his name first appears in the role of ally aligned against SEN-NACHERIB of Assyria (705–681) at the battle of Hallule. His son Kishpish (Teispes) came to the throne in 675. His rule was aided by the Scythian conquest of the Medes, which freed Persian areas of their control. He was titled "King, Great King, King of the City of Anshan [Anzan]." His older son, Ariyaramna (Ariaramnes), was given kingship over Parsa (Persia proper), whereas the younger son Kurash I (Cyrus) was given Anshan, the W area that bordered on Elam.

Thus in 640 there were two Persian kings. The house of the younger served that of the older until the son and heir of Kurash I, Kabujiya (Camby-ses I), married the daughter of the Median king Astyages. This Median princess, called Mandane, is the subject of a most dramatic tale in HERODOTUS (*Hist.* 1.108). Their firstborn son was Kurash II (CYRUS), one of the most celebrated kings of history, called by Isaiah in one of his predictive prophecies the "shepherd" and "anointed" of the Lord (Isa. 44:28; 45:1). In 559, Cyrus II became king of Anshan and made an alliance with Nabū-naid (NABONIDUS), the usurper of BABYLON. Together they conquered most of the territories nearby and advanced their armies over most of SW Asia. The Median king Astyages was betrayed by his new army and handed over to Cyrus II in 550, who thus had formed in one historic day the empire of the Medes and Persians.

In 539, Cyrus overthrew Babylon under the insecure regime of Bēl-shar-usur (BELSHAZZAR), regent of Nabonidus while the latter was off on military campaigns in Arabia. He returned in time to witness the fall of Babylon, after more than 2,000 years of continued Semitic reign, on 11 October 539, an event of such magnitude that it was reviewed in numerous details and recorded by Herodotus (*Hist.* 1.190ff.), Daniel (Dan. 5), and the Nabonidus Cylinder. The identification of DARIUS THE MEDE mentioned in Daniel's account never has been determined for certain (for an intriguing proposal, see J. C. Whitcomb, *Darius the Mede* [1959]).

The generous and benevolent character of Cyrus's administration has been lauded since antiquity. He was the founder of the satrapical system whereby each province (Persian satrapy) was governed by an official answering to the great king, but allowing a remarkable degree of autonomy and freedom of religion and customs for the vassal states. His enormous empire, with its roads, cities, postal system, legal codes, metaphysical religion, and innate sense of humanity, has been his enduring memorial. His greatest building effort was the capital at Pasargadae, where innumerable styles and decorations learned from the subjected peoples were blended into the early "Achaemenid" style. As with all Persian palace compounds, the *paradayadām* (Avestan *pairidaēza*), "retreat" or "park," was a major construction. This notion passed into Greek and ultimately into English as PARADISE. Throughout the palace and its many buildings, the simple but artistic lines and the alternate use of black and white building materials lent themselves to the variations in the sun's rays throughout the course of the day.

In the year 530 the kingdom passed to Cyrus' son, CAMBYSES II, who immediately had to put down various attempts to take over the throne, and his zeal in fulfilling this necessity earned him the title "despot." He carried out his father's plan to attack Egypt, and with the help of many native Semites of the S of Arabia he overcame the city of PELUSIUM, under the Pharaoh Psammetichus III, the son of Amasis, and the Greek mercenaries Egypt had employed. He planned a campaign against Carthage, the reigning "queen" of the Mediterranean, but was unable to hire the necessary shipping to transport his army. In his solidification of his kingship, Cambyses had slain his brother Smerdis, whereas in Egypt a Magian noble, Gau-mata, had proclaimed himself the true Smerdis and revolted, usurping the throne. Cambyses may have committed suicide; he died in 522.

The army then supported a distant cousin of Cambyses, a descendant of Ariaramnes named Darayavaush (DARIUS), son of Vishtaspa (Hys-taspes), and he initiated a new era of the House of Hakhamanish. After winning his throne from all the pretenders, he carved his victory inscription high on the rock face at BEHISTUN, one of the most extensive royal inscriptions of antiquity. His experience under the preceding king as commander of the Persian shock troops, the fabled Ten Thousand Immortals, stood him in good stead. With their help he held the empire. He built the palaces at SUSA, the ancient Elamite city, and his own capital at PERSEPOLIS. The turmoil of his early regnal years caused him to initiate conservative and restrictive policies in his administration of the subject peoples, but he did not have a large enough army or sufficient majority to force his subjects to obedience to Persia.

The powers of satraps were balanced by royal military commanders and tax officials in each


Calcite jar discovered in Halicarnassus. The inscription reads in several languages, “Darius great king.”

province, not unlike the commissar system of later oriental potentates. No doubt he expanded the empire in the E, but the limit is not known. He built a commercial empire as well as political and even considered cutting a canal through to the Red Sea. He attempted a great campaign against the Scythians of S Russia; his army crossed the Danube but was thwarted before the Dniester River. On his return, Darius conquered the Greek coastal cities of ASIA MINOR, forcing on all the Greek cities the issue of whether or not to ally with Persia. ATHENS went against Persia, and the stage was set for the Persian defeat at Marathon in August of 490.

The real conflict between Persia and Greece lies more in the realm of *Kulturkampf.* Persia was the last of the great archaic religious states in which civilization had its birth and first formulation, and had been the last vestige of the elaborate state-pantheon cultus of antiquity. It had simplified the complex CUNEIFORM to the most efficient of all syllabaries. On the other hand, Greece had entered a new era. It had produced some form of democratic state, the popular literature (through the ALPHABET), and citizen army—all of which were harbingers of the social systems to come. In effect the conflict was that between old and new forms of human life, more direct and more bitter than many less crucial conflicts in history.

In 486, Egypt revolted against Persia to spite the colonies of mercenaries that had been stationed around its borders, such as the Jewish garrison at ELEPHANTINE. During Darius’s reign, the religion of Mazdaism (ZOROASTRIANISM) began to spread. With his death in 485, the high point of the Achaemenid dynasty had been reached. XERXES (Ahasuerus), the eldest son of Darius and his queen, Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, ascended to the throne that year and dealt harshly with a new Egyptian

revolt. He reduced Egypt to slavery and placed over it his brother Akhaimemesh.

After building a double bridge across the Hellespont, Xerxes invaded Greece in 480. The Persians defeated the Spartan rear guard at the Pass of Thermopylae and finally occupied Athens in the latter part of the year, but their fleet was defeated in the monumental naval battle at Salamis under the horror-stricken eyes of Xerxes himself. This ended Persia's last hope to conquer Greece. The next year the Persians were again defeated, at Platea, which left Athens to enjoy the glories of the Age of Pericles but finally to face destruction in her fratricidal war with Sparta. The reigns after Xerxes experienced increasing rebellion and declining central authority, a list of incompetent rulers. The final scenes of the Achaemenids comprised harem intrigues, assassinations, plots, and counter plots, which left the way open for the total collapse that was at hand.

***D. Alexandrian and Seleucid era.*** The Greeks were convinced from 480 B.C. on that only a great campaign of all the Greek cities could forever remove the threat of Persian conquest. The adventures of Xenophon and the group of Greek mercenaries who marched across Asia Minor after the battle of Cunaxa following one of the dynastic feuds of the Persian monarchy in 401 only demonstrated the decadence of Achaemenid rule. Athenian orators and intellectuals called for an invasion of Persia, and their pleas were heeded by Philip of MACEDONIA, who planned such a venture. At his death, ALEXANDER THE GREAT took up the crusade to bring Persia under Greek domination.

In 334, Alexander set out with his forces and met and defeated the Persian army at Granicus. In quick succession Sardis, Caria, Lycia, Pam-phylia, Pisidia, Halicarnassus, and Phrygia fell to the Macedonian. In November of 333, Alexander met Darius III Codomannus at Issus in one of the decisive battles of world history, which the Macedonians won against incredible odds. Thus ended the House of Hakhamanish and so began the Hellenistic age, with the GREEK LANGUAGE, as well as Greek customs and manners, triumphing over all others. The coup de grâce was delivered at Arbela in the year 331, when the king fled and Alexander occupied Susa, Persepolis, and Pasargadae. The Greeks took as booty gold and silver worth at least $100,000,000, with which they financed their newly won empire. Darius III was murdered by his rebellious subjects, and Alexander conquered the Asian provinces of Persia, marrying the daughter of the satrap of Bactria. His nobles followed suit and took Persian wives.

After the death of Alexander in 323, his generals divided and fought over the empire. Most of the former area of Persia fell to SELEUCUS I Nica-tor, the founder of the Seleucid dynasty. He was assassinated by an Egyptian Greek in 282, and his realm passed to ANTIOCHUS Soter, who lost some of the more distant Asiatic provinces. A new power arose slowly and began to assert its political independence of the corrupt Seleucids.

***E. Arsacid (Parthian) era.*** The origins of the PARTHIANS probably are to be sought among the Scythian nomads who poured down from Russia in antiquity and overran the great civilizations of Asia Minor. Many settled in the province of Parthava and were simply called "Parthians" by their enemies. Their ruling house was descended from the Arsacidae, from which came the name of their dynasty—Arsacid. In 249/248 they began the long series of conquests that built their power. For almost a century, the fortunes of the declining Seleucids continued to recede until the dynasty was virtually a puppet of the Roman republic, whereas the Parthian advance continued.

In 170 a new ruler, Mithradates I, came to the throne. Exceedingly able, he expanded the borders of Parthia on all fronts. It seems that the later Parthians actually traded with China and possibly made the Romans and other W Europeans aware of the Middle Kingdom. In 51/50 B.C., the Parthians

invaded Syria-Palestine but withdrew quickly; however, they invaded the coast again ten years later, looted Jerusalem, and pillaged the countryside. Meanwhile HEROD the Great and the royal harem fled to MASADA, a visit that assured Herod of the rock's impregnable nature as a fortress.

After the Peace of Brundisium, which established the Second Roman Triumvirate, Marc Antony was awarded the former Asiatic provinces. He defeated the Parthians in a series of battles and restricted them to their own borders. Later, in the days of Caesar AUGUSTUS, a standoff existed between the two great powers and some trade was actually carried on. Internal feuds in Parthia, however, allowed the Romans to subvert the ruling house and set up a rival federated state in ARMENIA. Throughout the early decades of the Christian era, Rome increased her power in the E, and in A.D. 66, NERO had sufficient authority to invest Tiridates as king of Parthia.

In the next century, the barbarian Alans poured through the Caucasian passes and forced the Parthian monarch to buy them off on his borders. In A.D. 161, during the reign of MARCUS AURELIUS, the king of Parthia (Vologases III) again invaded Armenia, which had continued to be allied to, if not supported by, Rome. After a quick victory, the Parthians went on to invade Syria. As Rome began to descend into the anarchy and civil war that led to the barbarian invasions, Parthia was first of all allied with various claimants for the imperial throne. Slowly Parthia drifted further out of the Roman orbit as the empire began to shrink, and in 226 was completely overthrown by a series of battles with a resurgent Persian monarchy. This victorious rebirth of ancient Persia was to produce the Sassanian dynasty, which returned the rule of Iran to the remnants of the ancient Persian nobility.

***F. Sassanian era.*** The culture of Parthia, like that of most oriental kingdoms established on the shambles of Alexander's empire, was hellenized completely. See HELLENISM. Greek art, literature, language, and religion were all practiced with the usual eclecticism of the ANE. Although hardly any written materials in the Parthian dialect have been located, their use of the Greek language reveals increasing barbarism as Parthia pulled away from its Hellenistic origins.

On the other hand, the Sassanian era was a return to the Indo-European culture and a rebirth of Mazdaism, the last segment of the Zoroastrian worship of the Achaemenids. The first king and founder of the Sassanian dynasty was Ardashir, under whose direction the Avesta was revised. The chief religious officials seem to have been the great MAGI, who ruled the elaborate ecclesiastical organization as autocrats. Under his successor, Shapur (Sapor), outside influences and foreign religions were tolerated. A later king, Bahram, however, became more conservative and sent the prophet Mani (see MANICHEAN) to the Magi, who executed him in A.D. 273. Probably the most important trend to develop under the Sassanians was the rise and expansion of MITHRAISM. The Sassanians carried on considerable trade through the peoples of Ural-Altai extraction with China and Mongolia. The ultimate spread of Manicheanism to Turkestan, coupled with the persecution of both Armenian and Persian Christians after Constantine's approval of Christianity as the state religion of the Eastern empire, demonstrates the severity of pagan intent in the Sassanian era.

In the year 309, Shapur (Sapor) the Great was born and began his rule when still a youth. He saw the passage of nine Roman emperors and won for the neo-Persian rulers the greatest era of power and wealth and a peace with Rome as an equal. His death in 379 initiated the decline in the Sassanian system that signaled its final conquest by Islam. The last century of Sassanian domination was wracked by invasions of the White Huns and Slavic peoples from the steppes, and the internal strife among the Christians after the Council of Nicaea's rejection of oriental Arianism became acute. The use of the Pahlavi script and the archaic dialect that developed into modern Persian became fixed in this period. The 6th and 7th centuries saw increasing disorganization in the E as the dark ages

closed over the W.The armies of Islam, fresh from their conquests of Syria-Palestine, turned toward the rich cities of Iran, which lay on their route to India and China. At Kadisiya in 636, only fourteen years after the Hegira, the decisive battles were fought.

***G. Islamic (medieval) period.*** The Muslims of Arabia who overthrew Persia placed it under the Caliphate that ruled all the Islamic world. In A.D. 661 it passed under the government of the Umayyads; however, internal frictions and fratricidal struggles led to the establishment of a separate sect of Islam within Persia, the Shi$^{c}$a. Unlike the orthodox sects, the leaders, *mujtahids,* of the Shi$^{c}$a made original interpretations of the Islamic law and in fact philosophized to a degree that much of the metaphysics of the long past Manicheanism was absorbed into Persian Islam.

While the Persians utilized the difficult Arabic script to write their Indo-European language, the Arabs were learning much more from the ancient culture of Persia. Although Persia was ruled by the different national Muslim rulers who triumphed in long succession over Islam, the language and philosophy of the ancient period continued to make its appearance to the end of the Muslim era. The culture of Byzantium was in evidence even under the Caliphates, but ultimately, with the rise of the Abbasid dynasty in the year 750, it was Persia that took preeminence beyond the Zagros. Even the magnificent Kufic script, which was permissible on strictly conforming Islamic documents on which idolatrous images were forbidden, were decorated by the Persian scribal flourish.

In the 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries, Persian science, medicine, and literature came to represent the height of Islamic learning. For all intents and purposes the Arab domination ended in A.D. 819 when the period of smaller divisions under local rulers began. In 1258, the Mongols sacked Baghdad and poured over Iran. Subsequently, they ruled the country for two and a half centuries.

***H. Religious history.*** A deep-seated DUALISM, possibly as consistent as any human philosophy ever devised, seems to have dominated not only ancient Persian religion but every religion absorbed by the Iranian population. The precise character of early Achaemenian religion, however, has not yet been determined. The later royal inscriptions and Avesta have Indo-European divine names similar to those found among the Indo-European overlords of Mari and also similar to those in the Rig-Veda. Although innumerable other factors enter into the cultic rituals, the basic philosophic core remained the same for centuries. The linguistic and semantic features of the Avesta are thought to indicate an E Iranian origin (cf. M.J. Dresden in *IDB,* 3:746).

In all periods, the ecclesiastical officials held enormous political power, and it is very probable that the theological power necessary to harmonize life with the "good" was available only through magic or ritual known only to the religious initiates. Mani, Arius, and the Muslim scholars all fell under the spell of Iran's ancient lore and its meditative philosophy. The full system of Manicheanism, like its written documents, is largely beyond recovery. The discussions of the patristic writers, however, make it plain that it was highly philosophic, and the extant Manichean texts reveal an elaborate cosmology framed in the form of MYTH and the ancient pre-Socratic notion of form (idea) versus matter. The Islamic sects grew rapidly in such soil and three groups emerged—Shi$^{c}$a, Sufi, and a fatalistic sect following Firdausi. Persia's greatest Islamic scholar was Al-Ghazali, whose concept of "the unique unknowable deity" has profoundly influenced both Islam and Judaism.

**IV. Language and literature.** The Persian language, or *Fārsî,* has been in all periods the common speech of the Aryan inhabitants of the Iranian plateau and its environs. It is a member of Indo-Iranian, a branch of the Indo-European family of languages. See LANGUAGES OF THE ANE III. It has features

similar to Sanskrit, Balto-Slavic, Greek, Latin, and even English. It possesses a full declension of nouns, pronouns, and adjectives, as well as a system of verbal prefixes and personal suffixes. Unlike most other more familiar Indo-European languages, however, there is a set of infixes and syncretisms of the elaborate Indo-Iranian cases. The verbal system has all the major voices, moods, and tenses of the Indo-European tongues, not unlike Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin. The phonology is variable, depending on the period and location, whereas the vocabulary contains many loanwords from Elamite, Hurrian, Akkadian, and Sumerian as well as Greek and the Indic languages. (See G. L. Windfuhr, "Languages of Ancient Iran," *ABD,* 4:217–20.)

***A. Language development and dialects.*** Although it is known that the Iranian peoples came from farther E, the precise time and origin of this migration is unknown. Thus the origins of the Persian language are hidden from present discovery, but the Indian source of the Persian language is well established. A number of dialects can be distinguished from the fragmentary remains of Persian that are found in Indian and Old Persian cuneiform texts. The oldest layer of the language contains two dialects—Old Persian and Avestan—along with a number of very fragmentary indications of a Median, Carduchian, and Parthian series of dialects. In the middle era of the language (300 B.C. to A.D. 900), two major dialects predominated—Pehlevi (PAHLAVI) and Sassanian.

The connection between Persian and the Indo-European languages is evident from the vocabulary. For example, Pers. *daiva* corresponds to Gk. *deus* (Aeolic form of *zeus*), Lat. *deus,* Eng. *divine*. Again, Pers. *pitar* corresponds to Gk. *patēr,* Lat. *pater,* Eng. *father*. The English verb *bear* (and such compounds as "transfer") is related to Pers. *bar,* Gk. *pherō,* Lat. *ferō.* Many of the primary nouns and verbs in the language, however, do not yield such obvious cognates with the more familiar Indo-European tongues (e.g. *ciça,* "seed"; *taxma,* "brave"; *xšanav,* "to hear"). The tendency of most of the dialectal change was to simplify the complex morphology and syntax of the classical era. After the conquest of the Near E by Islam, the Persian language absorbed large numbers of Koranic words and was transcribed into the Arabic script (thus Farsi, an Indo-European language, is written today with a Semitic alphabet).

***B. Old Persian inscriptions.*** The most important segment of the Persian literature for understanding biblical history is the Old Persian cuneiform inscriptional material. The earliest mentions of the Medes and Persians occur in the annals of Akkadian, Babylonian, and Assyrian military campaigns. The initial conflict between Assyria and Persia was fought near Lake Urmiah by Shal-maneser II (858–824 B.C.). Apparently these contacts must have included more than battle because the Persian annals that appear in the 6th cent. B.C. are written in a modified system of Babylonian cuneiform. At this time Cyrus consolidated his rule over the Medes and the Persians.

The oldest inscriptions of this type are from the reign of Ariyāramna (Gk. Ariaramnes) c. 600 B.C. As with all the later inscriptions, they are written in cuneiform, but they are of such a diverse style from Mesopotamian cuneiform that it must have been innovated on the model of the Babylonian and not merely modified. The next ruler, Arshāma (Gk. Arsames), wrote some inscriptions, but none have survived; the one known from his era is a later copy. Some small texts from the time of Cyrus have been found in the excavations at Murghāb (Gk. Pasarga-dae); they are, interestingly enough, trilinguals—in Elamite, Akkadian, and Old Persian (cf. Ezra 1:1). The impact of the Sumero-Akkadian inscriptions

A Persian incense burner made of calcite and depicting a camel rider.

tions can be seen in that the word order and ideas expressed often are direct translations from the Mesopotamian styles of royal proclamation. An example of one of these texts from Murghāb states: *adam Kśrtish xshāya thiya Hakhāmanishya,* "I (am) Cyrus King, an Achaemenian" (F. H. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden* [1911], 126–27).

The most complete texts, as well as the longest, are from the reign of Dārayavahu (Gk. Darius I), of which the most famous is the great trilingual inscribed on the sheer rock face of a cliff at BEHIS-TUN (Old Pers., *Bagastāna,* "the place of God"). This inscription, as transcribed by Sir Henry C. Rawlinson (1836 and subsequent years), provided the material through which Akkadian was deciphered. The inscription details the fortunes of the royal line of the Achaemenids from c. 700 to 500 B.C. The annals give not only the line of kings but also their policies, campaigns, conquests, speeches, and even prayers. There are a great many lesser texts inscribed on buildings and palaces of the period and on large gold and silver blocks.

Of particular importance is the building inscription from the palace at Susa; it lists the elaborate work and the costly materials used in the construction and the foreign craftsmen employed. Darius's successor, Khshayārshā (Gk. Xerxes), also left many building inscriptions, particularly at Persepolis. The most important is his "Daiva" inscription. In it Xerxes tells of his destroying the "sanctuary of the demons" (*daivadāna*), and in its place raising the worship of his god Ahuramazda (Old Pers. *Auramazdām*) and the chief angel who attended the deity. If Xerxes was the Ahasuerus of the book of ESTHER, it is interesting to speculate what effect his contact with Judaism may have had on Darius's henotheism. Whatever effect there may have been, the Mazdaist sect was strongly influential at court, and there seems to have been little religious persecution at any point in the reign of the Achaemenids.

There is clear evidence that already under this dynasty ARAMAIC was becoming the common tongue of both the royal court and the people. A frequent use of Egyptian, Greek, Aramaic, and Scythian in royal correspondence and of Elamite and Akkadian in inscriptions demonstrates the enormous size of the Persian empire and its cosmopolitanism. A fragment of the Behistun inscription

in the Aramaic tongue has been excavated from the collection of Jewish documents found at Egyptian ELEPHANTINE. Some inscriptions in Old Persian are known from the reigns of Artaxerxes I (Old Pers.*Artakhshathrā,* c. 465 –425 B.C.), Darius II (c. 425–405), Artaxerxes II (c. 405–359), and Artaxerxes III (c. 359–338). In these latter texts, however, the Old Persian language is used as a dead scribal tradition; already touches of the old magnificence are gone, and ungrammatical syntax is frequent.

***C. The Avesta.*** The Avesta is the collection of books sacred to the Mazdai religion and used by the Parsees. The earliest part of the work, the *Gāthās,* is said to be the work of the prophet of Mazdai, *Zara-thushtra* (Zoroaster), which would mean that they date originally from the 7th cent. B.C. The extant literary remains of these are much later than the Old Persian period, although the ancient morphological and syntactical forms still appear. The language of the Avesta is similar to that of the Indic Veda, and it is divided into five traditional sections: *Gāthās,* metrical strophes to be chanted; *Yasna,* liturgical phrases; *Yashts,* Hymns of Praise, *Vidēvdāt,* law for vanquishing evil spirits; and a group of minor tracts grouped together as the *Khvartak Apastāk,* the lesser, or small, Avesta. It teaches the elemental dualistic conceptions, with angelic and demonic hierarchies common to Indo-Iranian religions. This literature greatly influenced late Jewish writings as well as Hebraic APOCALYPTIC notions in general. Both GNOSTICISM and MITHRAISM borrowed extensively from the Avesta.

***D. The Middle Persian period.*** The Middle Persian period is one of extensive literature usually known, from its dialect, as *Pahlavi* literature. This new departure, which necessitated commentaries and translations of the Avesta, began during the Sassanian era c. A.D. 224. Within four centuries, the Iranian civilization had fallen to Islam, and much of the old culture and literature had been rooted out and destroyed as idolatrous. It should be noted, however, that Persian is still used today as a major creative vehicle in the Islamic world.

**V. Culture, art, and architecture.** The magnificence of Persian art, literature, and science has left a vast impact on the European world. Persian textiles, ceramics, and jewelry were valued highly in Renaissance Europe. The first concrete advances beyond ancient natural science were made by Persian physicians, such as Rhazes, and mathematicians like ᶜUmar Khayám, who also wrote the one Persian poem known in the Western world through many translations, the *Rubáiyát.*

Persian art of all periods is marked by its hard lines and highly polished finishes. The Assyrian art was largely two-dimensional, whereas the sculpture of Iran achieved a magnificent three-dimensional effect in monumental reliefs. The anatomy of the body and the treatment of the draperies in all forms are considerably more naturalistic than anything previous. Persian art is definitely the continuation of the oriental tradition, whereas its great opposition, that of Greek art, sought a new and original simplicity.

Persian architectural embellishment is concerned with the repetition and replication of simple patterns. Some of the great friezes consist of many figures of animals and/or men in simple square compositions. This ability with the sculptured surface came to its full bloom in the working of metals. The Persian craftsmen utilized the wild zoomorphic and botanomorphic figures in vogue among the Ural-Altai of central Asia. They combined these motifs with the time-honored forms of the ANE.

Thus they brought the graphic arts of miniature painting and repousse to the service of Islam. This outlet for the creative artists allowed a vast effusion of works of art within the strictures of

Islamic law. The Kufic and other scripts with illuminated initials became an art form rarely equalled in the history of book making. The Persian garden with its manifold forms of animal and plant life were all represented in Persian art and used as an integral part of Persian architecture. Landscaping was developed for its own sake, and great palaces and enormous porticos were constructed with gardens within them.

**VI. Christianity in Persia.** The first great Christian establishment in Persia was at EDESSA, and EUSEBIUS tells an apocryphal incident about the correspondence between the Prince of Edessa and the disciple THADDAEUS. It is most likely that Christianity was brought to Persia by Syrian Christians and that their impact continued even under the Muslim rulers. The great Nestorian missionary and patriarch, Mar Aba, was persecuted by his Zoroastrian contemporaries because he was converted to the orthodox faith. The invasion of the Muslims drove the Syrian missionaries on until they finally entered China in the 7th cent.

After centuries of oppression, only small groups of Nestorians and Armenian orthodox believers survived into the 19th cent. Many of these had long before fled to other parts of the world. The Russian Orthodox Church, with the political aid of the czarist government, attempted to attract these churches into Russia, and the Roman Church worked among the hill people of Iran. The English missionary Henry Martyn (1781–1812) worked in Persia and made some Bible translations into the language. Much of the work among the Nestorians and Muslims prior to the 20th cent. was carried forward by churches of the Reformed system. In recent times, complex eclectic religions such as Baha ʾi, which began in Iran in 1844, have again brought Persia's ancient tendency to absorb and combine external religious teachings to the fore. With modernization and considerable foreign travel, Christian missions and churches in Iran will

A row of guards on the east gate of the Achaemenid palace at Susa (6th cent. B.C.).

undoubtedly show an increase as long as they can avoid the ancient pitfall of accommodation.

**VII. Persia and the Bible.** Persia is the setting for the opening scene in the account of NEHEMIAH and for the stories of ESTHER and parts of DANIEL. In addition, Persia's Achaemenid king, Cyrus, by virtue of his command to the Jews to return and rebuild Jerusalem, is linked throughout the OT with

Judaism. Mention is made also of various Persian customs and officials, as well as the immutable Persian decrees (Dan. 6:8 et al.) and the many languages of the empire (Esth. 8:9 et al.).

The much more important question is whether any Persian religious notions were incorporated into the Jewish ritual and tradition. The DEAD SEA SCROLLS, the APOCRYPHA, and the PSEUDEPIGRAPHA display an involved angelology with layers of mythical tradition derived from the Zoroastrian cosmology. The question as to whether or not the concept of APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE is ultimately derived from Persian sources is certainly to be decided in the negative. In the OT is a deeply rooted and consistent messianic expectation involving both an earthly "servant" of the Lord (Isa. 52:13) and a heavenly "son of man" (Dan. 7:13) as integral aspects. No such messianism has ever been demonstrated from Persian sources.

Since Aramaic was the language of the western section of the Achaemenid empire, its use spread into all branches of Judaism (as in the military colony at Egyptian Elephantine). Undoubtedly the use of some Persian concepts framed in subliminal mythologic terms, such as the contrast of light with dark in the DSS and the NT, indicates the degree of impact that Persia left upon Judaism. The Persians are not mentioned in the NT, but the Medes, Parthians, and Elamites are all mentioned in the account of PENTECOST in Acts 2:9.

(See further P. M Sykes, *A History of Persia,* 3rd ed., 2 vols. [1930]; A. Christensen, *Die Iranier* [1933]; G. G. Cameron, *History of Early Iran* [1936]; N. C. Debevoise, *A PoliticalHistory of Par-thia* [1938]; A. U. Pope, ed., *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present,* 4 vols. [1938]; D. E. McCowan, *The Comparative Stratigraphy of Early Iran* [1942]; A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides,* 2nd. ed. [1944]; A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* [1948]; R. G. Kent, *Old Persian Grammar, Texts, Lexicon,* 2nd ed. [1953]; A. J. Arberry, ed., *The Legacy of Persia* [1953]; R. Ghirshman, *Iran* [1954]; K. Hoffmann et al., *Iranistik,* Handbuch der Orientalistik 4/1 [1958]; S. Lloyd, *The Art of the Ancient Near East* [1961]; R. C. Zaehner, *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism* [1961]; A. Bausani, *Die Perser* [1962]; A. R. Burn, *Persia and the Greeks* [1962]; G. L. Wind-fuhr, *Persian Grammar: History and State of Its Study* [1979]; J. M. Cook, *The Persian Empire* [1983]; R. N. Frye, *The History of Ancient Iran* [1984]; M. A. R. Colledge, *The Parthian Period* [1986]; M. A. Dandamaev, *A Political History of the Achaemenid Empire* [1989]; E. M. Yamauchi, *Persia and the Bible* [1990]; W. B. Fisher et al., eds., *The Cambridge History of Iran,* 7 vols. in 8 [1968–91]; H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg et al., eds. *Achaemenid History,* 8 vols. [1987–94]; J. Wiesehöfer, *Ancient Persia: From 550 BC to 650 AD* [1996]; P. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire* [2002]; M. Brosius, *The Persians: An Introduction* [2006].)

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**Persis** puhr'sis (Περσίς *G4372,* "Persian"; names alluding to geographical areas were borne esp. by slaves). A woman member of the Christian church at ROME, to whom PAUL sent greetings (Rom. 16:12). The apostle thought highly of Persis, referring to her as "my dear friend…who has worked very hard in the Lord." The name was not common among Romans, and some have speculated that she was a Gentile freedwoman who may have been involved in missionary work in the E (where Paul would have met her) and who had subsequently moved to Rome (cf.*ABD,* 5:244). It has also been suggested, on the basis of the aorist indicative *ekopiasen* (esp. in contrast to the pres. ptc. in the first part of the verse), that Persis had "behind her a considerable amount of Christian work which [could] in some sense…be regarded as something completed" (C. E. B. Cran-field, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans,* ICC, 2 vols. [1975–79], 793 n. 2, though this possibility

is framed in the form of a question). There are other ways of understanding the language, however, and without further knowledge of the circumstances, we cannot be confident of its significance, if indeed there is any.

**personality, corporate.** See CORPORATE PERSONALITY.

**person of Christ.** See CHRISTOLOGY; JESUS CHRIST.

**Peruda** pi-roo'duh (פְּרוּדָא *H7243* [Ezra 2:55] and פְּרִידָא *H7263* [Neh. 7:57], possibly "separate [from his family?], solitary"). A servant of SOLOMON whose descendants returned from the EXILE (Ezra 2:55; Neh. 7:57 ["Perida"]; 1 Esd. 5:33 [KJV, "Pharira"]).

**pesharim** pesh'uh-rim. See PESHER.

**pesher** pesh'uhr (פֵּשֶׁר *H7323,* "explanation, interpretation," an Aram. loanword from a root meaning "to loosen"; cf. also the Heb. cognate פִּתֶּר *H7354* [Gen. 40:8]). Plural *pesharim* (sometimes, less accurately, *pesherim*). This Hebrew term (which in the Bible occurs only in Eccl. 8:1, but cf. Aram. *pěšar H10600,* Dan. 2:4 et al.) appears frequently in sectarian documents among the DEAD SEA SCROLLS, where it is almost always used in formulas such as *pšrw^cI* ("its interpretation concerns…"), which serve to introduce the interpretation of the biblical text just cited. This kind of language is characteristic of a number of biblical expositions, especially the Habakkuk Commentary (1QpHab), and modern scholars now use the term *pesher* with reference to the literary genre of, or the hermeneutical techniques found in, these documents. Often the term is used loosely of any Jewish interpretation that focuses on the fulfillment of biblical passages in contemporary events. (See D. Dimant, "Pesharim, Qumran," in *ABD*, 5:244–51; G.J. Brooke in *DNTB,* 778–82; J. H. Charlesworth, *Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus?* [2002].) See also INTERPRETATION; MIDRASH.

**Peshitta** puh-shee'tuh. The standard Syriac version of the Bible. See VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE, ANCIENT III.C.

**pestilence.** This English term, referring to a virulent epidemic or plague, is used frequently by the KJV and other versions primarily to render Hebrew *deber H1822,* which occurs almost fifty times in the OT (Exod. 5:3 et al.; the NIV usually prefers the rendering "plague"). It is often found in company with *famine* and other terms indicating judgment.

A pestilence was sent on Israel for three days as a result of DAVID'S sin in the numbering of the people. In that short time it claimed the lives of 70,000 people. Having been given an option by the Lord, David had chosen this judgment over war or famine, desiring to be at God's mercy. This decision may indicate that pestilence was understood as an affliction coming directly from the hand of God (2 Sam. 24:13, 15). Pestilence was so feared by the people that SOLOMON prayed for relief from it before it should come on Israel (1 Ki. 8:37). Relief could come only when the people repented, humbled themselves, and sought God's face (2 Chr. 7:13–14). Thus pestilence was viewed as a punishment on Israel for her disobedience and rebellion against God (cf. Hab. 3:5). The word is especially frequent in the prophecies of Jeremiah (17 times, e.g., Jer. 14:12) and Ezekiel (12 times, e.g., Ezek. 5:12), where pestilence is repeatedly referred to as a punishment threatened on Israel and

Judah for their sin against God. Repeatedly in these texts, it is referred to as a punishment from God for their rebellion. Jeremiah declares that those of Jerusalem who did not go into captivity would die by the pestilence.

The Hebrew word *māwet H4638,* "death," sometimes refers to a particular type of death, namely, "deadly disease" or "pestilence" (e.g., Job 27:15; Jer. 15:2 [cf. NRSV]). Because the SEPTUAGINT translates this Hebrew term literally with Greek *thanatos G2505,* the same specialized meaning is found for the Greek word in the book of Revelation (Rev. 6:8 et al.). A few other Hebrew terms can also be rendered "pestilence" (see, e.g., Deut. 32:24; cf. as well the Greek term *loimos G3369,* Lk. 21:11).

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**pestle.** A rounded hand tool of wood or stone to pound or grind substances in a MORTAR. The word occurs only once as the rendering of Hebrew *ᶜĕlî* H6605 (Prov. 27:22).

**Peter** pee'tuhr (Πέτρος *G4377,* "stone"). The man who figures generally as the leader of the twelve disciples in the NT usually bears the name Peter, which name was given to him by Jesus (Mk. 3:16; Lk. 6:14; Jn. 1:42). He was earlier called SIMON, a common name among Greeks and Jews. Occasionally in the Gospels the two names are used together (Matt. 16:16; Lk. 5:8; Jn. 1:40; 6:8, 68; 13:6, 9, 24, 36; 18:10, 15, 25; 20:2, 6; 21:2–3, 7, 11, 15); in some cases he is referred to as "Simon who is called Peter" or the like (Matt. 4:18; 10:2; Acts 10:5, 18, 32; 11:13). Twice, the more exact Semitic form SIMEON occurs (Acts 15:14; 2 Pet. 1:1). The Aramaic equivalent of Peter is Cephas (*kêpā,* "rock," transliterated into Greek as *Kēphas G3064*). Aside from Jn. 1:42, the only occurrences of Cephas in the NT are in the Pauline letters (1 Cor. 1:12; 3:22; 9:5; 15:5; Gal. 1:18; 2:9, 11, 14; Paul apparently calls him Peter only in Gal. 2:7–8, although there is some variation in the MSS).

The name of Peter's father was either Jonah (cf. Matt. 16:17) or John (Jn. 1:42 and 21:15–17, where the KJV has "Jona" and "Jonas" respectively). See discussion under JOHN #4. The father was a fisherman by trade, as were his sons Peter and ANDREW. They were from the city of BETHSAIDA (Jn. 1:44), but when they met Jesus they were residing in CAPERNAUM (Mk. 1:21, 29). It is possible that they were partners in the fishing business with JAMES and John (see JOHN THE APOSTLE), sons of ZEBEDEE (Lk. 5:10). Peter owned a house in Capernaum. It was there that Jesus healed Peter's mother-in-law (Matt. 8:14–15; Mk. 1:29–31; Lk. 4:38–39; the fact that he was married is alluded to also in 1 Cor. 9:5).

Andrew, Peter's brother, was a disciple and follower of JOHN THE BAPTIST (Jn. 1:35, 40), but became a follower of Jesus after John's testimony, "Look, the Lamb of God!" (vv. 36–37). Andrew, in turn, located his brother Peter and said, "We have found the Messiah" (v. 41). When Jesus saw Peter, he said, "So you are Simon the son of John? You shall be called Cephas" (v. 42 RSV). Later, when Jesus chose the Twelve, Mark and Luke indicate that he gave to Simon the name Peter (Mk. 3:16; Lk. 6:14; cf. Matt. 10:2). How long Peter and Andrew remained with Jesus at this time is not known. At the beginning of Jesus' Galilean ministry (at least six to nine months after the first call), they, with the sons of Zebedee, were called again by Jesus by the Sea of Galilee, where they were casting their nets into the sea (Matt. 4:18–20; Mk. 1:16–18). Luke reports this second call of Peter in connection with a fishing episode in which, under the instruction of Jesus, Peter and his companions caught a huge number of fish (Lk. 5:1–11). In response Peter confessed, "Go away from me, Lord; I am a sinful man!" (v. 5:8). From that time on Peter and the others apparently were constant companions of Jesus (Matt. 19:27; Mk. 10:28; Lk. 18:28; cf. Jn. 6:68).

Peter held the position of leadership in the circle of the Twelve. He is listed first in the four lists of the twelve disciples in the NT (Matt. 10:2; Mk. 3:16; Lk. 6:14–16; Acts 1:13), and he is the one most frequently mentioned in the Gospels. Petrine episodes are found in material common to all four Gospels (e.g., his denials, Matt. 26:69–75; Mk. 14:66–72; Lk. 22:56–62; Jn. 18:25–27); in material common to the synoptics (e.g., the TRANSFIGURATION, Matt. 17:1–9; Mk. 9:2–10; Lk. 9:28–36); in material common to Matthew and Mark (e.g., at GETHSEMANE, Matt. 26:37–40; Mk. 14:33–38); in Matthew alone (e.g., the attempt to walk on water, Matt. 14:28–31); in Mark alone (e.g., the question regarding the withered fig tree, Mk. 11:21); in Luke alone (e.g., the question about a parable, Lk. 12:41); in John alone (e.g., Peter's restoration, Jn. 21:15–23). Of interest is the absence of Petrine episodes found only in material common to Matthew and Luke (the source identified as "Q"; see GOSPELS III.B). This wide distribution of Petrine materials in the sources of the four Gospels reflects the prominence that Peter had in the early traditions.

Peter was one of the inner circle of three or four intimate apostles of Jesus (see below). He was often the spokesman for the Twelve (Matt. 15:15; 16:16; Mk. 8:29; Lk. 9:20; Matt. 18:21; 19:27; Mk. 10:28; Lk. 18:28; 12:41). That the collectors of the temple tax approached Peter is indicative of his leadership role (Matt. 17:24). This feature is not as prominent in John's gospel, where Peter is given an emphasis second to that of the BELOVED DISCIPLE.

There are four occasions recorded in the Gospels in which the inner circle of the disciples are alone with Jesus. The inner circle included Peter, James, and John (on one occasion Andrew also was included, Mk. 13:3). When Jesus raised the daughter of JAIRUS, he took only them into the room (Mk. 5:37; Lk. 8:51). These three alone witnessed Jesus' transfiguration (Matt. 17:1–9; Mk. 9:2–10; Lk. 9:28–36), and at this time Peter functioned as the spokesman (Mark and Luke adding the wry observation that Peter did not know what he was saying). In connection with Jesus' eschatological discourse, Mark reports that the question of the time of the end was put by Peter, James, John, and Andrew (Mk. 13:3). During his agonizing experience in Gethsemane, Jesus took Peter, James, and John with him into the garden (Matt. 26:37; Mk. 14:33; note that Luke omits this detail from the episode). Later, Jesus upbraided Peter for sleeping (Matt. 26:40; Mk. 14:37).

Perhaps the most familiar (and most controversial) episode involving Peter is his confession at CAESAREA PHILIPPI regarding Jesus (Matt. 16:13–20; Mk. 8:27–30; Lk. 9:18–21).The three synoptics report the confession of Peter with slight variations of wording (Matt. 16:16; Mk. 8:29; Lk. 9:20), but only Matthew reports Jesus' benediction on Peter (Matt. 16:17–19). The nature of this episode and the similarity in content with the saying of Jesus in Jn. 20:22–23 have led some commentators to suggest that this was actually a post-Easter event but reported by Matthew as an earlier incident (e.g., Oscar Cullmann, *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr,* 2nd ed. [1962], 190). Others argue that this episode is a creation of the early church (e.g., Rudolf Bultmann). A case for the authenticity of the passage has been presented by K. L. Schmidt (*TDNT,* 3:501–36). The passage must be analyzed in the structure and framework of Matthew's gospel and his emphasis on the CHURCH (he is the only gospel writer to use the term *ekklēsia G1711*). For Matthew the church is the continuation of the OT people of God. This benediction of Jesus regarding Peter and the church was highly significant for Matthew with his ecclesiastical concern to teach and guide those who believe in Jesus Christ.

The *crux interpretum* is the statement in Matt. 16:18—"And I tell you that you are Peter [*Petros*], and on this rock [*petra G4376*] I will build my church." What does "rock" mean? Some, to avoid attributing too much primacy to Peter, suggest that the word refers to Peter's confession rather than to Peter himself. It is highly possible that an interesting play on words is lost in the translation from ARAMAIC into Greek and English. In Aramaic, the same

Peter's great confession of faith took place at Caesarea Philippi, in the vicinity of the Cave of Pan, regarded as the entrance to Hades.

word would have been used for "Peter" and "rock" (*kêpā*), and the identification would have been much more direct than in Greek (where two forms of the same root are used) or in English (where they are two different words). Such plays on words are common in the Semitic languages, and apparently what is meant is that Peter—but only insofar as he, representing the disciples as a whole, confesses Jesus—is the rock upon which the Lord would build his church. Peter's vital role in the early church as shown in Acts substantiates this interpretation.

But Peter—again speaking for the other disciples—can also play a very different role. He was not always stable and reliable, as his name implies. Following his splendid confession at Caesarea Philippi, he objected violently to Jesus' predictions regarding his PASSION. This prompted Jesus' strong rebuke, "Get behind me, Satan! You are a stumbling block to me; you do not have in mind the things of God, but the things of men" (Matt. 16:23; Mk. 8:33)—a striking contrast to the benediction of Jesus in Matt. 16:17. Peter had not yet fully understood the messianic role of Jesus: his messiah was still a Jewish national and political leader who could not suffer defeat in death.

Another demonstration of this erratic trait in Peter was his attempted walking on the water (reported only in Matt. 14:28–31). He began with a bold declaration of faith, but the swelling waves frightened him. Rescuing him, Jesus rebuked him, "You of little faith…why did you doubt?" (14:31). On the mountain, when Jesus was glorified in the presence of the inner circle, Peter alone responded, but Mark and Luke add that Peter actually did not know what he was saying (Matt. 17:4; Mk. 9:5; Lk. 9:33).

In the foot-washing episode in the UPPER ROOM, Peter protested and Jesus again had to correct him (Jn. 13:4–11). Later, Peter initiated the inquiry into the identification of the betrayer (13:21–30). According to Matthew and Mark, all the disciples were sorrowful and asked, "Surely not I, Lord?"

(Matt. 26:22; Mk. 14:19). Similarly, on the way to the MOUNT OF OLIVES, according to Matthew and Mark (Luke and John place this episode in the upper room), Peter protested strongly against Jesus' statement that all his followers were going to abandon him, and Peter pledged his loyalty to the utmost. Jesus countered with the somber prediction of Peter's denials (Matt. 26:30–35; Mk. 14:26–31; Lk. 22:31–34; Jn. 13:36–38). Later that evening, the prediction of Jesus came true—Peter denied any association with "the Galilean" (Matt. 26:69–75; Mk. 14:66–72; Lk. 22:54–62; Jn. 18:25–27).

Even prior to the denials, while in the garden of Gethsemane, Peter with James and John failed Jesus in this critical hour by falling asleep; however, according to Matthew and Mark, Peter was singled out for a rebuke (Matt. 26:40; Mk. 14:37; in both passages Peter is addressed directly, but in Matthew the verb is in the second person plural, seemingly an allusion to his role as leader and spokesman of the group). Shortly thereafter, Peter displayed a flash of bravery, although misguided, when he cut off the ear of the high priest's servant (all four Gospels report the episode, but only John identifies the attacker, Matt. 26:52–54; Mk. 14:47; Lk. 22:49–51; Jn. 18:10–11). Jesus' response was a mild rebuke of Peter.

The most tragic scene in the Gospels involving Peter is when he denied his Lord, reported by all four evangelists (Matt. 26:69–75; Mk. 14:66–72; Lk. 22:54–62; Jn. 18:25–27). Although the accounts vary concerning the questioners and conversations, all four report three distinct and emphatic denials by Peter. Matthew and Mark report that he supported his third denial by invoking a curse on himself and by swearing (Matt. 26:74; Mk. 14:71). The crowing of the cock abruptly brought Peter to his senses. The confident boasts of Peter earlier that night were meaningless when he faced danger and harm by being associated with Jesus in that crucial hour.

Most significant perhaps is Peter's encounter with his Master in the courtyard of the house of CAIAPHAS when, after the denials, "The Lord turned and looked straight at Peter" (a detail only in Lk. 22:61). That weekend must have been a period of remorse, soul-searching, and introspection for Peter; he bitterly regretted his cowardice that night, and it is not surprising that he had a significant place in the postresurrection appearances of Jesus. Paul indicates that the risen Jesus first appeared to Peter (1 Cor. 15:5). The "young man" at the tomb instructed the women to report to the "disciples and Peter" (Mk. 16:7). Although the Gospels do not directly record such an appearance to Peter, the disciples did report to the men on the road to EMMAUS that Jesus had appeared to Peter (Lk. 24:34). John reports the episode in which "the other disciple" and Peter ran to the tomb (Jn. 20:2–10). Peter was outdistanced in the race, but again he displayed a measure of daring by entering the tomb first. Later, at the Sea of TIBERIAS, Jesus appeared to seven disciples, including Peter. After testing him with questions, Jesus fully restored him with the words, "Follow me!" (Jn. 21:19, 22).

The apostle Peter displayed vital leadership in the early history of the church as recorded in the first half of the ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. Shortly after the ASCENSION OF CHRIST, he presided over the appointment of a replacement for JUDAS ISCARIOT (Acts 1:15–26). Peter boldly addressed the crowds on PENTECOST Sunday, and his sermon was instrumental in the conversion of about 3,000 (Acts 2). This sermon reveals that Peter was well versed in the OT Scriptures (also evident in his epistles). He saw clearly the link between the OT prophetic utterances and types and Jesus of Nazareth. He recognized the emerging church of Jesus Christ as the continuation of the OT people of God, a continuity substantiated through the gift of the HOLY SPIRIT to the early church.

After Pentecost, Peter miraculously healed a lame man at the BEAUTIFUL GATE of the temple (Acts 3:1–10) and then preached another sermon (3:11 –26), which led to his and John's arrest (4:1 –4). The next morning Peter spoke impressively in court (4:5 –22), and he was the spokesman in the episode involving ANANIAS and SAPPHIRA (5:1–11). Peter and John went to SAMARIA after PHILIP'S

initial work of evangelism there (8:14–24). Here Peter forcefully rebuked Simon the sorcerer (see SIMON MAGUS). Later, he performed miracles of healing in LYDDA (the healing of AENEAS, 9:32–34) and in JOPPA (raising of DORCAS, 9:36 –43).

Peter, however, still retained the limited perspective of JUDAISM. Although he rightly saw the continuity between the OT and the new "Way," he was hampered by a Jewish particularism that made it difficult or virtually impossible for him to admit GENTILES. Peter and the others continued to follow the strictures of Judaism, as is evident in their activities: Peter's and John's observance of the hour of prayer in the temple (Acts 3:1), the believers' attending the temple regularly (2:46), and their teaching and preaching there (5:42). Possibly this practice was the deeper cause of the problems that arose between the Hellenists and Hebrews (6:1); if so, the issue of benevolence was merely the immediate occasion for the dispute.

The subsequent appointment of the Seven (Acts 6:2–6) led to the development of a segment, represented by the Hellenists, that became the motivating force behind the missionary movement in the early church. This in turn led to a new perspective regarding the church and the OT and a more significant distinction from Judaism. The Hellenists rightly made the church aware of the implications of the mission mandate of Christ, "…and you will be my witnesses in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth" (1:8b). It is significant that right after the stoning of STEPHEN, the Jerusalem church was dispersed by persecutions, but the apostles remained in Jerusalem (8:1). Also, it was the initial work of Philip (one of the seven appointed leaders of the Hellenistic branch of the church) that brought Peter and John to Samaria (8:14).

That the Pentecost experience had not made Peter fully aware of this mission perspective of the church is evident from his vision at Joppa, which led to the notable conversion of CORNELIUS, a Gentile, in CAESAREA (Acts 10). Through removing the distinction between clean and unclean, the Lord told Peter that the distinction between Jew and Gentile was likewise obliterated. This must have been a hard lesson for Peter, because in ANTIOCH OF SYRIA, some years later, he limited himself to the Jewish fellowship. For this behavior, Peter received

Key locations associated with Peter's ministry.

a sharp rebuke from PAUL (Gal. 2:11 –14). According to the likely chronology (though disputed by some), this event occurred after the COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM described in Acts 15—making this a more serious lapse on the part of Peter. Following the conversion and baptism of Cornelius, Peter returned to Jerusalem, there to answer the criticism of the "circumcision party" who objected to his ministry to the Gentiles (Acts 11:1–18).

In an outburst of persecution, HEROD Agrippa killed James (the brother of John, Acts 12:1–2) and imprisoned Peter (12:3–5). That night Peter was miraculously freed by an angel (12:6–11). After reporting to the believers who were gathered at the house of Mary in fervent prayer for his deliverance, he departed "and left for another place" (12:12–17). The identity of the place is not given, and the movements of Peter from here on cannot be established with certainty. Apparently he ceased to be the head of the Jerusalem church, and James "the Just," the half-brother of Jesus, assumed the leadership (15:13–21; 21:18). Peter appears once more in Acts, at the Jerusalem Council (ch. 15). At this time he defended the mission to the Gentiles (15:7–11) and undoubtedly was instrumental in bringing the disputants to an agreeable compromise.

Paul in his epistle to the GALATIANS presents an interesting perspective regarding his relationship to Peter and the Gentile mission. Paul reports that three years after his own conversion he visited Cephas (Peter) in Jerusalem for fifteen days (Gal. 1:18; cf. Acts 9:26–28). "Fourteen years later," Paul

Saint Peter's Church in Rome.

visited Jerusalem again (Gal. 2:1; it seems preferable to identify this visit with the Jerusalem Council in Acts 15, though the matter is debated). Paul identifies as pillars of the church James, Cephas (Peter), and John (Gal. 2:9). Furthermore, Paul differentiates between a mission to the circumcised (entrusted to Peter) and a mission to the Gentiles (entrusted to Paul and Barnabas, 2:8–10). Subsequently, as already noted, Paul confronted Peter at Antioch over this same issue (2:11–14).

Peter's first epistle is addressed to believers in PONTUS, GALATIA, CAPPADOCIA, ASIA, and BITHYNIA—provinces in ASIA MINOR between the Taurus Mountains and the Black Sea. See PETER, FIRST EPISTLE OF. It is likely that Peter ministered in this area. It is noteworthy that Paul at the beginning of his second missionary journey was not allowed by the Spirit to go into this territory (Acts 16:7–8, possibly in keeping with his policy of not working in an area where others had been or were working). It may be that Peter was already in this part of Asia Minor at the time of Paul's first or second missionary journey.

Another hint of Peter's activity may be found in the existence of a Petrine party at CORINTH (1 Cor. 1:12), which suggests that Peter might have been there. In view of Paul's policy of noninterference, it seems that Peter may have been in that city after Paul's departure near the end of his second missionary journey, but before he wrote 1 Corinthians from EPHESUS during his third missionary journey.

The NT does not mention that Peter went to ROME. A Petrine residence there, however, is well attested in early Christian literature. The earliest possible allusion is in a letter written by Clement, bishop of Rome (c. A.D. 88–97), to the Corinthians. See CLEMENT, EPISTLES OF. He cites the suffering and martyrdom of Peter and Paul, obviously during the persecutions of Christians by NERO, as the finest examples to be emulated (*1 Clem.* 5). About A.D. 200, TERTULLIAN mentions the deaths of Peter and Paul as occurring in Rome under Nero. Also from the early part of the 3rd cent. is the apocryphal *Acts of Peter* containing the moving episode when Peter, upon leaving Rome, met Jesus and asked him, "Domine, quo vadis?" ("Lord, where are you going?"; see PETER, ACTS OF). EUSEBIUS, citing earlier authorities, indicates that Peter and Paul were martyrs during the Neronic persecutions in Rome (*Eccl. Hist.* 2.25). This tradition was not localized in Rome alone, but was apparently widespread throughout the Church.

The time of Peter's arrival in Rome can be indirectly established from other data in the NT. It is

doubtful that he was a victim of the Expulsion Edict of CLAUDIUS (A.D. 41–54), which probably was enacted before Peter reached Rome. When Paul wrote the epistle to the ROMANS (c. A.D. 55), the edict had been relaxed, for PRISCILLA AND AQUILA (evacuees from the edict according to Acts 18:2) were then back in Rome (Rom. 16:3). Peter probably was not in Rome at this time, since no greetings are sent to him in the epistle. Furthermore, in view of Paul's policy of noninterference, Peter probably had not begun to work in Rome prior to Paul's correspondence with the Roman Christian community. It is possible that Peter reached the capital of the empire during the middle 50s.

Two of Peter's companions in Rome were Silvanus (SILAS) and Mark (see MARK, JOHN). Silvanus was Peter's AMANUENSIS when he wrote 1 Peter (1 Pet. 5:12)—possibly in the late 50s or early 60s. There is a well-established tradition that through this association with Peter, Mark compiled his gospel. PAPIAS, quoted by Eusebius (*Eccl. Hist.* 3.39.15), refers to Mark as the interpreter (*hermēneutēs*) of Peter. Similarly, IRENAEUS describes Mark as the disciple and interpreter of Peter (Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 5.8.2). Peter's second epistle (whose Petrine authorship is disputed) was written shortly before the martyrdom of the author, probably in A.D. 64. See PETER, SECOND EPISTLE OF.

Apparently Peter was a victim of the violent anger that Nero vented upon the Christians in A.D. 64. Although Eusebius dates the death of Peter and Paul in the fourteenth year of Nero (A.D. 67–68), he also places the Neronic persecutions in the fourteenth year (which from other sources can be definitely dated in A.D. 64). In Jn. 21:18, Jesus spoke about Peter's last days as follows: "when you are old you will stretch out your hands, and someone else will dress you and lead you where you do not want to go." The author of the fourth gospel added the comment that this was a reference to Peter's death (v. 19). The *Acts of Peter* and Eusebius (*Eccl. Hist.* 3.1, citing ORIGEN) report that Peter insisted on being crucified head-downward.

The location of the tomb of Peter and the identification of his bones have been extensively debated in modern times. (Some scope of the literature on the subject can be derived from A. de Marco's full annotated bibliography entitled, *The Tomb of St. Peter* [1964].) Discussions regarding the location of the tomb of Peter have focused on St. Peter's Church and the catacombs of St. Sebastian on the APPIAN WAY. The existence of graffiti with invocations to Peter and Paul in the Sebastian catacombs has suggested to some that the remains of Peter (and Paul) resided here for a time—transferred to these catacombs for safe-keeping during the fierce persecution of Valerian in A.D. 258. This "translation theory" is not without serious difficulties and thus far has not been confirmed by archaeological research. For others, the reference by Caius (a resident of Rome about A.D. 199–217) to the "trophies of the apostles" located in the Vatican and on the Ostian Way indicates that the graves of Peter and Paul were in these places around A.D. 200 and presumably earlier (Caius's comment is cited by Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* 2.35; see Jack Finegan, *Light From the Ancient Past* [1959], 380–84).

Among the Semitic ossuary inscriptions from the Franciscan chapel (*Dominus Flevit*) on the Mount of Olives, P. B. Bagatti (in *Liber Annuus* 3 [1953]: 162) published one that he read as "Simon bar Jonah." Some concluded from this that Peter was buried on the Mount of Olives and therefore never went to Rome. Such a conclusion, however, is hardly warranted from this ossuary text, because the text itself is uncertain (cf. J. T. Milik in *Gli scavi del "Dominus Flevit"* [1958–64], 1:83).The ossuary fragment is in the museum of the Church of the Flagellation on the Via Dolorosa in Jerusalem. An examination of the charcoal inscription on the fragment in 1964 showed that the reading cannot be established with certainty. In addition, the names Simon and Jonah are common Semitic names (found frequently in JOSEPHUS, inscriptions, and other ossuaries; see ibid., p. 77). Elsewhere Milik has

published five ossuaries in three Jewish tombs with the name Simon (*Liber Annuus 7* [1957]: 241–71]). This ossuary text hardly negates the evidence for a Petrine residence and martyrdom in Rome.

On 26 June 1968, Pope Paul VI announced that the bones of Peter had been positively identified by Margherita Garducci, who claims to have located the bones that were originally in a marble chest found in "Wall G" under St. Peter's Church in the Vatican. According to Garducci, the bones were removed secretly from the chest before the authorized excavators opened it in 1943. Grydon F. Snyder has discussed a number of serious and damaging objections to Garducci's theory (in *BA* 32 [1969]: 2–24). Furthermore, since St. Peter's was developed as a Christian burial ground, precise identification of certain bones as Peter's is very precarious, if not impossible.

In conclusion, it can hardly be disputed that Peter spent the latter part of his life at Rome, that he died a martyr's death, and that he was seemingly buried there, probably in the vicinity of the Vatican. Further precision regarding these details cannot be derived from the existing evidence and data, but will have to await some distinct new discovery.

A study of the life and character of Simon Peter reveals noble traits. His enthusiasm and boldness are worthy of emulation. He was extremely devoted and committed to Christ. He also illustrates, however, the danger of misdirected and superficial enthusiasm. Some of the sharpest rebukes in the NT were directed at him. His positive traits are inspiring and challenging; his negative traits are a warning. Enthusiasm and devotion must be tempered by a balanced and informed perspective. Peter could be overconfident in his enthusiasm, at times bordering on arrogance (as in the upper room); nonetheless he stands as a stellar example of bold allegiance and glowing achievements in the proclamation of the gospel.

(A full comprehensive study of the literary, liturgical, and archaeological evidence regarding the life and work of the apostle can be found in Oscar Cullmann's *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr,* 2nd ed. [1962]. See also R. E. Brown et al., eds., *Peter in the New Testament: A Collaborative Assessment by Protestant and Roman Catholic Scholars* [1973]; F. Lapham, *Peter: The Myth, the Man and the Writings: A Study of Early Petrine Text and Tradition* [2003]; R. Cassidy, *Four Times Peter: Portrayals of Peter in the Four Gospels and at Philippi* [2007].)

B. VAN ELDEREN

**Peter, Act of.** Title given to a Coptic text that recounts a story regarding the paralysis of Peter's daughter. This episode must have been part of the longer work known as *Acts of Peter.* See PETER, ACTS OF.

**Peter, Acts of.** The earliest direct evidence for this work is a statement by EUSEBIUS in which he says that "of the *Acts* bearing [Peter's] name, and the *Gospel* named according to him, and what is said to be his *Preaching,* and the so-called *Apocalypse,* we have no knowledge at all in Catholic [i.e., orthodox] tradition, for no [recognized] ecclesiastical writer, whether ancient or belonging to our time, has used testimonies derived from them" (*Eccl. Hist.* 3.3.2). Earlier references are mostly doubtful, but the *Acts of Paul* (known already to TERTULLIAN; see PAUL, ACTS OF) contains a clearly secondary version of the "Quo Vadis" story found in *Acts of Peter* (ch. 35), so that the book can be dated back into the 2nd cent. (see *NTAp,* 2:275, 283). Like the other major apocryphal Acts, it was adopted by the MAN-ICHEANS, and subsequent hostility to these works led to its almost complete disappearance. Theodor Zahn calculated that about a third was missing; not much has been recovered since.

**I. Extant remains.** The chief part of the surviving material is in a single Latin MS, the Vercelli Acts (called *Actus Petri cum Simone* by R. A. Lipsius). It includes the *Martyrdom,* which also had a separate existence; there are Greek and several oriental versions, which show how widely it circulated. A Coptic fragment (sometimes referred to as *Act of Peter*) relates the story of Peter's daughter, whereas a reference in AUGUSTINE proves that an episode in the *Epistle of Pseudo-Titus* belongs to the *Acts of Peter.* The *Vita Abercii* and the later apocryphal Acts have borrowed from the book, and at some points provide further evidence for the text.

**II. Contents.** In the Coptic fragment, Peter is asked why he cannot heal his own daughter from paralysis when he is able to cure others. He proceeds to heal her, but then restores her to her former condition and explains the reason: "outward suffering can be a gift from God if it has the effect of preserving virginity" (*NTAp,* 2:279). The same moral is painted by the contrasting story in *Pseudo-Titus:* Peter promises a peasant what is expedient for his daughter, and she falls dead. Restored to life at her father's plea, she is soon afterward seduced and abducted.

The Vercelli Acts are largely concerned with the rivalry between Peter and SIMON MAGUS (hence the alternate title suggested by Lipsius). After Paul leaves Rome for Spain, Simon Magus leads the church astray. Sent to deal with the situation, Peter counters him in word and action (miracles include a talking dog, a dried fish restored to life, and resurrections from the dead), the story culminating in a contest in the forum. The emphasis is not on false Simonian doctrine but on Simon's prowess as a magician and Peter's superiority. This section raises problems as to its relation to the CLEMENTINE LITERATURE. Hostility aroused by the preaching of continence leads to Peter's martyrdom, which, however, advances the peace and strength of the church. (English trans. in *NTAp,* 2:285–321; see also C. M.Thomas, *The Acts of Peter, Gospel Literature, and the Ancient Novel: Rewriting the Past* [2003]; M. D. Baldwin, *Whose Acts of Peter? Text and Historical Context of the Actus Vercellenses* [2005].)

R.McL. WILSON

**Peter, Apocalypse of.** This title is applied to several documents: (1) a work preserved in Ethiopic and also partially in Greek; (2) a second Ethiopic text; (3–4) two distinct Arabic documents; (5) a Coptic text. For the latter, see PETER, APOCALYPSE OF (COPTIC). The present article deals only with (1), a work that was widely known in the early church.

This document is one of the few NT apocryphal works that enjoyed a measure of temporary or local canonicity. It is mentioned in the MURATORIAN CANON, with the comment that some did not want it read in church; there were thus reservations even at this early stage. Theophilus of Antioch alludes to it, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA quotes it by name, and Sozomen in the 5th cent. records that it was still read annually in the churches of Palestine on Good Friday. EUSEBIUS, on the other hand, rejects it with the other Petrine apocrypha (*Eccl. Hist.* 3.3.2), including it with *Hermas, Barnabas,* and the *Acts of Paul* among the "spurious" books (3.25.4). The work, however, enjoyed a wide circulation in both E and W, and the ideas it presents survived through such works as the *Sibylline Oracles* (book 2), the *Apocalypse of Paul,* and *The Apocalypse of Thomas* right down to Dante's *Divina Commedia.* The patristic attestation shows that it must be dated to the 2nd cent., and probably to its first half.

**I. Extant remains.** The text has been known since 1887 in a Greek fragment discovered at Akhmim with part of the *Gospel of Peter,* and since 1910 in an Ethiopic version. The identification is certain because of agreements with the patristic quotations mentioned above. In addition, there are two

smaller fragments.The Ethiopic corresponds approximately to the length given in the *Stichometry* of Nicepho-rus and the catalog in the CODEX CLAROMONTA-NUS, and probably represents the original contents of the *Apocalypse,* although the text has suffered from the translator's deficient knowledge of Greek. The Akhmim fragment is considerably shorter and presents the material in a different sequence.

**II. Content.** According to the account in the Ethiopic version, the disciples on the Mount of Olives ask Jesus about the signs of the PAROUSIA and the end of the world. After warning against deceivers, he bids them receive the parable of the fig tree, which at Peter's request he then expounds. Section 3 begins, "And he showed me in his right hand the souls of all, and in the palm of his right hand the image of that which shall be fulfilled at the last day." Seeing how the sinners weep in their distress, Peter recalls the saying, "It were better for them that they had not been created" (cf. Mk. 14:21 and parallels), which earns him the Savior's rebuke: "I will show thee their works in which they have sinned." Then the Savior in a prophetic discourse (chs. 4–12) describes the tortures of the damned, a scene that became the prototype of numerous other portrayals down to the Middle Ages (the Akhmim parallel has a short introduction converting it into a vision by Peter). A brief description of the lot of the righteous (chs. 13–14) is followed by a parallel to the TRANSFIGURATION story (converted in the Akhmim fragment into a description of paradise). After the voice from the Father (Matt. 17:5 and parallels) Jesus, Moses, and Elijah are carried off in a cloud and received into heaven (this final section is not in the Greek). The disciples go down from the mountain praising God.

**III. Relation of the two versions.** As indicated, the Akhmim fragment varies at certain points from the Ethiopic; moreover, the description of paradise there *precedes* that of hell. The Ethiopic, which contains all the early citations, probably represents the original contents, and the Greek is therefore a modification. There is much in favor of the view that the Akhmim fragment belongs to the *Gospel of Peter,* with which it was found, but opinions differ as to whether it was the author of the *Gospel* who incorporated the *Apocalypse* (T. Zahn, M. R.James) or a later redactor who knew only the fragments employed (C. Maurer). (English trans. in *NTAp,* 2:620–38.)

R.McL. WILSON

**Peter, Apocalypse of (Coptic).** A Gnostic document included in the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY (NHC VII, 3). This work, the original of which was composed in Greek probably c. A.D. 300, focuses on a vision granted to Peter, followed by a discourse in which the Savior reveals that many who appear to accept his teaching are in fact opponents of the truth. The work is characterized by a strong DUALISM between the spiritual and the material and by a docetic view of Christ (see DOCETISM); it is evidently aimed at Christian groups in the orthodox church that opposed the Gnostic communities. (English trans. in *NHL*,372–78.)

**Peter, First Epistle of.** One of the CATHOLIC EPISTLES, addressed to Christians scattered throughout much of ASIA MINOR.

1. Authorship
2. Date
3. Destination
4. Place

5. Form
6. Theme
7. Outline
8. Theological significance

**I. Authorship.** The author of this document identifies himself as "Peter, an apostle of Jesus" (1 Pet. 1:1). The name PETER occurs frequently in the Gospels as designating one of the twelve apostles. Traditionally and already in the ancient church, this apostle has been considered the author of 1 Peter. In modern times this identity has been challenged. Principal objections to Petrine authorship have been linguistic, theological, and historical. The style and diction, it is argued, hardly fit the description of the apostle elsewhere. However, if the AMANUENSIS thesis is accepted (see below), this objection is not valid; and in any case, the argument may be based on unwarranted inferences about Peter's abilities (see below, section V). Some judge that the theology reflects dependence on PAUL and that hence it is unlikely the epistle was written by the apostle Peter. There is, however, sufficient uniqueness in 1 Peter in theological concepts to moderate the thesis that Pauline influence is present. The historical setting of the epistle in the time of NERO (at which time Peter and Paul were martyred) is definitely possible—perhaps shortly before the violent outbursts of persecution in the early sixties under this emperor. Petrine authorship has been affirmed in modern times by Hort, Selwyn, Walls-Stibbs, Reicke, Davids, Jobes, and others; it has been denied by Dibelius, Goodspeed, Beare, Achtemeier, Elliott, and others.

The function of amanuenses in ancient correspondence is not fully known, but their existence is clearly attested. Silvanus (SILAS) seems to have functioned in this role in the writing of 1 Peter, as suggested by the author's statement that he had written the letter *dia Silouanou* (1 Pet. 5:12; some scholars think this phrase indicates that Silvanus was the courier, not necessarily the amanuensis). An amanuensis apparently exercised considerable freedom in the composition and formation of the document. In Acts 4:13 Peter is described as *agrammatos G63,* a word that appears to mean "illiterate, unable to write [Greek]" (see H. C. Youtie in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 75 [1971]: 161–76). Others suggest the nuance "unlearned [in literature or rabbinic writings]." In any case, Peter would probably have needed the assistance of an amanuensis, and this factor could account for the linguistic qualities of the document.

On the other hand, certain items in the epistle strongly suggest Petrine origin. The emphasis on service and suffering (e.g., 1 Pet. 2:18–25) is very reminiscent not only of details in the life of Christ but also of the presentation of these details in the Gospel of Mark which was written under the influence of Peter. See MARK, GOSPEL OF.

A Roman coin with the head of Emperor Nero, under whose reign Peter was executed.

Oscar Cullmann (*Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr,* 2nd ed. [1962], 67–69) has noted that the Petrine speeches in Acts also emphasize the servant motif. The sayings and experiences of Christ alluded to in the letter sound much like those of an eyewitness (cf. R. H. Gundry in *NTS* 13 [1966–67]: 336–50; the response by E. Best in *NTS* 16 [1969–70]: 95–113; and Gundry's rejoinder in *Bib* 55 [1974]: 211–32). All these items point to a definite Petrine derivation.

**II. Date.** Tradition places the death of Peter sometime after A.D. 64 during the Neronic persecutions. Many scholars have thought that the contents of the first epistle, reflecting impending persecutions, suggest a date shortly before his death. Peter appears to be in ROME and, according to a common interpretation of the evidence, his arrival could hardly be before the middle 50s. Then a few years must be allowed for the extensive spread of Christianity suggested by the provinces in which the recipients of the letter lived. Some writers, however, have argued that Peter may have visited Rome during the reign of CLAUDIUS as early as the 40s; moreover, new questions have been raised concerning the spread of Christianity in Asia Minor (see next section).

**III. Destination.** The recipients of 1 Peter lived in five provinces in the northern, central, and western parts of Asia Minor (modern Turkey): PONTUS, GALATIA, CAPPADOCIA, ASIA, and BITHYNIA. The NT contains no record of the evangelization of most of this territory. It is possible that Peter may have worked in part of this area during the time between his departure from Jerusalem and arrival in Rome. The people are described as belonging to the DIASPORA (*diaspora G1402,*1 Pet. 1:1). This term in the SEPTUAGINT (cf. Jn. 7:35) describes the dispersion of Jews among the Gentiles. Hence, some have suggested that in 1 Peter it identifies the recipients as Jewish Christians (e.g., Origen and other Greek fathers, Calvin, Bengel, Weiss). However, such references as "the empty way of life handed down to you from your forefathers" (1 Pet. 1:18), "once you were not a people" (2:10, cf. v. 12), and the catalog of Gentile vices (4:3–4) can hardly be identified exclusively with Jewish Christians.

On the other hand, exclusive identification as Gentiles ignores some of the distinctive Jewish elements (e.g., the use of the OT, the Levitical concept of the church). Hence, E. G. Selwyn's suggestion that the recipients were "mixed" communities consisting both of Jewish and Gentile Christians (*The First Epistle of Peter,* 2nd ed. [1947], 44) does justice to the various elements in the epistle. The term *diaspora* is thus used figuratively to designate Christians who are scattered in the world far from their heavenly home (*TDNT,* 2:101 –4). This characteristic is also suggested in the designations of the recipients by such terms as "strangers" or "exiles" (the Gk. term is *parepidēmos G4215,*1 Pet. 1:1) and "aliens" (*paroikos G4230,* 2:11).

Recently, however, K. H. Jobes (*1 Peter,* BECNT [2005], 23–41) has proposed a new understanding of the historical backdrop, according to which the spread of Christianity in the regions of Asia Minor addressed by Peter should be related to Roman colonization of that area during the reign of Claudius. Jobes suggests that the expulsion of Jews from Rome in the late 40s included Christians who were part of this process of colonization. If so, Peter's description of his readers as "exiles" is not purely metaphorical, and the apostle uses their "sociohis-torical situation…to explain their sociospiritual situation." "Peter explains to these socially alienated Christians" that "they are citizens of the kingdom of God" and thus that they should "understand themselves as resident aliens and foreigners wherever they may be residing" (ibid., 38).

In any case, the recipients of this epistle have been suffering various trials and afflictions (1 Pet. 1:6), and the possibility of greater and more severe difficulties was very real (3:13–17; 4:12–19). The exact nature of these problems is not known, although there are similarities to those persecutions endured by the early Christians as described in Acts and in some of Paul's epistles. Selwyn (*First Epistle of Peter,* 55) suggests that "the trials besetting the readers of 1 Peter were spasmodic and particular rather than organized on a universal scale, a matter of incidents rather than of policy, at once ubiquitous and incalculable." Imperial legislation and organized anti-Christian campaigns by the Romans apparently did not occur before Nero's outburst in A.D. 64. The unorganized and diverse trials of the recipients of 1 Peter are indicated in 1:6 ("all kinds of trials"); 3:14 ("suffer for what is right"); 4:12 ("fiery ordeal," NRSV); and 4:14 ("insulted because of the name of Christ"). In view of the vast territory and varied cultures and religions of the people living in these provinces, it can be concluded that the sufferings endured by the recipients of 1 Peter included a large range of experiences. Peter uses Christ's suffering as a paradigm for Christians in their experience (e.g., 2:21).

**IV. Place.** The identification of the place of writing centers on the interpretation of *hē en Babylōni syneklektē,* "the chosen [church] in Babylon" (1 Pet. 5:13). Literal identification with BABYLON in Mesopotamia is extremely difficult. Most commentators (e.g., Beare, Walls-Stibbs, Selwyn) understand this as a cryptic designation for Rome, as in Rev. 17:5 (cf. v. 9); 18:2, 10, 21. The tradition regarding Peter's residence and death at Rome is very strong.

**V. Form.** The form of 1 Peter has been the occasion for extensive discussion. In contrast to the Pauline letters, where the hortatory section usually follows a doctrinal section, 1 Peter contains exhortations scattered throughout all the chapters. This hortatory feature has suggested to some that basically and originally this may have been a sermon or homily which perhaps was expanded and distributed as a letter. For some, the doxology in 1 Pet. 4:11b constitutes a break in the thought—perhaps the end of a sermon—and the verses that follow are a letter appended to the sermon. Today, however, most scholars acknowledge the basic unity of the document; in particular, several studies in

rhetorical analysis have highlighted the coherence of the letter as a whole (e.g., L.Thurén, *The Rhetorical Strategy of 1 Peter* [1990]).

A few scholars have attempted to identify a baptismal liturgy in the epistle, although this approach has fallen into disfavor. No doubt BAPTISM was clearly in the mind of the author (e.g., 1 Pet. 1:3, 22–23; 2:2), but the numerous exhortations relate to the broader aspects of the Christian life, rather than to baptism per se. Moreover, the present form of the document is a letter—with salutation, thanksgiving (praise), message, and closing greetings (see EPISTLE). Portions of the letter may have been parts of sermons, but there are features in the letter that are peculiar to epistolography. Regarding baptism, it seems that the author was seeking to instruct his readers in its meaning rather than in the practice or liturgy of the sacrament. Hence, its application is demonstrated by the frequent exhortations.

In this way the epistle becomes a relevant document not only to its original readers, but also for the church throughout her history. The eschatological prospect of JOY must now motivate the Christian to be joyful even in his present trials (1 Pet. 3:14; 4:13; 5:1). Actually, the whole gamut of Christian doctrine and ethics is covered in the epistle. The lack of greetings to specific individuals in the last section of the epistle indicates that this was an encyclical letter intended for a fairly large number of churches.

Grammatically, the epistle contains very good Greek with a fairly varied vocabulary. On the other hand, there is some evidence that the author was Semitic and that this background affected his syntax (cf. K. H. Jobes in *BBR* 13 [2003]: 159–173). Participles occur frequently and often are strung along through the sentence (usually much longer than suggested in the translations). The author used the independent participle for the imperative a number of times. According to some, his frequent use of the aorist tense in the imperative strikes a note of immediacy and urgency (though this interpretation of the aorist is debatable). His text of the OT appears to be the LXX tradition.

**VI. Theme.** The basic theme of 1 Peter is "the living hope in the midst of suffering." This paradox of rejoicing in suffering (also found in Paul in Rom. 5 and Philippians) is a unique feature of Christianity that the unbeliever cannot accept. However, the example of Christ inspires the Christian and provides the pattern to follow (2:21). The key phrase *elpis zōsa,* "living hope" (1 Pet. 1:3), complements very well Paul's designation *hē makaria elpis,* "the blessed hope" (Tit. 2:13). This hope should be a present and living reality in the Christians: "Always be prepared to give an answer to everyone who asks you to give the reason for the hope that you have" (1 Pet. 3:15). Peter emphasizes this hope to encourage the believers in their present sufferings. This living hope in God (1:21) carries one through the fiery trials (4:12) and sufferings. The recipients of 1 Peter are experiencing PERSECUTIONS and are faced with the prospect of similar sufferings. This is the privilege of the child of God—to be a partaker of Christ's sufferings (4:13). Peter frequently relates the believer's own suffering and Christ's sufferings (2:19–23; 3:14, 17; 4:1,13,16; 5:1, 9–10). In the light of the living hope possessed by the Christian, he can rejoice in the midst of suffering (1:6, 8; 4:13).

**VII. Outline.** The following outline highlights significant pericopes and passages in 1 Peter:

1. The blessings of God's redeemed children—"an inheritance that can never perish, spoil or fade"(1 Pet. 1:1–12)
2. The living hope and the Christians' present conduct (1:13–25)
    1. "Set your hope fully on the grace to be given you when Jesus Christ is revealed" (1:13)

    2. "…be holy in all you do" (1:15)
    3. "…live your lives as strangers here in reverent fear" (1:17)
    4. "…love one another deeply, from the heart" (1:22)
3. The Christians as "living stones…a chosen people, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people belonging to God" (2:1–10)
4. The Christians' conduct and purpose
    1. With respect to the Gentiles (2:11–12)
    2. With respect to the civil authorities (2:13–17)
5. Exhortations regarding domestic and social life (2:18—3:22)
    1. Relationship of servants to their masters, with example of Christ in his suffering (2:18–25)
    2. Relationship of wives to husbands (3:1–6)
    3. Relationship of husbands to wives (3:7)
    4. Relationship of believers to one another (3:8–12)
    5. Relationship of believers to persecutors, with example of Christ in his suffering (3:13–22)
6. The call to sanctification (4:1–11)
    1. In terms of Christ's suffering: living not "for evil human desires, but rather for the will of God" (4:1–6)
    2. Because "the end of all things is near": loving "each other deeply" (4:7–11)
7. The joy of being partakers of Christ's sufferings (4:12–19)
8. Exhortations to various groups (5:1–11)
    1. Elders: "Be shepherds of God's flock that is under your care" (5:2)
    2. Those who are younger: "be submissive to those who are older" (5:5)


Facsimile of $P^{72}$, a MS of the 3rd or 4th cent. A.D. containing fragments of 1 and 2 Peter and Jude; opened to the beginning of 2 Peter.

    3. All: "clothe yourselves with humility toward one another" (5:5)

**VIII. Theological significance.** The canonical and theological significance of this epistle relates basically to the theme suggested above—"living hope in the midst of suffering." The resistance to Christianity as an emerging religious movement gave rise to troubling questions in these churches. What should be the attitude of the Christian to civil authorities who are becoming more and more suspicious about the new movement? Peter answers this question directly in 1 Pet. 2:13–17. This passage, along with Rom. 13:1–6, has become a *locus classicus* for Christian citizenship. The key

concept is that believers should live both as free people and as God's servants (1 Pet. 2:16). This relates directly to Peter's famous dictum before the SANHEDRIN, "We must obey God rather than men!" (Acts 5:29).

However, these impending dark days undoubtedly made many believers apprehensive about the attitude and reaction they should show. Peter's response (similar to Paul's discussion in Rom. 5:1–11) is this letter, which sets forth a "theology of suffering." Jesus in his teaching had alluded to it, but Peter develops it in a meaningful way by relating the Christian's suffering directly to Christ's suffering, which had as its purpose the redemption of the sinner (2:24–25). This truth was prophesied in the OT (e.g., the Isai-anic Suffering Servant hymns; see SERVANT OF THE LORD) and predicted by Jesus (e.g., Mk. 8:31; 9:31; 10:33–34 and parallels), and in 1 Peter it becomes the basis for an exhortation to have the same mind (1 Pet. 4:1–2; cf. Phil. 2:5–11). Through suffering the Christian becomes a partaker of Christ's suffering (4:13; cf. Col. 1:24). This privilege is an occasion for both a present joy (1:6,8; 4:13a) and a future joy and gladness (4:13b). This interpretation of suffering is a unique feature of 1 Peter and provided the recipients with a *modus vivendi* in the face of impending persecutions and tribulation.

Another significant theological motif in this epistle is the emphasis on the sovereignty of God. The redemptive work of Jesus was foreordained before the foundation of the world (1 Pet. 1:2). The people of God are chosen and destined by God (1:2; 2:9). These past demonstrations of God's sovereignty are the basis for the living hope which looks with confidence to the future and its glory which the Christian will share (5:1,10). The Christian sees the resolution of the paradox of rejoicing in suffering in such a hope so firmly anchored in the faithfulness of God. This idea, not inconsonant with the teaching of Paul, receives a significant development and application in 1 Peter.

The distinctive hortatory character of 1 Peter (there are over thirty commands in this short epistle) and its relevant address to the basic problems of Christian living in a sinful and hostile world make this a significant document in the literature of the early church. It has a rightful place in the canon. Its theological contributions, often overshadowed by the Pauline writings, are significant and should not be ignored by the church. See also PETER, SECOND EPISTLE OF.

(Significant commentaries include R.Johnstone, *The First Epistle of Peter* [1888]; C. Bigg,A *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude,* ICC [1903]; J. Moffatt, *The General Epistles: James, Peter, and Jude,* MNTC [1928]; E. G. Selwyn, *The First Epistle of Peter*, 2nd ed. [1947]; J. N. D. Kelly, *A Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and of Jude,* HNTC [1969]; F. W. Beare, *The First Epistle of Peter: The Greek Text with Introduction and Notes,* 3rd. ed. [1970]; J. R. Michaels, *1 Peter*, WBC 49 [1988]; P. H. Davids, *The First Epistle of Peter,* NICNT [1990]; L. Goppelt, *A Commentary on 1 Peter* [1993]; P. J. Achtemeier, *1 Peter,* Hermeneia [1996]; J. H. Elliott, *1 Peter,* AB 37B [2000]; T. R. Schreiner, *1, 2 Peter, Jude,* NAC 37 [2003]; K. H. Jobes, *1 Peter,* BECNT [2005]; R. Feldmeier, *The First Letter of Peter: A Commentary on the Greek Text* [2008].

(See also W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire* [1893], 279–95; J. H. Elliott, *The Elect and the Holy: An Exegetical Examination of 1 Peter and the Phrase basileion hierateuma* [1966]; id., *A Home for the Homeless: A Sociological Exegesis of 1 Peter, Its Situation and Strategy* [1981]; D. L. Balch, *Let Wives Be Submissive: The Domestic Code in 1 Peter* [1981]; W.J. Dalton, *Christ's Proclamation to the Spirits: A Study of 1 Peter 3:18–4:6,* 2nd ed. [1989]; L. Thurén, *Argument and Theology in 1 Peter: The Origins of Christian Paraenesis* [1995]; A. Casurella, *Bibliography of Literature on First Peter* [1996]; S. R. Bechtler, *Following in His Steps: Suffering, Community, and Christology in 1 Peter* [1998]; B. L. Campbell, *Honor, Shame, and the*

*Rhetoric of 1 Peter* [1998]; J. Parsad, *Foundations of the Christian Way of Life according to 1 Peter 1, 13–25: An Exegetico-Theological Study* [2000]; S. C. Pearson, *The Christological and Rhetorical Properties of 1 Peter* [2001]; T. Seland, *Strangers in the Light: Philonic Perspectives on Christian Identity in 1 Peter* [2005]; J. de W. Dryden, *Theology and Ethics in 1 Peter* [2006]; A. M. Mbuvi, *Temple, Exite and Identity in 1 Peter* [2007].)

B. VAN ELDEREN

**Peter, Gospel of.** EUSEBIUS (*Eccl. Hist.* 6.12) quotes a fragment from Serapion of Antioch (c. A.D. 200), relating how, to settle a dispute in the church at Rhossus, Serapion authorized the use of the *Gospel of Peter,* but without himself reading it. Later he did obtain and read it, to find that although much was sound there were also alien accretions; he specifically mentions its Docetic connections. Eusebius himself elsewhere condemns it as heretical (*Eccl. Hist.* 3.3.2; 3.25.6). The work is mentioned by ORIGEN, but patristic evidence is meager. Evidently it never circulated widely, and Serapion's condemnation was effective. Theodoret's statement that it was used by the Nazarenes is highly dubious.

**I. The Akhmim fragment.** Nothing more was known of the document until the discovery of a fragment in 1886 in a tomb at Akhmim in Egypt. It contains an account of the PASSION, the earliest noncanonical account extant, beginning with PILATE'S washing of his hands (implied by the opening words, "of the Jews none washed his hands") and going on to relate the mockery, crucifixion, burial, and resurrection of Jesus.

The work has a highly original version of Jesus' resurrection. The tomb is sealed with seven seals and a guard mounted, but toward dawn on the Lord's day the soldiers see the heavens open and two men descend. The stone rolls away of its own accord, and they enter the tomb. The guards arouse the centurion and the elders present, and they all see three men come out, with a cross following. Their immense stature is especially mentioned. Reporting to Pilate, the elders urgently entreat him to command the guard to silence: "it is better for us to incur the greatest sin before God than fall into the hands of the Jewish people and be stoned." After the story of the women at the tomb, the fragment ends: "But I, Simon Peter, and Andrew my brother took our nets and went to the sea; and there was with us Levi, the son of Alphaeus, whom the Lord…" The original work evidently continued with some account of Jesus' postresurrection appearance(s), but the decorations at the beginning and end of the Akhmim MS indicate that the scribe who copied it had no access to the conclusion of the narrative (*NTAp,* 1:217).

It should be noted that two papyrus fragments (POxy 2949) have been discovered that appear to provide additional witness to the text of the *Gospel of Peter.* These fragments are too small to contribute significantly to our understanding of the document, but they probably indicate that it was already circulating in Egypt c. A.D. 300 (cf. R. A. Coles in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri,* vol. 41, ed. G. M. Browne et al. [1972], 15–16).

**II. Characteristics.** The salient characteristics of the book are its anti-Jewish bias and the writer's evident desire to exonerate Pilate from responsibility. It is the Jews who are responsible and HEROD who gives the order for the crucifixion, and JOSEPH'S request for the body of Jesus is referred by Pilate to Herod. Even in the face of the resurrection they have witnessed, the Jews persist in their obdurate hostility. Pilate, in contrast, washes his hands of the whole affair, and the only part he plays is to provide a guard for the tomb (and incidentally impartial witnesses for the resurrection).

Another feature is the presence of Docetic traits: Jesus on the cross is silent, as if he felt no pain; the cry of dereliction is altered. Such traits, however, are by no means so prominent as to justify describing the work as Gnostic without qualification. Rather, the author's intention was "to propagate a Docetic Christology within the Church from which he had not yet parted company" (H. B. Swete, *The Akhmîm fragment of the Apocryphal Gospel of St. Peter* [1893], xxxvii). See DOCETISM; GNOSTICISM.

The narrative clearly derives from the canonical Gospels, but with additional material. (For the contrary view that the *Gospel of Peter* is earlier than, and thus was a basis for, the canonical Gospels, see the discussion in *ABD,* 5:278–81.) Signs of dependence are unmistakable: Herod and the penitent thief are from Luke, the hand-washing and the guard at the tomb depend on Matthew, and the *crurifragium* (the leg-breaking, apparently misunderstood) and the disciples' departure to the sea come from John. There is, however, room for difference of opinion as to whether the author used the Gospels themselves, or a harmony like that of Tatian (see DIATESSA-RON). A further problem is that of the relation to this document of a fragment of the *Apocalypse of Peter* found with it. See PETER, APOCALYPSE OF. (Critical edition by T. J. Kraus and T. Nicklas, *Das Petrusevangelium und die Petrusapokalypse* [2004]; English trans. in *NTAp,* 1:216–27.)

R.McL. WILSON

**Peter, Martyrdom of.** See PETER, ACTS OF; PETER, PASSION OF.

**Peter, Passion of.** A Latin paraphrase and expansion of the *Martyrdom of Peter* (see PETER, ACTS OF) attributed to Linus, Peter's successor at the see of Rome, but actually dating from perhaps the 6th cent. The additions include such details as the names of Peter's jailers—Processus and Mar-tinian—and a vision seen by the bystanders at Peter's crucifixion: "angels standing with crowns of flowers of roses and lilies, and upon the top of the upright cross Peter standing and receiving a book from Christ, and reading from it the words which he was speaking." Read on the saint's day, the martyrdoms circulated independently of the *Acts* to which they belonged, and in the process often were much elaborated. (Text in R. A. Lipsius, Acta *apostolorum apocrypha* [1891–1903], 1/1:1–22; see also *NTAp,*2:436–37.)

R.McL. WILSON

**Peter, Preaching of.** Title given to a document quoted several times by CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, who introduces his extracts in the form, "Peter says in the Preaching," without raising any questions of origin or authenticity. ORIGEN (*Commentary on John* 13.17) mentions its use by Heracleon, but indicates the need to inquire whether the text is "genuine, spurious or mixed." In *De principiis* (praef. 8) Origen refers to a *Doctrine of Peter,* which he decisively rejects as not by PETER or any other person inspired by the Spirit of God; but it is not certain that this is the same document. EUSEBIUS flatly repudiates the *Preaching,* along with the other Petrine apocrypha (*Eccl. Hist.* 3.3.2). The apologist ARISTIDES may have used the book, and it is also possible that it was known to Theophilus of Antioch, although neither mentions its title.

The longest of Clement's quotations (*Strom.* 6.5.39–41), which is also summarized in Origen's reference, is concerned with worship: God should not be worshiped after the manner of the Greeks, who take material things and serve stocks and stones; nor after the manner of the Jews who worship angels, the months, and the moon. Christians should worship through Christ in a new way, as a third race, according to a new covenant. This theme has clear associations with the apologetic tradition in

its rejection of polytheism, idolatry, and false Jewish worship. On the other hand, the Alexandrian attestation and the reference to the worship of animals (weasels, mice, cats, dogs, and apes) suggest Egypt as the land of origin.

Other quotations record a postresurrection discourse of Jesus, in which he bids the disciples to go out into the world after twelve years "that no one may say: We have not heard it," and a passage affirming "how all was written that he [Jesus] had to suffer." The twelve-year period (evidently of mission confined to Israel) appears also in other literature, and according to some Gnostics, Jesus remained with the disciples throughout this time (cf. W. Bauer in *NTAp* [1963–65], 2:44–45), but the *Preaching* does not teach GNOSTICISM. The fragments are perfectly orthodox, and the passage last quoted shows the apologetic concern to stress the conformity with the Scriptures of the passion and resurrection of Jesus. The significance of the document lies in the fact that it represents the transition from early Christian missionary preaching, as presented in Acts, to later Greek apologetic (see *NTAp* [1963–65], 2:96–97). Since it was used by Heracleon, it must be dated at the latest to the first half of the 2nd cent. (English trans. of Clement's citations in *NTAp* [1991–92], 2:37–40. See also M. Cambe, *Kerygma Petri: Textus et Commen-tarius* [2003].)

Two other documents call for mention. (a) The Syriac *Preaching of Peter* (in W. Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents* [1864], 35–41) has no connection with the present text, but is a later work possibly connected with the *Acts of Peter* (see further *NTAp* [1991–92], 2:93–94). (b) Attempts have been made to connect the *Preaching* with the *Kerygmata Petrou,* identified among the sources of the CLEMENTINE LITERATURE, but apart from the similarity of title and the association with Peter, the two works appear to be quite different; the *Kerygmata* derives from a Jewish-Christian milieu, subject to Gnostic influence and probably in Syria.

R.McL. WILSON

**Peter, Revelation of.** See PETER, APOCALYPSE OF.

**Peter, Second Epistle of.** One of the CATHOLIC EPISTLES, written by the apostle PETER as he was about to finish his career. In it he warns the young churches under his charge about his own approaching death and the imminence of Christ's return. In the face of these eventualities, Christians are exhorted against being corrupted by heretical teachings and falling into error. This letter is markedly different in tone and style from all of the other epistles except Jude. It is beset by many difficult problems of interpretation and contains obscure and disconnected allusions to other writings. Few NT documents have been the source of so much persistent controversy over their authenticity and authorship as 2 Peter.

1. Unity
2. Authorship
3. Date
4. Place of origin
5. Destination and readers
6. Occasion
7. Purpose
8. Canonicity
9. Language
10. Relationship to 1 Peter

11. Relationship to Jude and the Pauline epistles
12. Relationship to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha
13. Content
14. Theology

**I. Unity.** In critical discussions the basic coherence of the epistle often is questioned. A variety of ancient texts have been proposed as possible sources of the teachings of the book. Attempts have been made to determine by internal evidence certain subordinate documents within the whole. These are said to be a Petrine tradition called "P," while a collection of later additions is designated "E." Any efforts to locate such sources within an epistle of such short length and compactness are beset by serious difficulties. Some, however, have identified a number of works as influences on 2 Peter (*1 Clement, 2 Clement, Apocalypse of Peter, Gospel of Peter,* and even the writings of JOSEPHUS and PHILO JUDAEUS). If it is remembered that the epistle is an intensely personal reminder by the apostle to his converts, then its reiterative and unorganized style is easily explained. The mood of the epistle is severe but triumphant, as it seeks to compel faith in the final triumph of God's will and the ultimate glorification of God's people.

**II. Authorship.** The early church showed more care and suspicion in regard to the authorship of 2 Peter than almost any other epistle. Although most of the doubts had ceased by the end of the 4th cent., modern scholars repeatedly have cast doubt on its Petrine origin. The two key problems are its distinctive style in relation to 1 Peter (see PETER, FIRST EPISTLE OF) and the lack of early mention or quotation of it by the patristic writers. EUSEBIUS states: "These then are the works attributed to Peter, of which I have recognized only one epistle as authentic and accepted by the elders of old" (*Eccl. Hist.* 3.3.4).

The problem held little interest for expositors during the medieval, Renaissance, and Reformation periods, but in the 19th cent. it became a major point of debate and has continued to be so in critical studies. Most recent writers exclude the Petrine authorship of the epistle outright; those who would espouse it take a defensive stance. In support of Petrine authenticity is the statement, "Dear friends, this is now my second letter to you" (2 Pet. 3:1), which, in turn, assumes the author to be the person mentioned as addresser in the prologue, namely, "Simon Peter" (1:1), and also in the prologue of 1 Peter, "Peter an apostle of Jesus Christ" (1 Pet. 1:1). Were the text a pseudepigraphic forgery it must have been carefully concocted to deceive; its style and organization, however, yield little in the way of carefully planned deception. Actually, the text has the characteristics of haste and immediacy.

The earliest known reference to the authorship and the book was made by an antagonist of ORIGEN named Methodius, who quoted in his *De resurrec-tione* the words from 2 Pet. 3:8, "With the Lord a day is like a thousand years, and a thousand years are like a day." In later times this almost became a household phase appearing in a great number of scholastic sources. Methodius is supposed to have been slain during the persecutions of Diocletian's reign (284–305). Cyprian received as noteworthy a letter from Firmilian, the bishop of Cappado-cian Caesarea, in which there was an allusion to 2 Peter. The evidence from the various extant fragments of Origen's works are difficult to collate and are somewhat contradictory. It is clear that in his time (c. 185–253) 2 Peter was known to be of early provenience, even though its authenticity may have been questioned. It also is important to note that this document was not attributed to any other author than Peter. There is a strong possibility that the epistle was known to JUSTIN MARTYR (c. 100–165) and CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (c. 150–

213), which would place it in an era contemporaneous with many who had known the apostles or their first circle of converts.

It is highly unlikely that any epistle could have been circulated at such an early period under the name of one of the foremost leaders of the church if it had not been authentic. One finds it difficult to accept a pseudepigraphic origin for a book whose author was so well known to its first readers. The arguments marshaled against its Petrine authorship on the basis of the stylistic differences between 1 Peter and 2 Peter are answered by noting the difference in subject matter and intent of the two books. The historical situation of the times, the atmosphere of expectations for the end of the ancient world and the apostolic age, and the vision of the PAROUSIA of Christ are all significant to the time of the latter's origin. All of these concerns fit well into the close of the 1st cent. This involves the authorship of the epistle directly, for only the apostle himself would have represented the unique eyewitness point of view developed within the epistle. Several passages (e.g., 2 Pet. 1:21; 2:9, 22; 3:2) fit more precisely the character and position of Peter as portrayed in the Gospels, Acts, and 1 Peter than any other figure of the apostolic period. To ascribe such to an unknown and spurious origin is to disregard the textual evidence.

Recent scholars have suggested that direct Petrine authorship and a false claim to apostolic authority are not the only options. According to some, a disciple of Peter may have wished to preserve his master's teaching after the apostle had died. A more specific proposal is that of R. J. Bauckham (*Jude, 2 Peter,* WBC 50 [1983], 158–62), who argues that the author of the epistle, living in the postapostolic period, used the "testament" genre to defend the apostolic age. "By contrast with the false teachers, who were claiming to correct the apostles' message, our author sets no store by his own authority or any message of his own. His authority lies in the faithfulness with which he transmits, and interprets for a new situation, the normative teaching of the apostles. 'Peter's testament' is the ideal literary vehicle for these intentions" (ibid., 161). Whether such an intention absolves the author of dishonesty, however, is a question that different scholars answer in different ways.

**III. Date.** The date of the epistle must be set between the writing of the first set of apostolic epistles and the death of Peter. If, however, the Petrine authorship is summarily dismissed, then the date loses relevance and any chronological niche will be sufficient. The evidence supports the Petrine authorship, which could have occurred shortly before Peter's death. Eusebius places Peter's martyrdom in Rome during the period of NERO'S persecution (A.D. 64–68). If this were indeed a prison epistle written during the apostle's last incarceration, then its distribution would be limited. This might account for its extremely late arrival in the eastern parts of the empire. As with the epistle of Jude, 2 Peter includes references to the angelology characteristic of late Jewish works of the time of the Roman destruction of Jerusalem under TITUS, in A.D. 70. The date of 67–68 seems to fit all these aspects most adequately.

**IV. Place of origin.** The tradition that Peter was imprisoned in ROME and thereafter slain under Nero's orders is central to the Caesaropapism of the medieval world view. Eusebius recounts several

The striking topography of Cappadocia. Among the Christians addressed by Second Peter were residents of this country.

traditions associating Peter and Paul with Rome and claiming that they were buried there after preaching the gospel in Corinth and Italy. Peter's oblique reference to his own approaching death (2 Pet. 1:13–14) is meager evidence, but it is similar to Paul's words in 2 Tim. 4:6–7, an epistle that Peter may have read. Recent excavations under the foundations of St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome have yielded early Christian tombs in what was once a Roman necropolis. It is possible that some apostolic figure may have been hurriedly interred there after being executed. This evidence may not be discounted in the consideration of the date of 2 Peter. Irrespective of its actual place of origin, the epistle is the work of a man under sentence writing to a suffering church that he cannot visit.

**V. Destination and readers.** In the light of 2 Pet. 3:1, the destination and readers of this second epistle must have been the same as those of the first one. The recipients of 1 Peter are listed in the prologue as "exiles of the Dispersion [*diaspora G1402*] in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia" (1 Pet. 1:1 NRSV). The mention of the DIASPORA, if taken literally, would limit the initially intended audience to the vast Jewish community of ASIA MINOR. In the Acts, Peter is portrayed as the initial leader of the church, proclaiming the gospel to the many groups of national Jews gathered in Jerusalem at PENTECOST. Also, in his conforming to Jewish law and the Judaizing mode before his confrontation with Paul, he worked primarily among the Jews and Gentile proselytes known as "God fearers" (Acts 10:2 et al.). In the period of the Acts, his ministry was centered in Palestine. He is said on one occasion to have "traveled about the country," referring to the small towns of Samaria, Galilee, and W Palestine (Acts 9:32). Both of Peter's letters may have been addressed to such Christian Jews and Jewish converts in the distant places named. (For a different view, see PETER, FIRST EPISTLE OF III.) This contention is reinforced by the many lesser known references to the OT and Jewish notions found in 2 Peter. Such material would be comprehended most readily by Jewish readers.

**VI. Occasion.** The church and its leaders were being persecuted from without and subverted from within. Influenced by the many syncretistic cults that had come into the Roman world from farther E, the JUDAIZERS sought a common ground between the legalistic Pharisaic tradition and the gospel of

Christ. Against this heresy, Peter in his first letter directed his careful statements concerning the relationship between the old and new covenants. In 2 Peter, on the other hand, none of these directions are noticeable, nor are any anti-Judaizing arguments presented. In their place are far-reaching invectives and imprecations taken from the OT and directed against the overt moral laxity and iniquity of the false teachers. In this respect 2 Peter is closest to Jude.

This change in theme indicates a change in the historical situation. The decline of the post-Augustan era was already being felt in the Roman colonies. With the breakdown in external political control came a decline and dissolution in public morals. ANTINOMIANISM in the name of Christian liberty endangered the purity of the biblical message. The apostle directed his readers' attention to this new threat. MAGIC and ASTROLOGY were prevalent in the Hellenistic age, and the evangelical doctrine of the SECOND COMING of Christ was easily turned into just another mystical notion linked to the general APOCALYPTIC mood of the oriental cults. Peter aimed to strengthen faith through proper teaching upon the subject. The readers must consider the parousia as a historic fulfillment of the progress of God's plan and not simply as another crystal ball by which people could know the future for personal, selfish gain. The second coming must be grasped in its historical meaning and in its assurance of hope for the Christian.

**VII. Purpose.** The purpose of 2 Peter is to warn, encourage, and instruct the churches to meet the new challenges that a later age would thrust upon them. The focus of the apostle's attention is the church. The epistle is not an evangelizing document as the gospel narratives were intended. It is an edifying personal letter seeking to secure the Christian's resolve in the face of troubles. In accomplishing his purpose, the author covers a number of points of doctrine, simply mentioning some in passing and reiterating and reviewing others, but discussing none in detail. There is almost nothing that is unique to this work. Unlike 1 Peter, which is more in the doctrinal treatise tradition of the major Pauline epistles, 2 Peter relies on arguments, at times appealing to the OT in indirect fashion and at times to the author's career and personal assurance of his experience (2 Pet. 1:18). The purpose of the epistle was to stir up (Gk. *diegeirō G1444*) his readers by refreshing their memory (1:13), so that they would (1) beware of false teachers and (2) live holy lives in accordance with their beliefs about Christ.

**VIII. Canonicity.** The involved problem of the canonical position of 2 Peter is dependent first of all on the concept of canon espoused. See CANON (NT). If the principle of divine providence in the preservation and acceptance of the biblical books is rejected, then the canonization of any specific text becomes a mere problem in historiography. If, on the other hand, a belief in the sovereign work of God through the church's responsible agency in producing the canon is maintained, then the fact is established by history itself.

Second Peter has been in the canon since the late 4th cent. in all but certain oriental systems of organizing the biblical books. Only the Syrian churches among the ancient ecclesiastical establishments rejected the book as spurious. The standard Syriac version of the NT, the Peshitta, omits 2 Peter as well as 2 and 3 John, Jude, and Revelation. Since the Syrian church and its shorter canon—possibly going back to a very early tradition to even before the completion and distribution of these last books of the NT—had a great effect on its daughter churches in Asia, many of their canons lacked these texts as well. Chief of these national churches that failed to include 2 Peter was that of St. Thomas in India.

The reason for this omission, even after the book became known, was its apparent quotation from the apocryphal *Assumption of Moses* (see MOSES, ASSUMPTION OF). On the same basis the

Syriac-speaking churches barred Jude. Certain cults, which frequently utilized the late apocalyptic Jewish writings and their commentaries for sectarian interests, were pressing in upon these churches. "It is precisely in Syria, where the extravagance of Jewish angelology was most notorious, that one would naturally expect the most violent reaction against anything that might be adduced in their support" (E. M. B. Green, *2 Peter Reconsidered* [1961], 7ff.). Nonetheless, the Philoxenian version of the ancient Christian community in Iraq and the North African version called Harclean, both prepared in the 5th cent., included 2 Peter. It is not doubted that JEROME referred to the Syrian tradition when he stated that many denied the authenticity of 2 Peter in the canon.

It is necessary to note that the early debates and cross opinions concerning 2 Peter simply stated that it was suspected and disputed. Few authorities other than Eusebius and the Syrian church openly insisted that it was rejected. There is further evidence that homilies and commentaries included the rejected texts as of lesser rank than the better known gospel and epistle traditions. This is what is meant by the lack of references to 2 Peter since, interestingly, writers quoted it without mention or acknowledgment. Cyril of Jerusalem (c. 350) and Gregory of Nazianzus (c. 385) are typical. Even after the conciliar decisions of the 4th cent., the books were not well distributed throughout the widely scattered Christian communities.

Only Jerome and very few others pointed out the apparent difficulty involved in the differences in style and content between 1 and 2 Peter. Jerome suggests, to solve his own enigma, that Peter may have employed two different secretaries to set down his thoughts in writing. This would be a very real solution if in fact Peter wrote 2 Peter while in prison. The church councils after the Nicene Creed in 325 give evidence of the widespread acceptance of 2 Peter in the canon. AUGUSTINE, in the early 5th cent. A.D., accepted this and other suspected books but with the reservation that each expositor should use his own judgment. (Cf. further B. B. Warfield, "The Canonicity of Second Peter," *Southern Presbyterian Journal 33* [1882]: 45–75.)

**IX. Language.** As the authorship and canonicity of 2 Peter have engendered controversies, so also has the unique style and usage of the epistle. Many 19th-cent. critical scholars were able to demonstrate that the essential characteristics of the two Petrine epistles are distinct. In this last regard three concerns seem important: (1) the words used only once in the NT that occur in 2 Peter (*hapax legomena*); (2) the unique expressions used in this book; (3) the semantic elements bearing particular stress or special meaning. The vocabulary of the epistle is drawn from all levels and developments of the Greek language. There are terms, such as *tēkomai G5494,* "melt, dissolve" (2 Pet. 3:12), that appear as early as Homer and nowhere else in the NT. There are words of particularly Attic origin, such as *siros G4987,* "cave, crevice" (used only in 2:4, but with variations in the ancient MSS).

There are, by contrast, also terms characteristic of the Hellenistic age with its marked tendency to form compounds, such as *pseudodidaskalos G6015* (2 Pet. 2:1), a term hardly known from any other source. A large portion of the vocabulary is drawn directly from the SEPTUAGINT either in the form of quotations or oblique allusions, such as *miasma G3621,* "defilement, corruption" (2:20; cf. Jer. 39:34; Ezek. 33:31). There is a good possibility that the specific vocabulary was purposefully arranged for apologetic effect, for it includes terms calculated to explain properly the passage of the OT perverted by the heretics.

There are some words used only once (*hapax legomena*) or used very infrequently in the NT that assume special significance in 2 Peter. A sampling yields: *akatapaustos G188,* "restless, unceasing" (2 Pet. 2:14); *amōmētos G318,* "unmarked, unblemished" (3:14); *exerama G2000,* "vomit," and in the same context *kylismos G2000,* "rolling, wallowing" (2:22); *hyperonkos,*

"swollen, haughty" (2:18). In all, the text contains some fifty-six words found nowhere else in the NT. The number of unusual terms has caused a wide variety of orthographic and some minor morphological variants among the various MS traditions. Most noteworthy are the readings of CODEX VATICANUS, which differs at a number of points from the other codices, the papyri, and the majority of minuscules.

The defining of distinct syntactical usages is somewhat more difficult; certain generalizations, however, may be made. The separation of the article from its noun is notable, as in *ho tote kosmos,* "the world of that time" (2 Pet. 3:6). This feature is sometimes expanded into a more elaborate literary form, giving the book a peculiar but dramatic quality: *tēs en tō kosmō en epithymia phthoras,* "the corruption in the world [caused] by passion" (1:4); *tous opisō sarkos en epithymia miasmou poureuom-enous,* "those who follow after the flesh in polluting desire" (2:10); *kata tēn dotheisan autō sophian,* "according to the wisdom granted to him," which Peter applies to Paul (3:15).

The moods and tenses of the verbs are complicated by two factors: the primary one is the frequent quotations of prophetic and imprecatory material from the LXX, and the secondary is the reduction of the intricacies of the classical sequence of moods. It has been observed that the use of idioms, relatives, negatives, cases, and the genitive absolutes in 2 Peter are more nearly like the classical Greek usage than any other of the NT epistles. There is also a definite attempt to conform the prose to certain poetic regulations, such as alliteration with a fine sense of classical poetic euphony (note the consonant combinations in 2 Pet. 1:16–17,19–21).

The text of 2 Peter contains various literary fragments. There are ancient invocations and greetings (2 Pet. 1:2) and personal reminiscences (1:14, 17–18). Some phrases possibly are from sermons that the apostle had preached (1:5–7), and the sections are ended by liturgical phrases—most likely ancient doxologies of the early church (3:18). These various forms, however, by no means lend credence to the thesis that the book is a patchwork of Christian notions tied together by some later redactor. The text and its many parts are properly arranged to produce a unified epistle wherein the apostolic author sought to establish his converts "in the present truth" (1:12 KJV).

**X. Relationship to 1 Peter.** The differences in style and vocabulary that can be demonstrated between 1 and 2 Peter are fully explicable in view of the differences in theme and purpose. The many likenesses in detail between the two often are overlooked by critics. In spite of the lexical divergences between the two books, there are one hundred agreements, along with a few terms that are used only in the two Petrine epistles. The introductions and salutations of the two epistles match well, further indicating a common authorship.

As to the gospel narrative to which both epistles occasionally refer, 1 Peter includes more open personal recollections and paraphrases of the earthly life of Christ. Second Peter includes brief references, but without any paraphrases of the teachings of Jesus and only to strengthen apologetic points. Some 19th-cent. exegetes saw this as a lack of personal intensity or warmth. It seems more accurate, however, to accept the intense and earnest desire of the apostle to warn and not merely guide in the second letter. The tone of 2 Peter is grave—almost foreboding; this mood, however, is relieved by the insistence upon the mercy of God, even in the divine punishments.

Scholars sometimes depreciate the Greek of the epistles by reference to the supposed Aramaic originals of the apostolic preaching. The style of 2 Peter shows little Hebraic or generally Semitic influence. By the same insight, it is highly unlikely that the book ever went through a number of revisions if its circumstances were as severe as 2 Pet. 1:13–14 would indicate. The epistle was providentially preserved, and was not a long and studied production. This sense of concern and

immediacy is vital to understanding the epistle.

**XI. Relationship to Jude and the Pauline epistles.** Out of the twenty-five verses in the short epistle written by Jude, nineteen are reiterated in some fashion in 2 Peter. Literary borrowing and primacy has been a longstanding issue. Widespread heresy of that period, however, prompted similar responses from various apostles and other church leaders; therefore a common core of apologetic literature developed. This can account for the duplication of content in 2 Peter and Jude. Jude seems to be prior, since it has fuller and more complete renderings of the OT phrases quoted. Jude, however, lacks the personal reminiscences of the gospel accounts common to 1 Peter and found twice in 2 Peter (2 Pet. 1:13,15,16–18).

The argument of 2 Peter depended ultimately on the authenticity of its authorship; therefore, Peter distinguished himself in the prologue even more exactly than in 1 Peter and reinforced this with reference to the teachings in the earlier letter (2 Pet. 3:1). On the other hand, the author of Jude effaced his own personality as a younger brother of the Lord Jesus by his selfless assertion in that he was merely the "brother of James" (Jude 1).

Second Peter contains the only interconnective reference from one apostolic epistle to another (2 Pet. 3:15–16). This approval of the writings of PAUL demonstrates the truth of Paul's authority. It, in turn, shows the extensive distribution that the epistles must have enjoyed even before a formal canon had been determined. It is highly probable that this statement endorsing the Pauline writings was directed against certain false notions of the Judaizers (a notion still treasured by some scholars) that Peter and Paul were at odds personally and theologically. Thus Peter stated his agreement with Paul's view of the RESURRECTION as seen in 1 Corinthians and elsewhere. That "all his epistles" are mentioned leaves little room for debate as to how many were accepted. Obviously it means all those known to Peter, which may include all now included in the canon if the ancient tradition is correct that Peter suffered martyrdom in Rome after the death of Paul. Of greater importance is the characterization of the Pauline writings as being on a par with "the other Scriptures." At this early date, Peter recognized the authority of the OT revelation in Paul's explanation of the parousia (3:16).

**XII. Relationship to apocrypha and pseudepigrapha.** Some verses in 2 Peter seem to relate to the angelology and apocalypticism of the late Jewish sectarian literature The restraint of the angels in 2 Pet. 2:11 is similar in intent to the story mentioned in Jude 9, which alludes to the *Assumption of Moses*. Moreover, many of the symbols used to describe the awful fate of the wicked are similar to statements in the DEAD SEA SCROLLS. As in Jude and in occasional references in the Pauline epistles, this was probably an accommodation to the literary concepts of the age and to the mistaken use of these apocryphal and pseudepigraphal works by the heretics. To these perverse expectations concerning a political messianism, Peter answers with the truth about the divine parousia at the end of the world. The contents of 2 Pet. 3 were designed to correct false assumptions and warn those propagating them.

**XIII. Content.** The epistle may be outlined as follows:

1. Exhortation to the call and hope of the parousia (2 Pet. 1)
    1. Greeting and prologue (1:1–2)
    2. Perseverance in the gift of election (1:3–11)
    3. The urgency of the reminder in light of the apostle's impending death (1:12–15)

    4. The parousia assured by Jesus' transfiguration (1:16–18)
    5. Proper interpretation of prophecy a further assurance (1:19–21)
2. Warnings against false teachers (ch. 2)
    1. Deceivers exploit the believers (2:1–3)
    2. Illustrations of OT judgment (2:4–9)
    3. Deceivers defame authorities (2:10–14)
    4. Balaam, an instance of God's rebuke (2:15–16)
    5. Freedom of the deceivers turned to bondage (2:17–22)
3. The glorious promise and responsibility of the parousia (ch. 3)
    1. Reminder of former Scriptures (3:1–2)
    2. Deceivers and skeptics (3:3–7)
    3. Two errors about the parousia (3:8–9)
    4. The parousia and the believer's response (3:10–18)

**XIV. Theology.** Few documents in the theological literature contain so much overview of the Christian message and its ramifications for history as 2 Peter. It covers creation, prophecy, law, imprecation, judgment, cosmology, atonement, and all points of the classical *ordo salutis.* It is of special value for its attestation of the objectivity of the apostolic witness in 2 Pet. 1:16. Because of this, 2 Peter is of prime importance in the understanding of INSPIRATION and REVELATION.

The terminology of the book is made up of two clear sources: the OT and its interpretation in the Gospels and Epistles. Peter mixed and combined both strands as no other NT author did. The ethical application of the principle of the parousia is carried throughout the book. Peter was not allegorizing the second coming, but he was demonstrating the important concern that each age has a response and a duty to perform until Christ's return. The book adds to the NT the all-encompassing interpretation that is provided by the OT prophetic visions. The basic motive of the Christian religion—that of creation-fall-redemption-restoration—is repeated several times with differing emphases in each case.

Peter defined false teaching as false teaching about the Scriptures. For Peter the OT and the apostolic writings were TRUTH—any divergence, falsification, or perversion of this truth is error. The greatest of all errors, according to Peter, is the frustration of the purpose of revelation. The church would be dependent on the written descriptions of the truth in Christ that the apostles had left. Peter fully realized this and provided the church with a compendium of the Christian faith in the face of unbelief. Nowhere in the epistle is the church instructed to take up a course of action against these people; their fate and their condemnation is left to a patient God. The theology of 2 Peter is eminently the theology of the NT.

In the theological development of 2 Peter the portrayal of Christ is central. In the first verse, Peter presents himself as an APOSTLE of Jesus Christ, and in the succeeding verses Christ is presented as LORD, as authority of truth, as deliverer of the believers, as the escape for Christians from worldly pollutions, and as the coming and eternal King. The authority of Peter and the apostles to warn and teach is derived from their functions as apostles, servants of the Lord Jesus Christ.

One of the themes developed in the book is the OT concept that ethical and religious commitments determine empirical situations. The historical judgment upon SODOM and GOMORRAH took the form of a physical calamity, thus the apostle illustrates God's providence. The surety of the resurrection and final triumph of the believer is rooted in this same providential care. The statement in 2 Pet. 3:8 indicates clearly the idea of God's ETERNITY and of the created nature and structure of time. The parousia is related directly to this, to remove it from mere humanistic theory. Finally, grace

is related to knowledge. This is the positive theological principle of the epistle—that knowledge of life and death, the world that is and that is to come, are bound up in the knowledge of Christ and his atonement.

(Significant commentaries include F. Spitta, *Der Zweite Brief des Petrus und der Brief des Judas* [1885]; J. E. Huther, *Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the General Epistles of James, Peter, John and Jude* [1887]; J. R. Lumby, *The Epistles of Peter* [1893]; A. Plum-mer, *The Second Epistle of Peter* [1900]; C. Bigg, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude,* ICC, 2nd ed. [1902]; J. B. Mayor, *The Epistle of Jude and the Second Epistle of St. Peter* [1907]; J. Moffatt, *The General Epistles: James, Peter, and Jude,* MNTC [1928]; J. W. C. Wand, *The General Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude* [1934]; C. E. B. Cranfield, *I and II Peter and Jude* [1960]; B. Reicke, *The Epistles of James, Peter and Jude,* AB 37 [1964]; M. Green, *The Second Epistle General of Peter, and the General Epistle of Jude,* TNTC [1968]; J. N. D. Kelly, *A Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and of Jude,* HNTC [1969]; R. J. Bauckham, Jude, *2 Peter,* WBC 50 [1983]; H. Paulsen, *Der zweite Petrusbrief und der Judasbrief*, KEK 12/2 [1992]; J. H. Neyrey, *2 Peter, Jude,* AB 37 [1993]; T. R. Schreiner, *1, 2 Peter, Jude,* NAC 37 [2003]; P. H. Davids, *The Letters of 2 Peter and Jude* [2006].

(See also E. I. Robson, *Studies in the Second Epistle of Peter* [1915]; E. M. B. Green, *2 Peter Reconsidered* [1960]; A. Gerdmar, *Rethinking the Judaism-Hellenism Dichotomy: A Historiographical Study of Second Peter and Jude* [2001]; T. J. Kraus, *Sprache, Stil und historischer Ort des zweiten Petrus-briefes* [2001]; M. J. Gilmour, *The Significance of Parallels between 2 Peter and Other Early Christian Literature* [2003]; and the bibliography compiled by W. E. Mills, *2 Peter and Jude* [2000].)

W. WHITE, JR.

**Peter, Slavonic Acts of.** The *Martyrdom of Peter* (see PETER, ACTS OF) is extant in Slavonic among other versions, and there is also a *Disputatio cum Simone Mago* connected with it. In addition, there is a text extant only in Slavonic. It tells of Peter's journey to Rome at the bidding of a child, whom he later purchases from the captain of the ship. A Roman noble buys the child and takes him to a teacher, whom he soon reduces to silence (cf. the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*). When Peter is arrested, the child rebukes Nero and is cuffed on the ear by the counselor Cato, who withers up (*Infancy Gospel* again). Peter is crucified head-downward, and the child who is with him at last reveals himself as Jesus. The nails fall from Peter's head, breast, hands, and knees, and after praying for his murderers he gives up the ghost. Motifs from other apocryphal materials are worked into the legend of Peter. (See *NTAp,* 2:438–39.)

R. McL. WILSON

**Peter and Andrew, Acts of.** A continuation of the *Acts of Andrew and Matthias,* and a further development from the early *Acts of Andrew* (see ANDREW, ACTS OF; ANDREW AND MATTHIAS, ACTS OF). The book is extant in Greek, Slavonic, and (with THAD-DAEUS substituted for ANDREW) in Ethiopic.

The word begins with Andrew's return from the city of the man-eaters. A cloud of light carries him to the mountain where Peter and Matthias, Alexander and Rufus are sitting. Peter bids him rest from his labors, but Jesus appears in the form of a child and sends them to the city of the barbarians. As they approach, Peter tests the omens by asking an old man for bread. As he goes off to fetch it, the apostles do his sowing for him, and on his return he finds a ripe crop.

The chief men endeavor to prevent them from entering the city by placing a naked "wanton" (flirt) at the gate, but without success. The rich Onesi-phorus sets upon Andrew, but Peter intervenes, rashly quoting Jesus' saying that "it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God" (Matt. 19:24). Challenged to perform this sign, Peter is troubled, but is reassured by Jesus' appearing in the form of a boy of twelve. Camel and needle are duly brought, the needle with a small eye at Peter's express request; at his word, the needle's eye opens like a gate and the camel passes through. Onesi-phorus then insists on producing a needle and camel of his own, attempting to outmaneuver Peter, but Peter again succeeds. Finally Onesiphorus promises to give his goods to the poor and free his slaves if he is allowed to do a wonder like Peter. The apostle is doubtful, but a voice bids him to let Onesiphorus do as he will. This time the camel goes only as far as its neck, but Onesiphorus is satisfied with Peter's explanation that it is because he is not baptized. One thousand souls are baptized that night. Next day the harlot at the gate gives her goods to the poor, and her house for a monastery of virgins. (For an English trans. of excerpts, see M. R.James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* [1924], 458–60; see also *NTAp,* 2:448.)

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**Peter and Paul, Acts of.** A Greek compilation of different traditions, in part from the *Acts of Peter.* It begins with PAUL'S journey from the island of Gaud-omelete to Rome. The Jews in fear appeal to NERO to stop him, and orders are given accordingly. Dioscorus the shipmaster is arrested and beheaded in mistake for Paul in Puteoli. Other local legends embellish the account. Then the narrative joins that found in *Pseudo-Marcellus* (see PETER AND PAUL, PASSION OF) in relating the united activity of the apostles in Rome, their dealings with Simon Magus, and their martyrdom. Here the martyrdoms take place at the same time, although in the older legends there is a year between them. The text includes the letter of PILATE to CLAUDIUS from the Pilate literature (cf. *NTAp,* 1:527). (Text in R. A. *Lipsius, Acta apostolorum apocrypha* [1891–1903], 1/1:178–222; see further M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* [1924], 470; note that *NTAp,* 2:440–42, discusses this text and *Ps. – Marcellus* together.)

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**Peter and Paul, Passion of.** Title given to two relatively late versions (6th–7th cent.) of the martyrdom of PETER and of PAUL (a third version is included in the work discussed under PETER AND PAUL, ACTS OF; the literary relationship among these versions is complex). (1) The *Passio sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli,* also known as *Pseudo-Marcellus,* is extant in several languages, including Latin, Greek, and Slavonic. On Paul's arrival in Rome, the Jews seek the help of this apostle, who was a Hebrew of the Hebrews, against Peter. Later there is a clash between Jewish and Gentile Christians. Much space is devoted to the apostles' conflict with SIMON MAGUS, who has the ear of NERO. (Text in R. A. Lipsius, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha* [1891–1903], 1/1:118–77; see further *NTAp,* 2:441.)

(2) The second work, *Passio apostolorum Petri et Paul,* is a short Latin account of the activity of Peter and Paul in Rome, where they lodge with a believer who is a relative of Pilate, and of their contendings with Simon Magus. Comparatively little is said of their martyrdom. According to Lipsius (ibid., 223–34), it was not translated from Greek, but composed in Latin from other Latin books. In contrast to the other versions, this document states that after his fall from the air, Simon did not die on the spot, but retreated to Aricia (cf. the *Acts of Peter*); it also indicates that the apostles were condemned to death not by Agrippa but by Clement. (See further *ABD,* 5:264.)

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**Peter and The Twelve Apostles, Acts of.** A Coptic document included in the NAG HAM-MADI LIBRARY (NHC VI, 1). Most of the narrative focuses on a pearl merchant named Lithargoel who eventually reveals himself to Peter and the apostles as Christ. The story has strong allegorical elements and no doubt would have been attractive to Gnostic readers, but it does not appear to teach doctrines distinctive to GNOSTICISM. (English trans. in *NHL,* 287–94.)

R. McL. WILSON

**Pethahiah** peth'uh-hi'uh (פְּתַחְיָה *H7342,* "Yahweh has opened," meaning possibly that he has opened his own eyes in compassion, or that he has opened a person's eyes [in the sense of either revealing truth to a person or bringing a child to life], or that he has opened the womb; cf. PEKAHIAH). (1) A priest during the time of DAVID who was the leader of the nineteenth division (1 Chr. 24:16). Some scholars believe that Pethahiah here is the family name of a later priestly group. See below, #2.

(2) One of the Levites who agreed to put away their foreign wives (Ezra 10:23; 1 Esd. 9:23 [KJV, "Patheus"]). He is probably the same Pethahiah who, along with others, offered prayer in the ceremonies that preceded the sealing of the covenant (Neh. 9:5).

(3) Son of Meshezabel and descendant of JUDAH through ZERAH; he was one of the Israelites who resettled in Jerusalem after the EXILE and is described as being "the king's agent in all affairs relating to the people" (Neh. 11:24). Because of the language used (lit., "he was at the hand of the king"), some think that this Pethahiah held the same position that EZRA had occupied earlier, but others suggest that he was simply a local official who advised the king through regional governors.

S. BARABAS

**Pethor** pee'thor (פְּתוֹר *H7335,* from Hittite *Pitru*). A city of N MESOPOTAMIA, evidently located on the W banks of the Upper EUPHRATES near the point where it is joined by the river Sagura (now Sajur), some miles S of CARCHEMISH. It was the home of BALAAM son of Beor, who was summoned by King BALAK of MOAB to curse the Israelites who were entering the land (Num. 22:5; Deut. 23:4).

Pethor was known as *Pitru* to the HITTITES and as *A(I)na-Ashur-utîr-asbat* ("I settled it again for Asshur") to the Assyrians. While the Israelites were sojourning in Egypt, the town was captured by the Hittites and held by them until the 9th cent. B.C., when it was wrested from them by SHALMANESER III (859–824), who recorded his victory: "In Ina-Ashur-utir-asbat, which the people of Hattina call Pitru, on the other side of the Euphrates, on the river Sagur, I received tribute from the kings of the other side of the Euphrates" (*ANET,* 278b). Long before this time, however, it had appeared in THUTMOSE III's list of Syrian towns conquered. See also AMAW.

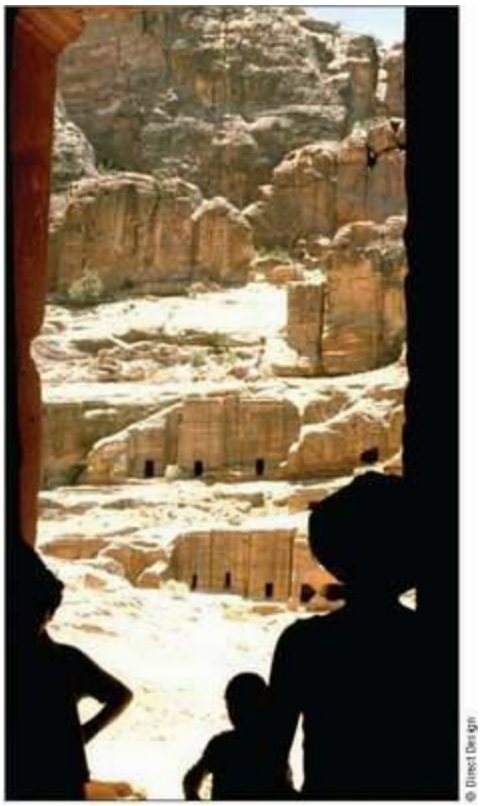
F. B. HUEY,JR.

**Pethuel** pi-thyoo'uhl (פְּתוּאֵל *H7333,* meaning uncertain, perhaps "young man of God"). The father of the prophet JOEL (Joel 1:1).

**Petra** pee'truh (Πέτρα, "rock"). Ancient capital of the NABATEANS, on the E edge of the ARABAH rift, some 50 mi. SSE of the DEAD SEA. Petra is not mentioned in the Bible, but it has commonly been identified with OT SELA (Heb. *sela*$^{c}$ *H6153,* "rock, cliffs"), a major fortified city in EDOM. According to JOSEPHUS, the Arabians (Nabateans) regarded it as their "metropolis" and called it *Arkē*

after the name of one of their kings, but the Greeks renamed it Petra (*Ant*. 4.4.7 §82; 4.7.1 §161; in the latter passage, the name is given as *Rhekemēs*).

The ruins of Petra were discovered in 1812. Their setting is impressive, reached by descending Wadi Musa and passing through a magnificent gorge (the



View from a hewn chamber into the rock-cut city of Petra.

Siq) with high and frequent walls that nearly touch each other. This gorge is over a mile in length, which provided an excellent defense for the city. Petra was situated in an open basin, approximately a mile in length by three-fourths of a mile in width. The craggy mountains surrounding the area are formed of sandstone, in beautifully variegated shades of red color. Perpendicular cliffs are covered with tombs and other façades carved into the native rock. These date primarily from the times of the Nabateans, as Petra was their capital from about the close of the 4th cent. B.C. to A.D. 105, when it was incorporated into Roman territory. The Roman occupation is evidenced by a central paved street, ruins of baths and other public buildings, and a large theater. The only Edomite ruins are found at Umm el-Biyyara, a fortress built on the top of a high and nearly inaccessible mountain standing independently toward the northern part of the basin (see *NEAEHL*, 4:1488–90). For further discussion and bibliography, see NABATEANS.

M. H. HEICKSEN

**Peullethai** pi-ool'uh-thi (פְּעֻלְּתַי *H7191,* possibly "reward" or "wage [earner?]"). KJV Peulthai. Seventh son of OBED-EDOM, included in the list of divisions of the Korahite doorkeepers (see KORAH) in the reign of DAVID (1 Chr. 26:5).

**Peulthai** pi-ool'thi. KJV form of PEULLETHAI.

**Peutinger Table.** Also Peutinger Map. Name given to a medieval MS (approximately 22 ft. long and

only 1 ft. high) that preserves a Roman world-map from late antiquity. Regarded as the most important example of ancient CARTOGRAPHY, it pictures the area from Spain to India, indicating road networks and significant topological features. Although it does not accurately represent the visual form of land masses or bodies of water, the map includes much information that is both correct and of great historical value.

**Phaath Moab** fay'ath-moh'ab. KJV Apoc. alternate form of PAHATH-MOAB (1 Esd. 5:11; but cf. 8:31).

**Phacareth** fak'uh-rith. The KJV Apoc. reads "Phacareth, the sons of Sabi" (following the textual variant *Phakareth huioi Sabiē*) in a passage where the reference is to POKERETH-HAZZEBAIM (1 Esd. 5:34; cf. Ezra 2:57; Neh. 7:59).

**Phaisur** fay'zuhr. KJV Apoc. form of PASHHUR (1 Esd. 9:22).

**Phaldaius** fal-day'uhs. KJV Apoc. form of PEDA-IAH (1 Esd. 9:44).

**Phalec** fay'lik. KJV NT form of PELEG.

**Phallu** fal'oo. KJV alternate form of PALLU (only Gen. 46:9).

**Phalti** fal'ti. KJV alternate form of PALTI (only 1 Sam. 25:44).

**Phaltiel** fal'tee-uhl. (1) KJV alternate form of PAL-TIEL (only 2 Sam. 3:15).
(2) A leader of the people who visited EZRA to encourage him (2 Esd. 5:16).

**Phanuel** fuh-nyoo'uhl (Φανουήλ *G5750,* from פְּנוּאֵל *H7158,* "the face of God"; see PENUEL). The father of ANNA the prophetess (Lk. 2:36).

**Pharacim** fair'uh-sim. See PHARAKIM.

**Pharakim** fair'uh-kim (Φαρακιμ). KJV Pharacim. Ancestor of a family of temple servants (NETHINIM) who returned with ZERUBBABEL (1 Esd. 5:31; the name is not found in the parallel lists, Ezra 2:51; Neh. 7:53).

**pharaoh** fair'oh (פַּרְעֹה *H7281,* from *Egyp. par-ᶜeo* [vocalization uncertain], meaning "great house"; Φαραώ *G5755*). Title of the kings of ancient EGYPT.

**I. Origin and history of the title.** The Egyptian term "great house" first appears in the Old Kingdom and was used to denote the palace of the king, the institution that was the seat of government. It was in the New Kingdom (c. 1550–1070 B.C.) that the term was first clearly applied to the person of the king himself, at least in written documents. In that period, as long before and after, each Egyptian king had four titles, followed by the designation "Son of Ra" (see RE), in turn followed by his personal name (e.g., Amenophis, Ramses). The fourth title ("King of Upper and Lower Egypt") and the personal name were enclosed in an elongated ring known today as a *cartouche.*

Whereas these official names and titles were at all times used for formal purposes and in the datelines of documents, the more popular term *pharaoh* was used within the body of such documents and, of course, in everyday speech (e.g., the workmen in W Thebes referred to "Pharaoh, our good lord"). This informal and popular usage of *pharaoh* by itself, without a proper name, is customary in the OT, sometimes glossed by its Hebrew equivalent, "king of Egypt." The exclusive use of the term without name in the PENTATEUCH and down to SOLOMON compares well with Egyptian usage of the New Kingdom and the 21st dynasty respectively.

Later, from the 22nd dynasty onward, Egyptian popular usage began to add the king's name to the

title, for example, "Pharaoh Shoshenq" on a stela from the Dakhleh oasis, probably dating to Shoshenq I, the biblical SHISHAK. This usage is correctly reflected in the more specific OT references for the 1st millennium B.C. (e.g., Pharaoh NECO or Pharaoh HOPHRA, Jer. 44:30; 46:2), as opposed to the continuing general references to "Pharaoh" that are also found. One may compare the Assyrian references to "Piru king of Egypt (Musri)."

**II. The role of the pharaoh.** The role of the king was vital to the civilization and society of ancient Egypt. He was for his people a god among men and a man among the gods, the human holder of a divine office, the intermediary between the people of Egypt and the gods of the cosmos. In the earliest times, the king himself incarnated a god on earth, especially the falcon god Horus of Upper Egypt. In the course of the Old Kingdom, his divine status diminished in level when, as Son of Ra, he was in some measure subordinate to another deity rather than being an autonomous god himself. In the New Kingdom, the pharaoh was, further, considered as executing the decrees or plans of this or that god, especially Amun (see AMON #4). At all times (according to the evidence), the king as representative of the gods and as the ruler of Egypt had to uphold *maat,* the just and right world order, as guarantor of an ordered and stable society in which justice was to predominate.

Being also the representative of the Egyptian people with the gods, the pharaoh was in principle the sole high priest of the gods of Egypt—hence, his ubiquitous presence in innumerable temple scenes, where he is shown bringing offerings to the gods. In practice, the role devolved on human and mainly nonroyal high priests, and pharaoh officiated in person only intermittently at great state festivals. RAMSES II, for example, celebrated in person the magnificent Opet Festival of the god Amun at Thebes at the beginning of his reign, before appointing a new high priest of Amun.

The pharaohs of Egypt constituted some of the most stable monarchies ever seen, very rarely disrupted by internal plots or insurrection. The main reason was perhaps the continuity of tradition, and especially the religious link between any given pharaoh and his predecessor. It appears that the proper burial of his predecessor was a first duty (and a legitimizing act) of a new king, like Horus for his father OSIRIS, and that regardless of any actual relationship between the new king and his predecessor. On the throne, the living monarch was the embodiment of the god Horus; when dead, he was identified with Osiris in the realm of the blessed dead, and joined the august company of his long line of predecessors. The "Royal Ancestors" (i.e., all dead kings) had a vital part in the everyday temple cult, being associated with the gods for the welfare of Egypt.

It is perhaps not irrelevant to see this high status of the pharaohs as a background for a passage such as Exod. 7:1 (Moses as "God to Pharaoh"), and for the judgment brought on the gods of Egypt (12:12). When a passage such as Isa. 19:11 puts into the mouth of Pharaoh's counselors the claim, "I am one of the wise men, / a disciple of the ancient kings," one may see a reflection here of the aura of age-long tradition current in the Late Period, and long before, and of the family links of officials of the Late Period with past royalty (shown by genealogies of that period). (See further Sir A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* [1957], 75 and n. 10; H. W. Fairman in *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship,* ed. S. H. Hooke [1958], 74–104; G. Posener, *De la divinité du Pharaon* [1960].)

**III. Individual pharaohs in Scripture.** (1) *The time of Abraham* (Gen. 12:15–20). If ABRAHAM is placed in the early 2nd millennium B.C. (roughly 2000–1800), he would be a contemporary of the Middle Kingdom, and most likely of the 12th dynasty (1991–1786), and so the pharaoh of his day must have been one of the kings Ammenemes (I-IV) or Sesostris (I-III). At that time, the effective capital of Egypt was at Ithet-Tawy, just S of MEMPHIS, and the pharaohs also had a residence near the

land of GOSHEN (cf. J. van Seters, *The Hyksos* [1966],132–33).

(2) *The pharaoh of Joseph* (Gen. 37–50). If JOSEPH flourished about 1700 B.C., he probably lived in the late 13th dynasty and early HYKSOS period (15th dynasty). If so, the king who appointed Joseph to high office could have belonged to either dynasty; the change of power from the one to the other probably occurred about 1650. (See J. Ver-gote, *Joseph en Égypte* [1959],45 –48.)

(3) *The pharaoh (s) of the oppression* (Exod. 1–2). Identification depends on the date assigned to the exodus and on the identification accepted for the pharaoh during this period. See EXODUS, THE. If the latter is Ramses II, the oppression could stretch back under Sethos I to Haremhab and perhaps Amenophis III. On the theory of Amenophis II as pharaoh of the exodus, the oppression would have been largely under THUTMOSE III.

(4) *The pharaoh of the exodus* (Exod. 5–12) cannot be identified with absolute certainty. Older views favored either Amenophis II of the 18th dynasty (c. 1440 B.C.) or MERNEPTAH of the 19th (c. 1220). These views are less easily tenable today (esp. the second one), and Ramses II (predecessor of Merneptah) may be a likelier candidate.

(5) *The pharaoh who fathered Bithiah, a wife of Mered* (1 Chr. 4:18), cannot be identified at present, as the date of BITHIAH is not easily ascertained.

(6) *The contemporary of David who accepted the boy prince Hadad of Edom as a refugee when Joab ravaged that land* (1 Ki. 11:14–22). DAVID'S reign (c. 1010–970 B.C.) was contemporary with the 21st dynasty in Egypt. As the dynasty ended with Psusennes II (c. 959–945 B.C.), David's Egyptian contemporaries would be the kings Amenemope, Osochor, and Siamun; of these, either Amenemope or Siamun are the likeliest to have been Hadad's host. Unfortunately, no details of the families of these kings are yet known.

(7) *The king whose daughter married Solomon, and who handed over Gezer as her dowry* (1 Ki. 9:16). Reigning about 970–930 B.C., SOLOMON would be a contemporary of Siamun and Psusennes II of the 21st dynasty. Siamun is the more probable candidate for the role of Solomon's father-in-law, as he was ruling in Solomon's early years when the marriage probably took place (cf. A. Malamat in *JNES* 22 [1963]: 9–17). A fragmentary relief from Tanis showing Siamun smiting an Asiatic might reflect a "police action" of his in Philistia (see PHILISTINES), when he could also have captured GEZER.

(8) *Shishak* (1 Ki. 14:25–26). This is a reference to Shoshenq I, who founded the 22nd dynasty in Egypt; he was of Libyan origin.

(9) *Zerah defeated by Asa* (2 Chr. 14:9–15) was probably not a pharaoh, as his name is not identifiable with Osorkon as once thought.

(10) *So, to whom the last Israelite king, Hoshea, sent for aid against Assyria* (2 Ki. 17:4). He is not called a pharaoh in the OT, but may have been the shadowy Osorkon IV of the late 22nd dynasty.

(11) The political-military impotence of the *25th-dynasty pharaohs* is well recognized by Isaiah (Isa. 30:1–3). In 701 B.C., Shebitku probably had ascended the throne, sending his brother TIRHAKAH into Palestine in a vain attempt to defeat the Assyrians (cf. 36:6; 37:9).

The mummy of Pharaoh Merneptah (13th cent. B.C.).

(12) *Tirhakah, principal king of the 25th dynasty* (Isa. 37:9). He was a contemporary of HEZEKIAH and SENNACHERIB, although he became king only from c. 690 B.C. (cf. K. A. Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament* [1966],82 –84).

(13) *Neco, second ruler of the 26th dynasty* (2 Ki. 23:29). He defeated and slew JOSIAH of Judah when the latter tried to prevent his intervention in the conflict between Assyria and Babylon. Neco's attempt to hold Syria-Palestine for Egypt was thwarted by NEBUCHADNEZZAR of Babylon.

(14) *Hophra, also of the 26th dynasty* (Jer. 44:30; he is probably also the king intended in several other references). He rashly encouraged ZEDEKIAH of Judah in his rebellion against Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, but failed to give effective help at the critical moment. After military disaster in LIBYA, he was later dethroned and killed (an event prophesied in 44:30).

(15) *The reference to "one of the chariots of Pharaoh"* (Cant. 1:9) is a poetic reflex of the fame of Egypt's chariotry in the New Kingdom and later. Egyptian lyric poetry also found such comparisons (cf. A. H. Gardiner, *Library of A. Chester Beatty* [1931], 35).

(See further R. Moftah, *Studien zum ägyptischen Königsdogma im Neuen Reich* [1985]; S. Quirke, *Who Were the Pharaohs? A History of Their Names with a List of Cartouches* [1990]; P. A. Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs: The Reign-by-Reign Record of the Rulers and Dynasties of Ancient Egypt* [1994]; F. Abitz, *Pharao als Gott in den Unterweltsbüchern des Neuen Reiches* [1995]; D. O'Connor and D. P. Silverman, eds., *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* [1995]; R. Gundlach, *Der Pharao und sein Staat:Die Grundle-gung der ägyptischen Königsideologie im 4. und 3. Jahrtausend* [1998]; P. Vernus and J. Yoyotte, *The Book of the Pharaohs* [2003]; D. Pemberton and J. Fletcher, *Treasures of the Pharaohs* [2004].)

K. A. KITCHEN

**Pharaoh's daughter.** Three women are so entitled in Scripture. (1) Foster mother of the infant MOSES (Exod. 2:5–10; Acts 7:21; Heb. 11:24). If the exodus occurred not later than RAMSES II and when Moses was already elderly (cf. Exod. 7:7), this princess would belong to the second half of the 18th dynasty (from Amenophis III to Harmhab); no closer identification is possible. See EXODUS, THE. The PHARAOHS had HAREMS in several parts of Egypt; this princess probably inhabited just such a harem in the E NILE delta where the Hebrews also were.

(2) Wife of SOLOMON (1 Ki. 3:1; 11:1); she offered as dowry the town of GEZER vanquished by her father (9:16). In Jerusalem, Solomon built a special palace for her (7:8; 9:24; 2 Chr. 8:11). A

signal honor, the marriage probably occurred early in Solomon's reign, within c. 970/960 B.C. (cf. A. Malamat in *JNES* 22 [1963]: 9–14,17). The pharaoh concerned was probably Siamun of the 21st dynasty (c. 978–959 B.C.), but details of his family are unknown.

(3) Wife of MERED; her name was BITHIAH (1 Chr. 4:18), but nothing is known of her date or identity.

K. A. KITCHEN

**Pharathon, Pharathoni** fair'uh-thon, fair uh-thoh'ni. See PIRATHON.

**Phares, Pharez** fair'is, –iz. KJV alternate forms of PEREZ.

**Pharisee** fair'uh-see (Φαρισαῖος *G5757,* prob. from פָּרוּשׁ, "separated" [pass. ptc. of פָּרַשׁ *H7300*]). One of the most important of the Jewish sects of the late intertestamental and NT periods, determining thereafter the character of reconstituted JUDAISM.

1. Meaning of the term
2. Origin and history
3. Composition and organization
4. Teaching in relation to other sects
    1. Oral law
    2. The future life
    3. Free will and determinism
    4. Angelology
    5. Humanity
5. Jesus and the Pharisees
6. Significance of Pharisaism

**I. Meaning of the term.** The most widely accepted etymology is that which traces the name back to the Hebrew verb *pāraš,* which could mean "to separate." On this basis, many have understood the term *Pharisee* in the sense of "separated person, separatist." Despite the obvious appropriateness of such a designation, it is not entirely clear in what sense it is to be understood. Had the Pharisees separated from the house of the HASMONEANS? Or from the Gentiles and their abominations? Or from cultural assimilation to the Hellenistic way of life? Or primarily from "the people of the land"—the large mass of Jewry who lived with little concern for the things of the law? Actually the Pharisee lived in separation from all of these, but it is not known which particular aspect historically, if any, was responsible for the designation *happĕrûšîm.*

Some have disputed that the initial use of the Hebrew term referred to the separation from groups of people or things, contending instead that it had to do with the INTERPRETATION of Scripture, for one of the meanings of the verb *pāraš* is "to divide" or "interpret." Accordingly, the suggestion is that whatever *Pharisee* came to mean later, initially it meant "interpreter" and referred to the exceptional exegetical abilities of these men. This explanation, however, seems much less likely than the former.

An interesting and quite plausible alternative, denying that the name derives from that Hebrew verb, finds its origin rather in the Aramaic word for "Persian" (*parsāy H10595;* cf. Heb. *porsî H7275*). This explanation, stated forcefully by T. W. Man-son ( *The Servant-Messiah* [1953], 19), is

based on the strong resemblance between various doctrines of the Pharisees and doctrines of ZOROASTRIAN-ISM, the religion of PERSIA (see below). The Pharisees by their somewhat innovative teachings might well have been regarded as "Persianizers." Whether or not this is the true etymology o f *Pharisee,* the wordplay and its suitability can hardly have been missed, for example, by the SADDUCEES, who regarded themselves as purists in doctrine. It may be that both etymologies were currently popular in NT times; it seems probable, however, that the name was originally coined to reflect the separatist tendencies of these people.

**II. Origin and history.** The roots of the Pharisees can be traced to the HASIDEANS (Hasidim) of the 2nd cent. B.C.—those "pious men" of Israel whose loyalty to their covenant relationship with Yahweh impelled them to resist the increasing pressure toward hellenization (see HELLENISM). The uprising of the Maccabees (167 B.C. and succeeding years) against the mad policies of ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes found the Hasidim in full support of the resistance. But with the rededica-tion of the temple under Judas MACCABEE in 164 B.C. and the achievement of religious freedom in 162, the Hasidim, who were concerned primarily with the religious and not the political life of the country, became increasingly separate from the political intrigues of the Hasmoneans. Among the many sects spawned by the Hasidim was that of the Pharisees, and indeed they, perhaps more than any of the other sects, may be regarded as the direct continuation of Hasidism into the NT period. (See J. Kampen, *The Hasideans and the Origin of Pharisaism: A Study in 1 and 2 Maccabees* [1988].) The earliest direct historical reference to the Pharisees is found in JOSEPHUS (*Ant.* 13.5.9), who introduces them along with the Sadducees and ESSENES as representatives of differing doctrinal viewpoints held at the time his narrative describes (about 145 B.C.).

The next piece of information concerning the history of the Pharisees is also from Josephus (*Ant.* 13.10.5; cf. *b. Qidd.* 66a for a similar account). He tells of John Hyrcanus (son of SIMON MACCABEE), who was the high priest under whom political independence was finally achieved (128 B.C.), and who was also a disciple of the Pharisees (see HASMONEAN II.A). Hyrcanus had invited Pharisees to a great dinner, and during the course of the festivities had shared with them his desire to attain


Two coins (a prutah and a half prutah, c. 67 B.C.) from the time of Hyrcanus II, who had the support of the Pharisees.

righteousness and to please God, indicating that he would be glad to hear from them anything that would aid him in self-improvement. All concurred that he was already a righteous man. A certain

Eleazar, however, a perverse individual according to Josephus, suggested that Hyrcanus really ought to give up the high priesthood and content himself with the civil government alone, since rumor had it that Hyrcanus's mother had prior to his birth been a captive of the Seleucids. The implication was that the real father, and thus the priestly lineage, of Hyrcanus was questionable.

The understandable offense taken by Hyrcanus was aggravated by a Sadducee named Jonathan, who insisted that such was the view of the Pharisees generally despite their loud disclaimers. When the Pharisees denied that Eleazar's insult should require the death penalty, Hyrcanus allowed himself, by Jonathan's urging, to be drawn away from the Pharisees, and to oppose their activities with much hostility. Thus in the earliest strand of historical information concerning the Pharisees, the beginnings of the breach between them and the rulers are evident, and the rulers henceforth tended to espouse the Sadducean viewpoint. The rift that began here and continued to grow proved to be of great importance, since the Pharisees, according to Josephus (*Ant.* 13.10.5), held very great influence with the masses. This fact itself is seen by many to lie at the root of the quarrel between Hyrcanus and the Pharisees.

Historically, it is clear that more fundamental differences were responsible for this major division within Judaism. The increasing political orientation of the Hasmonean house, embodied, for example, in the adoption of the royal diadem by Aristobulus I (Jos *Ant.* 13.11.1; *War* 1.3.1), was at variance with the exclusively religious orientation of the Pharisees. During the reigns of Aristobulus I and Alexander Jannaeus, the breach between the two factions continued—with the Pharisees enjoying increasing popularity among the people. When Jannaeus was defeated by the NABATEAN Arabs, the malcontented population took advantage of the situation and instigated a rebellion against Jannaeus that was to last nearly six years (94–88 B.C.). Although the Pharisees are not specifically mentioned in Josephus's account (*Ant.* 13.13.5; 14.2; *War* 1.4.6), they must have played an important part in this rebellion, and would have been well represented among the 800 Jews crucified as victims of Jannaeus's vengeance.

Josephus does have Jannaeus refer to the Pharisees on his deathbed (76 B.C.) and attributes his conflict with the nation to his harsh treatment of them (*Ant.* 13.15.5). Jannaeus is said by Josephus also to have counseled his wife ALEXANDRA concerning the power of the Pharisees among the people and thus to have encouraged her, for very practical reasons, "to yield a certain amount of power" to them (ibid.). Queen Alexandra, whose brother Simon ben Shetach was leader of the Pharisees, found this advice agreeable, and during her reign the power of the Pharisees grew considerably, indeed to such extent that Josephus says they possessed the royal authority whereas Alexandra had only its burdens (*War* 1.5.2).

The Pharisees flourished under Simon as long as Alexandra lived. At her death (67 B.C.) a struggle for the throne took place between her two sons, Hyrcanus II, the rightful heir who also possessed the support of the Pharisees, and his younger brother Aristobulus II, who was backed by the Sadducees. Aristobulus proved the stronger of the brothers. Hyrcanus soon yielded to him and the political fortunes of the Pharisees declined. For the Pharisees, however, political matters were secondary, and adversity seems only to have had the effect of deepening and strengthening their religious commitment and effectiveness. Although Hyrcanus regained the high priesthood, thanks to the efforts of the opportunist Antipater, it was only at the cost of political sovereignty. This division within Judaism thus proved itself to be a major factor in the collapse of the Hasmoneans and the concomitant subservience to Rome.

The Pharisees retained their influence with the masses through all these vicissitudes, so that even HEROD, a puppet of Rome, was careful not to offend them unduly. He had no regard for their religious

teachings but was well aware of the threat they posed to the stability of his kingdom. At this time, according to Josephus, the Pharisees numbered "above six thousand" (*Ant.* 17.2.4). This, however, quite probably refers only to members in the fullest sense and does not include many who should also be counted among the Pharisees. (T. W. Manson estimates that as much as 5 percent of the total population could be counted among the Pharisees.) They also held an important representation in the SANHEDRIN through this period on into NT times, though they probably did not control this body (despite Talmudic claims).

In the Gospels the Pharisees appear often as the chief antagonists of Jesus. They are portrayed as the religious "experts" of the day who took it upon themselves to scrutinize and ultimately to condemn the words and works of Jesus. A number of times they are linked with the Sadducees (e.g., Matt. 16:1) and even with the HERODIANS (e.g., Matt. 22:15–16; Mk. 3:6; 12:13), with whom they were by no means in agreement, but with whom they were able to unite against Jesus (Matt. 22:34). These passages doubtless reflect the place that the Pharisees held in the governing body of the Sanhedrin. Indeed, the considerable influence of the Pharisees apparently made it expedient for the politically more powerful Sadducees to respect and on occasion to yield to the opinion of the Pharisees. According to Josephus, the Sadducees repeatedly had to submit, albeit unwillingly, to the dictates of the Pharisees, "since otherwise the masses would not tolerate them" (*Ant.* 18.1.4; cf. the Sanhedrin's acceptance of GAMALIEL'S recommendation in Acts 5:34–40).

The great Jewish revolt leading to the collapse of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 owed its vitality to the ZEALOTS rather than to the Pharisees. See WARS, JEWISH. In fact, the Pharisees appear to have been in principle opposed to the revolt and were among the first to make peace with the Romans. According to the TALMUD, even before the hostilities were concluded, Johanan ben Zakkai asked for and received permission from the Roman authorities to establish a school at Jamnia (Yavneh; see JABNEEL). Here and later, at TIBERIAS, a succession of famous rabbis, such as Gamaliel II, Akiba, Ishmael, and Meir, carried on the process of establishing and perpetuating the essence of Judaism. Without its temple, the Jewish religion was forced to take on a new character, and when after the last Jewish rebellion (A.D. 132) all hope of rebuilding the temple was lost, the work of these rabbis assumed a new importance. The MISHNAH, compiled by the Patriarch Judah (c. A.D. 200), which is the culminating work of these scholars—and, in turn, a new beginning in the history of Jewish scholarship—is a monument of Pharisaic scholarship and a testimony to the final triumph of Pharisaism, which henceforth became synonymous with Judaism.

**III. Composition and organization.** By way of contrast with the Sadducees, who were drawn almost exclusively from the aristocracy, the Pharisees largely were members of the middle class. They tended to be the businessmen—the merchants and tradesmen of their day—and this apparently accounts for the large amount of Talmudic material given over to the intricacies of commercialism. These were men earnestly concerned with following after the law and had thus separated themselves from the great mass of the populace—the so-called "people of the land" (AM HA-AREZ)—by their strict adherence to the minutiae of their legal tradition.

The average Pharisee had no formal education in the interpretation of the law and accordingly had recourse to the professional scholar, the SCRIBE (of which class the majority were Pharisees), in legal matters. Although the vast majority of the Pharisees were thus bourgeois laymen, there appear to have been a number of priests and Levites who were also Pharisees. They were a relatively small number within their own ranks, but they were nonetheless committed to Pharisaic ideals, seeing in them a means to raise the purity of the laity to a level approximating that of the priesthood

(idealistically conceived).

The Pharisees, like other separatist groups (e.g., the Essenes), were organized into distinct and closed communities. The *hăbûrâ* ("community") referred to in the Talmudic materials is probably a Pharisaic community, and the *hābēr* ("companion"), a member of the community, a Pharisee. Apparently several of these holy communities existed in the environs of Jerusalem, where their concentration heightened their effectiveness. Admission into these communities was strictly regulated. A candidate must first agree to take upon himself obedience to all the detailed legislation of the Pharisaic tradition, involving tithing and especially ceremonial and dietary purity. He then entered a period of probation (the length of which was, according to differing viewpoints, either one month or one year) during which he was carefully observed with respect to his vow of obedience. Successful completion of this probation entitled the candidate to full membership in the community.

Each community was organized under the leadership of a scribe, who served as a professional authority in the interpretation of the law, and probably had other officers as well. The communities not only provided opportunity for mutual scrutiny and mutual encouragement, but also had regularly scheduled meetings for worship (usually on the eve of the Sabbath). Study of the Torah and a communal meal were also a part of these gatherings. The pseudepigraphon known as the PSALMS OF SOLOMON is a document that was used in Pharisaic communities and quite possibly was part of the liturgy in their worship services. It would have provided not only a strong anti-Sadducean polemic, and thus a reminder of the reason for their existence, but also would have voiced the hopes of the Pharisaic community. The outreach and impact of the Pharisees was, of course, not limited to these closed communities. Through the activities of the SYNAGOGUE, which served as the arm of the Pharisees, especially in the teaching of Torah and in the administration of public charity, Pharisaism influenced a large segment of the populace, many of whom inclined toward the views of the Pharisees without taking upon themselves full membership in the community.

The closed communities of the Pharisees are thus parallel and probably related to the Essene separatist groups, known today particularly from the Damascus Document (see ZADOKITE FRAGMENTS) and also, to a lesser extent, through the Qumran *Manual of Discipline* (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS IV). Without in any way identifying the Pharisees and the Essenes, it may be readily admitted that they had much in common in goals and methodologies as well as in the common milieu that constituted the motivating force of both movements. Both groups may have had their origin in the Hasidean movement.

**IV. Teaching in relation to other sects.** The prime distinctive of Pharisaism is not to be found in its zeal for the law, for this was a characteristic of all the religious sects among the Jews of the NT period. It is to be found instead in the peculiar importance attached to the oral law as contrasted to the written law or TORAH.

***A. Oral law.*** The basic issue was the authority of the oral law. The Pharisees accepted along with the Torah, as equally inspired and authoritative, all of the explanatory and supplementary material produced by, and contained within, the oral tradition. This material apparently began to evolve during the Babylonian EXILE through the new circumstances thereby brought upon the Jewish people. The exile was seen as divine punishment for neglect of the law, and accordingly during this period there was an earnest turning to the divine instructions in the PENTATEUCH.

Detailed exposition of the law appeared in the form of innumerable and highly specific injunctions that were designed to "build a hedge" around the written Torah and thus guard against any

possible infringement by ignorance or accident. In addition, the new circumstances of the exile and the postexilic period involved matters not covered in the written Torah; consequently, new legislation had to be produced by analogy to, and inference from, that which already existed. The content of this oral law continued to evolve and to grow in volume through the intertestamental, NT, and post-NT periods, finally to achieve written form in the MISHNAH (A.D. 200). For the Pharisees, the oral law came to be revered so highly that it was said to go back to Moses himself and to have been transmitted over the centuries orally, paralleling the written law that also derived from him. (See M. S. Jaffee, *Torah in the Mouth: Writing and Oral Tradition in Palestinian Judaism, 200 B.C.E.-400 C.E.* [2001].)

Josephus refers several times to the expertise "in the interpretation of the law for which the Pharisees had become known" (*Life* 38). Of the various sects they were regarded as "the most accurate interpreters of the laws" (*War* 2.8.14) and also were known for their austerity of life (*Ant.* 13.1.3). Josephus further specifies that it was exactly this obsession with "regulations handed down by former generations and not recorded in the laws of Moses" (*Ant.* 13.10.6) that constituted the breach between the Pharisees and the Sadducees. With this may be compared the NT reference to the Pharisaic prepossession with the "tradition of the elders" or the "tradition of men" (cf. Matt. 15:1–9; Mk. 7:1–23; cf. Jos. Ant. 13.16.2). The NT abounds with allusions to the scrupulous concern of the Pharisees with the minutiae of their legalism: the tithing of herbs (Matt. 23:23; Lk. 11:42); the wearing of conspicuous phylacteries and tassels (Matt. 23:5); the careful observance of ritual purity (e.g., Mk. 7:1–4); frequent fastings (Matt. 9:14); distinctions in oaths (23:16–22), etc.

The Mishnah offers even more striking illustration of this precise definition of the law. Here is a virtual encyclopedia of Pharisaic legalism that instructs the reader with almost incredible detail concerning every conceivable area of conduct. It is impossible to do justice to this material by attempting to describe it. This legal material of the Mishnah is described as HALAKAH (lit., "walking"), that which prescribes, as contrasted with the other basic type of material in oral tradition (esp. in the GEMARA and MIDRASH) known as HAGGADAH, or that which edifies and instructs.

Under the direction of their scribes, the Pharisees tended to proliferate *halakot.* This concern for every jot and tittle of performance might give the impression that the Pharisees were excessively rigid and intolerant. That they were rigorists there can be no doubt, but it is interesting to note that in their interpretation of the written Torah they often were more liberal than the literalist Saddu-cees. Moreover, even among themselves there was room for disagreement. In the last decades of the 1st cent. B.C. there sprang up two rival schools of interpretation among the Pharisees. The one, led by Shammai, was stringent and unbendingly conservative; the other, led by HILLEL, was liberally inclined and willing to "reconcile" the laws with the actual situations of life. The rivalry between these two schools is permanently recorded in the Mishnah, where frequently the differing views are contrasted. In the Gospels certain questions put to Jesus by the Pharisees seem to have as their background, if not their actual motive, disputes between these two schools of interpretation (e.g., DIVORCE, Matt. 19:3–9).

Jewish scholars often liken Jesus to Hillel and argue that in many respects he could be regarded

Façade of 1st-cent. tombs in Jerusalem whose popular name is Sanhedrin Tombs. Note that the columns are carved into the bedrock.

as a disciple of Hillel. For example, it is said that Hillel anticipated Jesus' summary of the law in his own negative formulation of the Golden Rule: "What you would not have done to thyself do not to another; that is the whole law, the rest is commentary" (*b. Šabb.* 31a). Nonetheless, on at least one point—that regarding grounds for divorce (Matt. 19:9)—Jesus apparently agreed with Shammai against Hillel. In the decades prior to the catastrophe of A.D. 70 it seems that the harsher attitude of the Shammaites tended to prevail among the Pharisees generally. Subsequently, it was the somewhat gentler viewpoint of the Hillelites that won out. Thus came to an end a division within the Pharisees that could itself have been disastrous for the remaining history of Pharisaism.

The oral law of the Pharisees, however, is unquestionably impressive. This is true not only of the scope, the complexity of structure, and the inventiveness (not to say genius) of its exegesis, but also as a monumental expression of concern for righteousness. Although it is known that hypocrisy existed, there is no point in impugning the motives of these men generally. Yet there seem to be some inevitable weaknesses in a system that is devoted to the formulation of microscopic precepts. Really significant issues are too easily lost in the welter of trivial detail. Worse than that, often the very dictum of the law supposedly elucidated by the specifics of the oral tradition tends itself to fall victim to, and to be nullified by, the casuistry of the scribes. These, of course, are among the main criticisms of the scribes and Pharisees voiced by Jesus (see below).

***B. The future life.*** Among other doctrinal characteristics of the Pharisees, those having to do with the future life stand in particularly marked contrast with the views of the Sadducees. In that superb compendium of Pharisaic worship, the *Psalms of Solomon,* the eschatological expectations of a MESSIAH who would restore the fortunes of Israel are prominent. The Pharisees looked for that day when the evil regime of the present (esp. the wickedness of the Sadducees) would be dissolved and the glorious kingdom of righteousness for a righteous Israel would be inaugurated. The righteousness

they themselves followed after with such zeal would, they hoped, serve as catalyst for the coming of the Messiah.

It was not only here, however, that they differed from the Sadducees with respect to ESCHATOLOGY, for the Pharisees also taught that there remained a future for the dead. According to Josephus, the Pharisees believed in the IMMORTALITY of the soul and in reward and retribution after death (*Ant.* 18.1.3; *War* 2.8.14). In the latter passage he speaks of the soul moving into "another body." It seems more likely that Josephus was intending to thus describe the RESURRECTION of the body to his Hellenistic readers than that he was attributing the doctrine of transmigration of the soul to the Pharisees. The doctrine of the resurrection and related concepts were rejected outright by the Sadducees (who held to the old notion of SHEOL; cf. Matt. 22:23), presumably on the contention that such teachings were not to be found in the written Torah, and therefore were foreign imports. The bitter quarrel between the Pharisees and the Sadducees on this question is humorously illustrated in the clever way that Paul was able to pit the one group against the other by referring to the question of the resurrection of the dead in his trial before the Sanhedrin (Acts 23:6–10). The ultimate triumph of the Pharisaic view is very apparent in the strong assertion of the Mishnah that "he that says there is no resurrection of the dead prescribed in the law" (but the last three words are omitted in some MSS) has "no share in the world to come" (*m. Sanh.* 10:1).

***C. Free will and determinism.*** On this difficult question, the Pharisees held to a mediating view that made it impossible for either free will or the sovereignty of God to cancel out the other. As Josephus put it, "Though they postulate that everything is brought about by fate, still they do not deprive the human will of the pursuit of what is in man's power" (*Ant.* 18.1.3; 13.5.9; *War* 2.8.14). By the word *fate,* a term familiar among the STOICS, Josephus intended to communicate to his Hellenistic readers the Jewish idea of PROVIDENCE. In holding to both sides of the antinomy, the Pharisees avoided the extreme views of both the Sadducees and the Essenes. The former argued that free will was ultimately determinative of the course of history (Jos. *War* 2.8.14; *Ant.* 13.5.9), whereas the latter went to the extreme of arguing that all was determined in advance and that therefore human will was of no consequence (*Ant.* 13.5.9; cf. 18.1.5). Again the prevalence of the Pharisaic view in later Judaism is evident from the Mishnah, as can be seen for example in AKIBA'S dictum, "all is foreseen, but freedom of choice is given" (*m. Abot* 2:16).

***D. Angelology.*** The Pharisees accepted a rather developed hierarchy of angels and demons. Although Josephus is silent on the subject, the NT (Acts 23:8) relates that the Sadducees differed from the Pharisees, arguing that "there are neither angels nor spirits" (23:8). It seems unlikely that this piece of NT evidence should be taken in an absolute sense, since there is evidence of angels already in the books of Moses, which the Sadducees accepted as authoritative (see ANGEL). The Sadducees would have protested, however, the proliferation of angels in the intertestamental period, and especially the individualizing and personalizing of such beings, as well as the structuring of them into hierarchies of two opposing kingdoms—ideas in which the Pharisees indulged. Doubtless the Pharisees were accused of adopting their angelology and demonology from Babylonian and Persian sources. In the APOCRYPHA, and especially in the APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE , such angelology flourished. In the later Jewish tradition, the rabbinic concept of angels apparently remained unsettled, and there are signs of a continuing debate on the subject.

***E. Humanity.*** The Pharisees were champions of human equality. Unlike the aristocratic Sadducees,

who with their vested interests were defenders of the status quo, the Pharisees can be characterized in a number of respects as representatives of a democratic movement. The Pharisaic antagonism to the political reign of the aristocrats constitutes a major reason for the popularity of the Pharisees among the masses. Indeed, the social position of the Pharisees as plebeians and the resultant hatred for the patrician Sadducees is taken by L. Finkel-stein (*The Pharisees*, 2 vols. [1962]) to be of crucial importance in the understanding of Pharisaism. For example, Finkelstein points to the Pharisees' hunger for equality with the aristocracy as the principal reason for their favoring the doctrines of eschatology, determinism, and angelology because these contained intrinsic promises to the downtrodden.

To be sure, the Pharisees looked superciliously upon "the people of the land," who took no heed of the Torah, but this was precisely because the Pharisees were concerned to make righteousness of life a "democratic" phenomenon by extending it beyond the priestly class. The Pharisees, indeed, possessed an admirable reverence for humanity, and along with that reverence a high regard for tolerance (cf. Gamaliel's restraint in Acts 5:34–39) and a great love of peace. Hillel's famous saying recorded in the Mishnah was, "Be of the disciples of Aaron, loving peace and pursuing peace, loving mankind and bringing them nigh to the Law" (*m. Abot* 1:12).

The emphasis of the Pharisees' teaching thus fell upon the ethical side rather than the theological side. That is, they were far more concerned with orthopraxy than with orthodoxy. However, beyond their fascination with legal minutiae and the great mass of theology that they held in common with all other 1st-cent. Jews, there were special tenets peculiar to Pharisaism. It was claimed by the Sadducees that these distinctive teachings of the Pharisees (i.e., resurrection and the future life; angelology and demonology) had been borrowed from the Persians and Babylonians, and especially the Zoroastrian religion. It cannot be denied that some of the distinctive teachings of the Pharisees, which are shared also by NT Christianity, were of great importance in Babylon and Persia, and that the contact of the exiled Jews with these cultures stimulated Jewish thinking on these subjects. It is difficult to believe, however, that the Jews who otherwise insulated themselves so effectively from pagan contamination during the exile would have adopted ideas that were alien to their written law. It is much more likely that certain ideas that were to a degree implicit but undeveloped in the written revelation received a new impetus and a subsequent development consonant with, and not contradictory to, that revelation. The Pharisaic justification for these views thus appears to have been a valid one.

A final point that should be noted is the tension within Pharisaism, which was both a conservative and a progressive movement—a movement championing tradition but capitalizing on adaptation. Surely here is something of the genius of the Pharisaic movement. It was able to move ahead with changing times and circumstances, making itself relevant to the vast majority of the population, yet remaining true to its basic commitments.

**V. Jesus and the Pharisees.** If the Pharisees of Jesus' day adhered at all to what has been sketched above as the essentials of Pharisaism, how are we to account for the scathing denunciations they received from the lips of Jesus? Taken at face value, Matt. 23:13–39 presents anything but an attractive picture of the Pharisees. Jesus accused them of hypocrisy and pretentiousness, and pronounced upon them a succession of woes (seven in all) culminating in the terrible, climactic exclamation: "You snakes! You brood of vipers! How will you escape being condemned to hell?" (23:33). It is a tragedy that from this chapter in Matthew the word *Pharisee* has come to mean popularly a self-righteous, hypocritical prig.

Unfortunately, not even Christian scholarship was able over the centuries to rid itself of an unfair bias against the Pharisees. Some of this failure was, no doubt, due to an all too common anti-Semitism, but much was the result of neglecting the rabbinic literature (the Mishnah, the Tosefta, etc.) as valid historical sources. That literature—if it was considered at all—was regarded as contradicting the picture of Pharisaism in the primary sources, Josephus and the NT. If the rabbinic sources contradicted the NT, it was argued, so much the worse for the rabbinic sources. It was seldom considered, however, that the contradiction might be only an apparent and not a real one. Even if the fullest weight is given to the NT, it will do no good to shut the eyes to the positive qualities of Pharisaism as revealed in the rabbinic literature. As Jewish scholars rightly insist, and as Christian scholars have increasingly admitted, that picture of Pharisaism cannot be completely a fabrication. (Since the first edition of this encyclopedia, biblical scholarship has become more positive toward the Pharisees, largely through the influence of E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* [1977].) Although from a historical perspective the superiority of the NT documents to the Mishnah and later rabbinic compilations as sources for our knowledge of the 1st cent. cannot be doubted, yet it must be recognized that a fair amount of the latter material does provide accurate information concerning Judaism in this period.

In the Gospels, it is clear that Jesus was not attacking a straw man; his criticisms of the Pharisees may be regarded as appropriate and justified. These criticisms center on the areas of teaching and practice. In the first instance—and here it is primarily the Pharisaic *scribes* that are in view—the content of the oral law was called into question. With devastating irony Jesus exclaimed, "You have a fine way of setting aside the commands of God in order to observe your traditions!" (Mk. 7:9; cf. Matt. 15:3). The "traditions of men" had taken the place of, indeed had nullified, the commandments of the word of God (Mk. 7:8,13).

Jesus did not question the rightful authority of these scribes, nor would he have questioned everything that they taught. They "sit in Moses' seat" and accordingly the people should "practice and observe whatever they tell you" (Matt. 23:2–3 RSV). Although there certainly are "weightier matters of the law," not even the Pharisaic custom of tithing mint, dill, and cummin should be neglected (23:23). At the same time much of the legal detail of the oral tradition constituted too difficult and unnecessary a burden, which the Pharisees made no move to alleviate (23:4; cf. Acts 15:10). Their apparent inability to maintain a consistency between their tradition and the written law made them, as Jesus put it, blind leaders of the blind (Matt. 15:14; cf. 23:16, 17, 19, 24, 26). Their culpability lay in the fact that they did not enter the kingdom of God, nor (what is even worse) would they by their teaching "let those enter who are trying to" (23:13).

Even more pernicious than the teaching of the Pharisees, however, was the gap between their profession and their practice. Their excessive concern with externals led almost naturally to a neglect not only of the weightier parts of the law, but also of the inner person and matters of the heart. The resultant hypocrisy Jesus described in the words of Isaiah: they are a people who honor the Lord with their lips while their hearts are far from him (Isa. 29:13, cited in Mk. 7:6–7). In fact, the Pharisees were intent upon cleansing the outside of the cup and plate while the inside remained dirty (Matt. 23:25–26); they were like whitewashed tombs, disguising an inner corruption (23:27–28). Some of this may well have been the inevitable product of the Pharisaic legalism. What was not inevitable, however, was the pride of which the Pharisees were simultaneously guilty. Their motive in holding to their observances was a wrong one: "Everything they do is done for men to see," said Jesus (23:5). They loved the special honor that was paid to them as men who were reputedly serious about their godliness (23:6–12), but their pride was totally without foundation—for the truth was, as Jesus

summarized it, "they do not practice what they preach" (23:3).

Surprising though it may appear to some, it can be demonstrated from the Talmud that hypocrisy was not unknown among the Pharisees. A famous passage denounces six types of hypocritical Pharisees (*b. Sotah* 22b), which exhibit many of the same faults pointed out by Jesus. Pretense and hypocrisy are condemned uncompromisingly in the Talmudic literature (e.g., *y. Berakot* f. ix, 7; 13), and from this it may be concluded that in all probability these vices constituted special problems for Pharisees. The point to be noticed here is that the literature of the Pharisaic tradition in no way sanctions hypocrisy. Indeed, it is at one with Jesus in its castiga-tion of hypocritical behavior. Without denying that hypocrisy existed among the Pharisees, it can be seen that simply to equate the two is to make an unfortunate error.

It is also to be noted that the condemnation of the Pharisees in the Gospels is not a universal one. That is to say, it must not be concluded that all the Pharisees were like those described in Matt. 23. The Gospels contain references to Pharisees who were admirable men. NICODEMUS is an excellent example of what a Pharisee ought to have been. He was genuinely a seeker of truth (Jn. 3:1–4), spoke out for justice on behalf of Jesus (7:50), and remained a follower of the Lord even after the disciples had fallen away (19:39). JOSEPH of Ari-mathea, a member of the Sanhedrin who looked for the kingdom of God (Mk. 15:43), and who was almost certainly a Pharisee, did not consent to the decision to do away with Jesus (Lk. 23:51). He was a disciple of Jesus "secretly because he feared the Jews" (Jn. 19:38) and made final provisions for the body of Jesus.

There may well have been many such Pharisees who believed in Jesus, albeit secretly. Even those who were not necessarily believers could display admirable traits: Gamaliel argued for tolerance (Acts 5:34–39); others warned Jesus of an attempt on his life (Lk. 13:31); still others showed hospitality to Jesus (7:36; 11:37; 14:1). Initially the great mass of Pharisees would only have regarded the ministry of Jesus with interest. Soon, however, as the Pharisees became aware of the uniqueness claimed by Jesus, the opposition began to harden, and their hostility toward him grew. Consequently in the Gospels, as a body they appear in an ever poorer light, until finally they enact their part in the arrest of Jesus (Jn. 18:3).

To sum up, a fair examination of both the gospel records and the Talmudic literature leads one to conclude that there is no necessity of seeing an absolute contradiction between the two views of Pharisaism. In the main, the gospel account of the Pharisees is a negative one. Two things, however, are to be noted: (1) not all of the Pharisees were bad; and (2) Pharisaism, as ideally conceived, ought to have been a good thing. The latter is precisely the reason for Jesus' attack on the Pharisees. Nowhere does Jesus appear more like an OT prophet than in Matt. 23. He called the Pharisees back to the "weightier matters of the law" (23:23). He called them to close the gap between their profession and their performance. It is because they were so close (and yet so far) from being what they *ought* to have been, and yet at the same time made a great fuss over their supposed accomplishments (cf. Lk. 18:11), that Jesus took them to task in such ominous tones.

It goes without saying that this criticism was exceedingly painful to the Pharisees. Nonetheless it is not here that their quarrel with Jesus lay, for they too were at least theoretically against hypocrisy (if only they could see it). Their real quarrel was much deeper: they would have nothing to do with the personal claims of Jesus and the centrality of these claims to his message. Jesus, in fact, put his own person in that central place previously held by the Torah as God's revelation to his people.

The quarrel that Jesus had with the Pharisees was also a deeper one, which necessarily remained implicit, and not explicit, at this stage in his redemptive work. The point is this: even if they had accomplished what they theoretically set out to do in successfully living according to a reformed

oral tradition, they had no claim upon God. "So you also, when you have done everything you were told to do, should say, 'We are unworthy servants; we have only done our duty'" (Lk. 17:10). Merit before God on the basis of righteous works is a nonentity, and thus the whole Pharisaic outlook was vitiated by this basic deception. It was left to Paul to make this explicit in no uncertain terms. (Recent scholarship has tended to minimize, or even deny, the role of merit in early Judaism, but see the essay by D. A. Hagner in P. Stuhlmacher, *Revisiting Paul's Doctrine of Justification: A Challenge to the New Perspective* [2001].)

**VI. Significance of Pharisaism.** A general preoccupation with the vices of the Pharisees has unfortunately often obscured not only the good aspects of Pharisaism but also its true character and significance. Pharisaism was admirable in its attempt, however futile, to bring every area of life into subjection to the law. Perhaps more important than the dismal failure of its legalism in this regard was the wellspring of piety that motivated the whole phenomenon known as Pharisaism. It was the longing for a righteous Israel and the hope of the coming messianic kingdom that motivated these men. The piety and expectant tone of the Pharisaic *Psalms of Solomon* is virtually indistinguishable from that, so highly honored by Christians, which appears in the poetic utterances of Lk. 1 and 2. God was about to do a great work for his people, and in preparation it was necessary for the people to turn to the law anew.

The scribes and Pharisees accordingly made the law an influence in the lives of the masses that it had never before been. Despite excesses and failures, to the extent that it remained biblical it accomplished much. Pharisaism was at heart, though tragically miscarried, a movement for RIGHTEOUSNESS. It was this concern for righteousness that drove the Pharisees to their legalism with such a passion. Convinced they had attained the righteousness they sought, the Pharisees became prey to their own self-satisfaction, and unknowingly they rejected their only hope of righteousness. Nevertheless this basic drive for righteousness accounts for what may be regarded as attractive and biblical both about Pharisaic and rabbinic Judaism. This later Judaism stands in continuity with Pharisaism and, as might be expected, displays some of the same vices and virtues. Not without reason did G. F. Moore write that "Judaism is the monument of the Pharisees" (*Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim,* 3 vols. [1927–30], 2:193). Exactly for this reason, however, the quarrel between Jesus and the Pharisees finds its modern counterpart in that between Judaism and the gospel.

(In addition to the works mentioned in the body of this article, see I. Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels,* 2 vols. [1917–24]; A.T. Robertson, *The Pharisees and Jesus* [1920]; R. T. Herford, *The Pharisees* [1924]; W. O. E. Oesterley et al., eds., *Judaism and Christianity,* 3 vols. [1937–38]; W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Jews and Judaism During the Greek Period* [1941]; W. D. Davies, *Introduction to Pharisaism* [1954]; A. Finkel, *The Pharisees and the Teacher of Nazareth* [1964]; J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* [1969]; J. Neusner, *The Rabbinic Traditions about the Pharisees Before 70,* 3 vols. [1971]; J. Bowker, *Jesus and the Pharisees* [1973]; E. Rivkin, *The Hidden Revolution: The Pharisees' Search for the Kingdom Within* [1978]; *HJP,* rev. ed. [1973–87], 2:388–403; J. Neusner, *ed., The Pharisees and Other Sects,* 2 vols. [1990]; S. Mason, *Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees: A Composition-Critical Study* [1991]; G. Stemberger, Jewish *Contemporaries of Jesus: Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes* [1995]; R. Deines, *Die Pharisäer: Ihr Verständnis im Spiegel der christlichen und jüdischen Forschung seit Wellhausen und Graetz,* [1997]; J. Schaper in *The Cambridge History of Judaism,* vol. 3, ed. W. Horbury et al. [1997], 69–110; A.J. Saldarini, *Pharisees, Scribes and Sadducees in Palestinian Society: A Sociological*

*Approach,* new ed. [2001]; H. Maccoby, *Jesus the Pharisee* [2003]; J. Neusner and B. D. Chilton, eds., *In Quest of the Historical Pharisees* [2007].)

D. A. HAGNER

**Pharosh** fay'rosh. KJV alternate form of PAROSH (only Ezra 8:3).

**Pharpar** fahr'pahr (פַּרְפַּר *H7286*). One of two rivers in DAMASCUS that NAAMAN considered superior to the JORDAN (2 Ki. 5:12). Perhaps two tributaries of the Nahr el-Barada, which flows through Damascus, are meant. It is more likely, however, that this statement refers to the two major rivers of the whole Damascus plain, el-Barada itself and Nahr el-Awaj, "The Crooked"; the former would then be identified with the ABANA, and the latter with the Pharpar (this ancient name is apparently preserved in the river's offshoot, Wadi Barbara). El-Awaj originates in the eastern foothills of Mount HERMON and flows E, passing some 10 mi. S of Damascus. During its early course it is known by the name Sabirany, but from Kisweh to its dispersal into several streams that drain into the Bahrit el-Hijaneh (Lake Hijaneh), it is known as el-Awaj. Its water flow varies greatly according to the season, being greatest in the spring, when the snows are melting off the mountains, and diminishing considerably during the summer. Much of the productivity of the southern Damascus plain is due to its waters; and its cool, fresh waters, particularly in the early spring, could provide a favorable contrast to the frequently sluggish waters of the lower Jordan.

A. BOWLING

**Pharzite** fahr'zit. See PEREZ.

**Phasael, Phasaelus** fah'see-uhl, fuh-see'luhs (*Φασάηλος*). Son of Antipater and elder brother of HEROD the Great (Jos. *Ant.* 14.7.3 §121 et al.). Phasael was named governor of Jerusalem by his father (14.9.1 §158). After the victory of Marc Antony and Cassius at Philippi (42 B.C.), Antony made Phasael and Herod joint tetrarchs (14.13.1 §326), who extracted money from the Jews for their needy patron. Their rival, Antigonus, bribed Parthian forces, took Jerusalem, and captured Phasael; the latter, despairing of his fortunes, committed suicide (14.13.10 §§365–69). Certain structures were named in this man's honor, such as a well-known tower in Jerusalem, later known as the "tower of David."

R. F. GRIBBLE

**Phaseah** fuh-see'uh. KJV alternate form of PASEAH (only Neh. 7:51).

**Phaselis** fuh-see'lis (Φασῆλις). A Greek colony in LYCIA founded by RHODES in the first great movement of Greek colonization in the 7th cent. B.C. Phaselis was a member of the Delian League, the confederacy dominated by ATHENS, from 454 to 417 B.C. It was ruled by the Ptolemies of Egypt from 309 to 197 B.C. (see PTOLEMY). From this year on it was under the domination of SELEUCID Syria, which controlled its hinterland. Phaselis is included in the list of towns circularized by the Romans in favor of the Jews in 139 B.C., when the republic, in its quest for a stable frontier, was beginning to realize that their power could not avoid involvement in the eastern Mediterranean (1 Macc. 15:16–24, esp. v. 23). Situated on the Lycian coast, Phaselis was an important staging post on the E-W trade route, and at the time when the Cilician pirate fleets were dominating the eastern end of

the Mediterranean, the town provided a base for Zenicetes, the pirates' leader; hence its capture and punishment by loss of territory at the hands of the Roman Servilius Isauricus in 77 B.C.

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

**Phasiron** fas'uh-ron (Φασιρων). The "people of Phasiron" were a nomadic tribe overcome by Jonathan MACCABEE in the wilderness near BETHBASI (1 Macc. 9:66). Phasiron was likely the name of an Arabian (NABATEAN) chief, but it could be a place name. See also ODOMERA.

**Phebe** fee'bee. KJV form of PHOEBE.

**Phenice, Phenicia** fi-ni'see, fi-ni'shee-uh. KJV forms of PHOENICIA; see also PHOENIX.

**Phichol** fi'kol. KJV form of PHICOL.

**Phicol** fi'kol (פִּיכֹל *H7087,* meaning unknown). The captain of Abimelech's army in the conflicts with ABRAHAM and ISAAC (Gen. 21:22, 32; 26:26). Phicol may be a title or a family name. See discussion under ABIMELECH ##1 and 2.

**Philadelphia** fil'uh-del'fee-uh (Φιλαδέλ□εια*G5788,* "brotherly love"). A city of LYDIA in ASIA MINOR, the recipient of one of the letters in the book of Revelation (Rev. 1:11; 3:7; this city is not to be confused with another one of the same name in TRANSJORDAN, for which see RABBAH (AMMON) II). Philadelphia was founded by ATTALUS II Phil-adelphus (159–138 B.C.), the king of PERGAMUM. The ruler was called Philadelphus because of his devotion to his brother EUMENES. Some say the city was founded by Eumenes in honor of his brother. It lay in the valley of the Cogamus, near the pass that carries the main trade route from the Mae-ander to the Hermus valley, a wide vale beneath Mount Tmolus. It was an outpost of Greek culture in Anatolia, and came violently into Roman history with the shocking earthquake that devastated the SW end of Asia Minor in A.D. 17.

The historian Tacitus (*Annals* 2.47) listed Philadelphia third among the cities of the province that were the recipients of earthquake relief from the Roman senate. Philadelphia appears to have been on the main fault line, on the edge of a scarred volcanic area called the "Burntland" (*Katakekaumene*) from the masses of calcined scoria and lava that covered it and indicated recent activity. The chronic instability, which began with the major seismic disturbance of A.D. 17, continued for years. Strabo the

There are few archaeological remains of the ancient Lydian city of Philadelphia, but this fertile plateau on which it was located reveals its history as a prosperous agricultural area.

geographer, writing in A.D. 20, noted the troubled nature of the place, and the continuous visitation of earth tremors. To escape to the open country from the menace of falling walls must have been a common and horrifying experience for the people of Philadelphia (cf. the imagery of Rev. 3:12).

In gratitude for the relief given after A.D. 17, Philadelphia sought to change its name to Neo-caesarea (a short-lived innovation that may have provided the apocalyptic letter with an additional allusion, Rev. 3:12). The city on its low hill was strategically valuable. It lay on a frontier of culture, the gateway to central Asia Minor with its non-Greek, non-Roman patterns of life (cf. the "open door" of Rev. 3:7–8). Other allusions in the cryptic letter are explained by the presence in Philadelphia of an active synagogue of Jews, which IGNATIUS also mentioned in a letter to the church. Bitterly nationalistic, the Jews of Philadelphia fought the Christian secessionists with every refinement of persecution. The author insisted in his apocalyptic letter that the true Jew was rather one who interpreted aright his international privilege and responsibility.

Philadelphia had a long and valiant history. In the 14th cent., when the Eastern Roman empire had been driven out of Asia Minor by the advancing Moslems, save for a small bridgehead opposite Constantinople, Philadelphia still resisted, an island of Christian civilization in the Turkish sea. E. Gibbon (*The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* ch. 64) paid it eloquent tribute by his reference to the standing pillar (Rev. 3:12).

(See further W. M. Ramsay, *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia* [1904], 391–412; E. M. Blaiklock, *The Cities of the New Testament* [1965], ch. 22; E. Yamauchi, *The Archaeology of New Testament Cities in Western Asia Minor* [1980], ch. 6; C. J. Hemer, *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia in Their Local Setting* [1986], ch. 8).

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

**Philarches** fil-ahr'kees. A wicked man who was killed by Judas MACCABEE and his followers (2 Macc. 8:32 KJV). Although this interpretation of the text is possible (and such a name did exist), it is more likely that the term *phylarchēs* should be understood as a common noun, "chief of a tribe," that is, "commander" (the word *phylē* indicating a military division made up of soldiers furnished by a

tribe).

**Philemon, Epistle to** fi-lee'muhn (Φιλήμων *G5800,* "affectionate"). A letter written by the apostle PAUL to an early Christian, and secondarily to APPHIA and ARCHIPPUS (prob. members of the household), and to the church that met in Philemon's house.

**I. Occasion and purpose.** Philemon is the shortest letter of the Pauline corpus, consisting of 335 words in the original. It is the only example within the Pauline library of correspondence that may be termed a personal note, although several scholars have drawn attention to the way the letter opens—the link between TIMOTHY and Paul and the association of Philemon with the whole church that assembled in his house—to show that the document is an epistle Paul wrote in full awareness of his apostolic authority. In this connection, many have thought that Paul in the letter designates himself as an "ambassador [of Christ]" rather than as an "old man" (Phlm. 9), arguing either *that presbytēs G4566* should be emended to *presbeutēs* or that the former term "may have been written indifferently for" the latter (J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon* [1879], 338).

The occasion of this letter may be inferred from its contents, although some details are obscure. A slave named ONESIMUS had wronged his owner Philemon, a Christian living with the other persons named in the salutation to COLOSSE (Col. 4:9, 17). The nature of the slave's offense is not certain. It usually is assumed that he had stolen money and then absconded (Phlm. 18). Since current Roman law required that whoever gave hospitality to a runaway slave was liable to the slave's master for the value of each day's work lost, it may be that Paul's promise to stand guarantor (v. 19) is no more than the assurance to Philemon that he will make up the amount incurred by Onesimus's absence from work.

Or it may be that the slave had come on an errand to Paul and had overstayed his time. Nonetheless, the primary purpose of the letter is to act as a covering note to insure that Philemon will receive back his delinquent slave, although some scholars (e.g., J. Knox and T. Preiss) regard the injunction of Paul to Philemon as a request for Onesimus to be allowed permanently to remain as his aide or else to be set free (Phlm. 16). Preiss argues that Paul's language is insistent that the slave should be welcomed into Philemon's family, but this conclusion is somewhat strained. Verse 21, however, contains an undertone of hope that Philemon will agree to the manumission of the slave, a revolutionary thought in the contemporary treatment of runaway slaves whom masters could brutally punish. Indeed, severe penalties were exacted of those who harbored deserting slaves (see POxy 1422 for the redress before the law that slave owners could claim against any who sheltered slaves). For good reason Paul's bold request for Onesimus is carefully prepared—he approaches the matter with gentle language (vv. 8–9, with its tones of "begging"), which leads to an appeal to Philemon's willing cooperation and consent (v. 14) and the promise to accept any liability that the latter may have incurred (v. 19). (More recently, some scholars have argued that Onesimus was not a runaway slave, but that he had done something wrong and had appealed to Paul, as a third party, to smooth things over. See summary of discussion in ABD, 5:305–10.)

The letter is not merely a simple request for a slave's life on humane grounds. Running through Paul's appeal is the current of Christian compassion (Phlm. 12) and the powerful reminder that Philemon is already in debt to Paul himself (v. 19b) as owing his very salvation to Paul's preaching of the gospel. The characteristic note is therefore: "on the basis of love" (v. 9); "refresh my heart in Christ" (by acceding to this request, v. 20); and "welcome" this truant slave "as you would welcome

me" (v. 17). The request ends with a challenge (v. 21) that Philemon will go beyond the limit of Paul's desire, an appeal reinforced by the prospect of the apostle's visit (v. 22)—a hope that would spur Philemon to a ready acceptance of what was asked of him. There is every reason to believe that he did respond; otherwise the letter would not have been preserved.

**II. Origin and date.** Paul writes as a prisoner (Phlm. 9–10), and a careful comparison of names with Col. 4:7–17 reveals that this letter was sent from the same place as the COLOSSIANS letter. Onesimus is to accompany TYCHICUS, who was entrusted with the Colossian letter (Col. 4:9). Moreover, Paul's situation as a prisoner may well have drawn Onesimus into his company, as some scholars believe Onesimus had been caught and placed in the same cell with the Christian missionary, and was thus won for Christ. This however can only be speculative. See also EPHESIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.

The precise locale of Paul's imprisonment is debated. For if (as has just been mentioned) Paul and Onesimus were in prison together, Paul's circumstances must have worsened considerably from the "free custody" in a hired room that he had at Rome (Acts 28:30–31). On other grounds, it has been proposed (chiefly by G. S. Duncan, *St. Paul's Ephesian Ministry* [1929], 72ff.) that Paul was a prisoner at EPHESUS when he wrote this note to Philemon. He builds his theory on the request Paul made for lodging (Phlm. 22), and argues that this promised visit to the Lycus valley is congruous with Paul's plans at the time of his Ephesian ministry (Acts 19–20), but hardly likely when he was at Rome. Then his plans were to proceed to Spain.

C. H. Dodd, who argues for a Roman origin of Philemon (in *BJRL* 18 [1934]: 69–110, esp. 72–79), concedes that this is a "real point in favour of the Ephesian hypothesis" (p. 80), but postulates a change of plan. His chief support is the assumption that Onesimus was more likely to flee to the anonymity of the imperial city where he was brought into touch with the apostle. And F. F. Bruce adds a further pointer in the direction of a Roman provenance of this epistle by drawing attention to the inclusion of Luke and Mark in Paul's list (Phlm. 24). "Luke was with Paul at Rome; we have no evidence that Luke was with him at Ephesus. Mark is traditionally associated with Rome, not with Ephesus" (*BJRL* 48 [1965]: 87–88). The case for a Roman origin of the letter is reinforced if the Colossian letter can be placed in this period of Paul's life. The case for this dating of Colossians is chiefly on the ground that the more developed theology of that epistle seems to require a place at the end of Paul's life (cf. the affinity of Colossians with Ephesians). The captivity epistles, with the possible exception of PHILIPPIANS, may be placed in the Roman period, and Philemon can be dated c. A.D. 58–60 (but see the article on COLOSSIANS for alternate views).

**III. Values.** As a historical document, the letter throws unusual light on the Christian conscience in regard to the institution of SLAVERY in the ancient world, and so complements the so-called HOUSEHOLD CODES of the other NT epistles (1 Cor. 7:21–23; Eph. 6:5–9; Col. 3:22—4:1; 1 Tim. 6:1–2; 1 Pet. 2:18–21). The novel feature of this epistle is brought out by F. F. Bruce (*BJRL* 48 [1965]: 90): "What this epistle does is to bring us into an atmosphere in which the institution could only wilt and die"; thus Paul's statement (Phlm. 16) is the Magna Carta of true emancipation and human dignity. The query is sometimes raised that the NT never condemns slavery explicitly and is thus defective at a crucial point. The answer to this criticism was given by W. Bousset (in *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments,* 4 vols., 3rd ed. [1917–20], 2:101): "Christianity would have sunk beyond hope of recovery along with such revolutionary attempts; it might have brought on a new slave rising and been crushed along with it. The time was not ripe for this solution of such difficult questions." (See also Théo Preiss's sensitive comments in *Life in Christ* [1954], 40–42.)

Another value of this small epistle might be derived from a reconstruction of Paul's correspondence adopted by E. J. Goodspeed and popularized by J. Knox (esp. in the latter's *Philemon Among the Letters of Paul,* 2nd ed. [1959]). Knox offers two identifications which, if accepted, would modify the understanding of this letter and enlarge the picture of apostolic Christianity. They are (1) that the real slave owner was Archippus, not Philemon, to whom Paul appealed and whose services he sought to enlist in an attempt to persuade the former to have compassion on Onesimus; and (2) that Onesimus did return and became in due course the bishop of Ephesus in the 2nd cent., an identification attested (says Knox) by IGNATIUS, whose letter to the Ephesians reveals that he had read Paul's letter to Philemon, specifically that Ignatius adopted the same play on words that Paul used (Phlm. 20). Ignatius writes: "May I always have profit from you [*onaimēn hymōn*], if I am worthy" (Ign. *Eph.* 2.2). With this identification assumed, Knox proceeds to maintain that the same Onesimus, now a church leader, collected and published the Pauline letters, including the one to Philemon in which he had a personal stake.

Critical opinion on these two hypotheses has not been altogether favorable. C. F. D. Moule (*The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and to Philemon* [1957], 16–17) rightly objects that Philemon's name standing at the head of the persons addressed (Phlm. 1) seems "fatal to the theory that Archippus is primarily the one addressed." And E. F. Harrison (*Introduction to the New Testament,* rev. ed. [1971], 330) has raised a formidable set of objections to Knox's entire reconstruction, whereas F. F. Bruce (*BJRL* 48 [1965]: 90ff.) is sympathetic to Knox's second point but unpersuaded by his attempt to give Archippus a distinguished role.

The epistle to Philemon is of value also because of the window it opens on Paul's character. He is the true man who is also an apostle, as CHRYSOSTOM aptly comments, full of sympathy and concern for a person in distress and willing to do all in his power to help, even at cost (Phlm. 19). Moreover, Paul so identifies himself with the slave and his master that he can fulfill the office of mediator and represent meaningfully both parties. The knowledge of Paul would be so much poorer if this slender document had not been preserved.

**IV. Authenticity.** No serious objection stands in the way of receiving this letter as genuine; even A. Q. Morton (*Paul: The Man and the Myth* [1966]) raises no discordant voice. The Tübingen school of F. C. Baur did oppose this letter, followed by the Dutch radical W. C. van Manen (in *EncBib,* 3:3696).

(Significant commentaries include J. B. Light-foot, *Saint Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon* [1879]; M. R. Vincent, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles to the Philip-pians and to Philemon,* ICC [1897]; J.J. Müller, *The Epistles of Paul to the Philippians and to Philemon,* NICNT [1955]; E. Lohmeyer, *Die Briefe an die Philipper, an die Kolosser und an Philemon,* KEK 9, 13th ed. [1964]; E. Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon,* Hermeneia [1971]; P. Stuhlmacher, *Der Brief an Philemon* [1975]; 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]; M.J. Harris, *Colossians and Philemon* [1991]; R. R. Melick, *Philippians, Colossians, Philemon,* NAC 32 [1991]; J. D. G. Dunn, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon: A Commentary on the Greek Text,* NIGTC [1996]; M. Barth and H.Blanke, *The Letter to Philemon: A New Translation with Notes and Commentary* [2000]; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Letter to Philemon,* AB 34C [2000]; P. Arzt-Grabner, *Philemon,* Papyrologische Komm. zum NT 1 [2003]; J. G. Nordling, *Philemon* [2004]; M. M.Thompson, *Colossians and Philemon* [2005]; B. B. Thurston and J. M. Ryan, *Philippians and Philemon,* SP 10 [2005]; K. Wengst, *Der Brief an Philemon* [2005]; R. McL.

Wilson, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Colossians and Philemon,* ICC [2005]. See also N. Peterson, *Rediscovering Paul: Philemon and the Sociology of Paul's Narrative World* [1985]; and the bibliography compiled by W.E. Mills, *Philemon* [2002].)

R. P. MARTIN

**Philetus** fi-lee'tuhs (Φίλητος *G5801,* "beloved" or "worthy of love"). A man named with HYMENAEUS as a teacher of false doctrine, doubtless akin to GNOSTICISM, which undermined the Christian faith (2 Tim. 2:17–18). PAUL warned TIMOTHY to avoid such teaching, which spreads destructively "like gangrene." Their basic doctrinal error was the claim that "the resurrection has already taken place." They denied a bodily RESURRECTION and allegorized the doctrine, turning all such teaching into figure and metaphor. They evidently held that the resurrection took place in the lives of believers when they arose from ignorance and sin to a knowledge of God.

D. E. HIEBERT

**Philip** fil'ip (Φίλιπ□ος *G5805,* "fond of horses"). (1) The name of several kings of MACEDONIA, including Philip II, father of ALEXANDER THE GREAT (1 Macc. 1:1; 6:2). Philip V is mentioned (along with his son PERSEUS, the last Macedonian king) as an example of those who rose against the Romans and were "crushed in battle" (8:5).

(2) A man from PHRYGIA that was appointed governor of Jerusalem by ANTIOCHUS IV Epiphanes. He is described as "more barbarous than the man who appointed him" (2 Macc. 5:22). He ordered the execution by burning of Jews who had hidden in caves to keep the Sabbath (6:11). At a later point he is said to have written to Ptolemy, governor of COELESYRIA and PHOENICIA, asking for help in the fight against Judas MACCABEE (8:8).

(3) One of the "friends" of Antiochus IV. The king, shortly before his death, made Philip "ruler over all his kingdom…so that he might guide his son Antiochus and bring him up to be king" (1 Macc. 6:14–15; for a slightly different rendering based on the Lucianic recension and Josephus, see J. A. Goldstein, *I Maccabees,* AB 41 [1976], 311). Soon after, as Philip tried to take control of the government, he was opposed by LYSIAS and the young king (vv. 55–63); according to Goldstein, however (I *Maccabees,* 84, 324), the author of 1 Maccabees has confused two different men named Philip, and this error was corrected by the author of 2 Maccabees (2 Macc. 9:29; 13:23).

(4) Son of Herod the Great and his fifth wife (Cleopatra of Jerusalem), identified by Luke as TETRARCH of ITUREA and TRACONITIS (Lk. 3:1). Two of the Gospels (Matt. 14:3; Mk. 6:17) refer to a brother of Herod Antipas who bore the name Philip. Presumably, the latter is a different individual, namely, a son of Herod the Great (by his wife MARIAMME) who is however called Herod rather than Philip by JOSEPHUS (*Ant.* 18.5.1 §109); some scholars refer to this man as Herod Philip, while others argue that the Gospels are incorrect in calling him Philip. See discussion under HEROD V.B.2 and VI.

(5) One of the original twelve apostles. In the lists of disciples his name invariably occurs fifth (Matt. 10:3; Mk. 3:18; Lk. 6:14; Acts 1:13). Philip was from BETHSAIDA (Jn. 12:21), a village on the N shore of the Sea of Galilee, home of ANDREW and PETER (Jn. 1:44). Tradition states that Philip was from the tribe of ZEBULUN. He was probably first a disciple of JOHN THE BAPTIST (1:43). According to one tradition received from CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (*Strom.* 3.4.25; 4.9.73), Philip was the one who asked permission to bury his father before following Jesus (Matt. 8:21; Lk. 9:59).

In the synoptics, Philip is merely mentioned, but in the fourth gospel he (1) is one of the first to be called (Jn. 1:43); (2) is instrumental in bringing NATHANAEL to Jesus (1:45–49); and (3) is mentioned personally in connection with the feeding of the 5,000 (6:5–7), as also in one of Jesus'

major discourses (14:8). Philip is portrayed as a naive, rather shy, but sober-minded person. Philip was apparently timid and retiring; yet he informed Nathanael that he had discovered the MESSIAH foretold in the OT (1:45). Prior to the miracle of the loaves and fishes, Jesus tested Philip by asking, "Where shall we buy bread for these people to eat?" (6:5). Possibly


A coin from the reign of Philip, son of Herod the Great and tetrarch of Iturea and Traconitis.

it was Philip's responsibility to provide food (J. A. Bengel); or perhaps his faith was weak (Chrysostom). Philip's Greek name (perhaps in honor of Philip the Tetrarch; see #4 above) might explain why the Greeks who came to the Passover sought him out on Palm Sunday as mediator between them and Christ (12:20–23).

Some suggest that Philip was reluctant to believe wholeheartedly in the kingdom because he failed to understand it. The evidence for this view is twofold: (1) Philip was anxious about 200 denarii to buy bread even though he was in the presence of the Bread of Life; (2) he sought for additional revelation ("Lord, show us the Father," Jn. 14:8) when the substance of the INCARNATION already had been given him. Yet amid defective knowledge and imperfect spiritual insight he acquired a true missionary spirit and was instrumental in leading others to Christ. He is mentioned as being among those in the UPPER ROOM who were awaiting the coming of the Holy Spirit at PENTECOST (Acts 1:13).

Concerning his life and work after Pentecost, EUSEBIUS declares that he lived as one of the great lights of Asia and was buried at HIERAPOLIS along with his two virgin daughters. Traditions are divergent concerning his labors prior to his settlement at Hierapolis. Apparently he spent the latter part of his life in PHRYGIA. Conflicting also are the traditions regarding the manner of his death. His relics are said to be in the Church of the Apostles at Rome. In the Roman Church his feast is celebrated May 1; in the Greek Church November 14. His symbol is a cross with a loaf of bread on either side (Jn. 6:7). See also PHILIP, GOSPEL OF; PISTIS SOPHIA.

(6) Philip the EVANGELIST and DEACON is not mentioned in the Gospels. His name first appears in the list of seven deacons chosen by the Jerusalem church (Acts 6:5). These men were ordained by the apostles and described as "known to be full of the Spirit and wisdom" (6:3). Their duty was to care for the neglected widows (and the poor in general) in the mother church. Philip was a Greek-speaking Jew and was apparently well known. The persecution instigated by Saul of Tarsus probably stopped the "daily distribution" with which the deacons were charged. This early inquisition resulted in the

martyrdom of STEPHEN (Philip's colleague) and the scattering of Christians abroad from Jerusalem (8:1).

Philip fled to SAMARIA (modern Sebaste), where he became an evangelist or missionary. His preaching, accompanied by miracles of healing and the casting out of demons, turned the allegiance of the entire city from SIMON MAGUS to Christ (Acts 8:5–13). After this unusual revival, the church at Jerusalem sent PETER and John (see JOHN THE APOSTLE) to Samaria that the new Christians might receive the gift of the HOLY SPIRIT (8:15). Philip's converts included not only Simon Magus (8:9–13) but also the ETHIOPIAN EUNUCH, treasurer to Queen CANDACE (8:26–40). Thus Philip was instrumental in introducing Christianity into NE Africa. This conversion story implies trustful obedience to divine guidance plus rare insight into the process of personal evangelism; Luke probably heard the account from the lips of the great evangelist himself (cf. the pronoun "we" in 21:8).

Most of Philip's preaching was to the Gentiles along the Mediterranean seaboard. In this sense he was a forerunner of PAUL. Philip preached in every port city from ASHDOD (Azotus) to CAE-SAREA on the sea (Acts 8:40). Apparently he settled there, since about twenty years later Paul (on his last journey to Jerusalem) was a guest in Philip's home in this city (21:8–9). Philip had four unmarried daughters living at home who had the gift of prophecy. (Philip's house was pointed out to travelers in the time of JEROME.)

Philip was one of the heroic first to admit non-Jewish believers into the fellowship of the church. Prior to this, the Samaritans were excluded and even denied the privilege of becoming Jewish proselytes. It was Philip (not the apostles) who took the first step in (1) overcoming Jewish prejudice, and (2) the interracial expansion of the church in accordance with the Lord's command. There are diverse traditions both as to where Philip lived at the time of his death, and regarding the manner of his death. According to most forms of tradition, he died of natural causes at Tralles, in LYDIA. (Basil reports that he was bishop there; see *Menol.* 1.111 in PG 117:103.) Others connect Philip with Hierapolis in Asia and affirm that there he suffered martyrdom. In the Roman Church his feast is June 6. (See further J. Hastings, ed., *The Greater Men and Women of the Bible,* 6 vols. [1913–16], 6:115–34.)

R. E. PERRY

**Philip, Acts of.** One of the later apocryphal books of Acts, dependent on older legends and dating at the earliest from the middle of the 4th cent. It is composed on the pattern of the *Acts of Thomas,* as a series of separate events in various places. Chapters 1–9 and from 15 to the end are extant. Among the wonders related is the story of a leopard and a kid which believe. At his martyrdom, Philip loses his temper and is condemned to wait forty days before admission to paradise. "If grotesque," says M. R. James, "it is yet a Catholic novel" (*Apocryphal New Testament* [1924], 439ff.; see further *NTAp,* 2:468–73 and *ABD,* 5:312; text in R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha* [1891–1903], 2/2:1–90).

R.McL. WILSON

**Philip, Gospel of.** According to the PISTIS SOPHIA, PHILIP was one of three disciples charged with the task of writing the words and works of Jesus. Two gospels under his name are apparently known, the first only from a reference by EPIPHA-NIUS (*Heresies* 26.13.2–3), who quotes from it a passage about the ascent of the soul. The second, which seems quite independent, is a Coptic text from the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY (NHC II, 3) that shows affinities with the later forms of Val-entinian GNOSTICISM

and may go back to the last quarter of the 2nd cent. or the beginning of the third. (For the possibility that these two are one and the same gospel, see H.-M. Schenke in *NTAp,* 2:180–81.) The latter is not a gospel in the ordinary sense, but a collection of sayings and meditations loosely linked together and constantly returning to a number of favorite themes: Adam and Paradise, creation and begetting, the names of Jesus, etc. Notable features are its use of NT material and its references to Gnostic sacraments. The author is familiar with the NT books, but uses echoes and allusions woven into his own writing rather than extended quotation and exegesis. The sacraments appear to be five in number: Baptism, Chrism (oil of blessing), Eucharist, Apolutrosis (redemption), and Bridal Chamber. (English trans. with commentary by R. McL. Wilson, *The Gospel of Philip* [1962]; see also *NHL,* 139–60.)

R. McL. WILSON

**Philippi** fi-lip'i, fil'i-pi (Φίλιπποι *G5804,* "[city of] Philip"; gentilic Φιλιππήσιος, *G5803,* "Philippian"). A city of MACEDONIA, visited by the apostle PAUL (Acts 16:1,12–40; 20:6; Phil. 1:1; 1 Thess. 2:2).

Philippi.

**I. Topography.** The city was located in eastern Macedonia in a plain E of Mount Pangaeus between the Strymon and Nestos Rivers. It was near the banks of a deep and rapid stream, the Gangites, about 10 mi. from the sea. To the SE ran the VIA EGNATIA over a very rocky ridge to the port of NEAPOLIS. Hence, Paul is said to have "sailed from Philippi" (Acts 20:6). In ancient times, the city derived its importance from the fertile plain that it commanded, its strategic location along the Via Egnatia, and the gold mines in the mountains to the north.

**II. History.** The site was first inhabited by colonists from the island of Thasos, who worked the gold mines. It was known as Krenides, "springs." PHILIP II of Macedon recognized its importance and sent

a large colony there in 356 B.C. He changed its name to Philippi (Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl. Hist.* 16.7.6–7). The mines, though almost exhausted, still provided Philip with more than a thousand talents a year.

After the Macedonians were defeated by the Romans in 167 B.C., Philippi was part of the first district, but the capital of the region was AMPHIPO-LIS. Two decades later it became part of the reorganized province of Macedonia, whose capital was THESSALONICA. The decisive battle of the second civil war was fought at Philippi in 42 B.C. Brutus and Cassius had drawn up their forces near the Via Egnatia to the W of the city. Antony successfully attacked Cassius's camp. The latter committed suicide without knowing that Brutus's forces had been successful against Octavian. Three weeks later, Brutus was defeated and the war ended.

The city was enlarged by a colony of Roman veterans after the war. AUGUSTUS Caesar later opened up the city for supporters of Antony who had been stripped of their holdings in Italy. The first colony, Colonia Victrix Philippensium, is attested only by coinage. The second colony was known as Colonia Julia Philippensis, later changed to Colonia Augusta Julia Philippensis. Because it was a Roman colony, it had a form of government independent of the provincial administration. There were two chief MAGISTRATES who were assisted by constables or police officers (Acts 16:35).

**III. Archaeology.** The ancient city has been partially excavated by the French School at Athens from 1914 to 1938. The forum lay to the S of the Via Egnatia. In the center of it was found a large rostrum, which may have been where Paul and SILAS were dragged by the owners of the demon-possessed slave girl. Two large temples are identified along with numerous public and private buildings of the 2nd cent. A.D. A Roman theater of the same period was built into the side of the acropolis. A mile W of the city are the ruins of a Roman arch near the River Gangites. An arch usually symbolized the city limits or *pomerium* of a Roman settlement. Within the *pomerium* nothing impure, such as cemeteries or sanctuaries of foreign religions, could be established. This may account for the fact that Paul and Silas went "outside the city gate to the river, where we expected to find a place of prayer" (Acts 16:13). Nonrabbinic sources attest the ancient habit of the Jews to recite prayers near rivers or the seashore (Philo, *Flaccus* 14; Jos. *Ant.* 14.10.23).

**IV. Biblical importance.** The text of Acts 16:12 in regard to the standing of the city is difficult. Several MSS read *prōtē tēs meridos Makedonias polis kolōnia,* "the leading city of Macedonia, a Roman colony." Numerous variant readings show that the text was widely misunderstood. Some have proposed changing the first word to read *prōtēs,* thus "a city and colony of the first part [district] of Macedonia." Others have suggested that the city had some distinction in the 1st cent. A.D. that has not been recorded. William Ramsay maintains that there is a touch of pride in LUKE'S description, because he was a native of Philippi. The city had a famous school of medicine, which was connected with one of the guilds of physicians that sent its adherents throughout the Hellenistic world. Luke may, therefore, claim that Philippi was the first city of Macedonia, just as PERGAMUM, SMYRNA, and EPHESUS all claimed to be the "first city of Asia."

The apostle Paul first preached in Europe at Philippi. He came there from TROY by way of Neapolis on the second missionary journey. He went to a place of prayer beside the river on the Sabbath where he sat down with a group of women, among them LYDIA, a seller of purple dye from THYATIRA. On the way there he was admonished by a slave girl with a spirit of divination, who annoyed him for some time thereafter. Finally, he exorcized the demon to the displeasure of her owners. They dragged Paul and Silas before the magistrates of the city and accused them of disturbing

the peace by advocating customs that the Romans did not accept. The crowd joined in and the magistrates gave orders for Paul and Silas to be scourged. They were then put in stocks in the inner prison. At midnight an earthquake shook the prison to its foundation. Fearful that his prisoners had escaped, the jailer contemplated suicide. Paul indicated to him that he and Silas were still there. As a result of Paul's witness, the man believed, and he and his family were baptized. The next day the authorities learned that Paul and Silas were Roman citizens, apologized to them, and asked them to leave the city. They then visited Lydia and other believers before departing for Thessalonica (Acts 16:12–40).

At this point in the narrative of Acts the pronoun of the first person is dropped until Paul returned to Macedonia on the third missionary journey (Acts 20:5). Many conjecture that Luke, a native of Philippi or, at least, a medical student there at one time, was left behind to work among the churches of Macedonia. Paul would later express a deep affection for the church at Philippi in a letter written to it while he was in prison either at Rome or Ephesus. The letter was written to thank the church for the gifts of funds and clothing that

The ruins of ancient Philippi.

EPAPHRODITUS had brought to him. After his imprisonment, Paul may again have visited Philippi (1 Tim. 1:3).

Philippi reemerged into literary history for a brief moment in the early 2nd cent. A.D. IGNATIUS, bishop in ANTIOCH OF SYRIA, was condemned to death as a Christian and sent to Rome under guard by the Emperor TRAJAN. He traveled through Philadelphia, Smyrna, and Troy to Philippi, and thence presumably to Dyrrachium along the Via Egnatia. The church at Philippi welcomed and escorted him on the way. Two letters from the church were sent, one to the church at Antioch to console it, and one to POLYCARP of Smyrna to ask for copies of Ignatius's correspondence. Polycarp's *Epistle to the Philippians* recites these details and tells also of a scandal caused at Philippi by one Valens and his wife. Later bishops of the church at Philippi were mentioned at the Councils of Laodicea, Ephesus, and Chalcedon.

(See further P. Collart, *Philippes, ville de Macédoine: Depuis ses origines jusqu'à la fin de l'époque romaine* [1937]; J. Schmidt and C. M. Danoff in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopdäie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* 19/2 [1938], 2206–63; P. Lemerle, *Philippes et la Macédoine orientale à l'époque chrétienne et byzantine* [1945]; L. Bor-mann, *Philippi. Stadt und*

*Christengemeinde zur Zeit des Paulus* [1995]; P. Pilhofer, *Philippi,* 2 vols. [1995–2000; the 2nd vol. includes a full catalogue of inscriptions]; C. Bakirtzis and H. Koester, eds., *Philippi at the Time of Paul and after His Death* [1998].)

A.RUPPRECHT

**Philippians, Epistle to the** fi-lip'ee-uhnz. A letter written by the apostle PAUL to the church in the city of PHILIPPI, the first Christian church in the province of MACEDONIA.

1. Paul and the Philippian church
2. Authorship and authenticity
3. Unity
4. Place of origin and date
    1. Place
    2. Date
5. Occasion and purpose
6. Canonicity
7. Text
8. Special problems
9. Contents
10. Theology

**I. Paul and the Philippian church.** The church in Philippi was founded by Paul and his party on his so-called second missionary journey as related in the eyewitness account in Acts 16:12–40 (one of the "we-sections"). They began the mission in the province of Macedonia with the assurance that God had specially summoned them to work there (vv. 9–11). Commencing work on European soil, the missionaries were conscious that they were bringing the gospel to a new province of the Roman world, though the distinction between Europe and Asia was not as sharply drawn then as it is today.

The number of converts initially made is not certain, but apparently it was not very large. LUKE'S account centers on representative conversions—LYDIA the business woman, the soothsaying slave girl (her conversion is not actually asserted), and the Roman jailer. The first and the third of these involved a number of others (two households). That CLEMENT as well as EUODIA and SYNTYCHE (Phil. 4:2–3) were also won at this time is not certain. The membership was apparently heterogeneous in character and predominantly Gentile in origin. Philippi did not have enough Jews to form a synagogue.

Luke apparently remained in Philippi to aid the young church; this is implied by the cessation of the first person plural pronoun upon completion of his account of the Philippian mission. That strong ties were forged between Paul and his converts is evident from their monetary gifts to him while he was working at THESSALONICA and CORINTH (Phil. 4:15–16; 2 Cor. 11:9) as well as from the contents of this letter.

Upon termination of his work at EPHESUS on the third journey, Paul again visited Philippi before going down to Corinth for the winter (Acts 20:1–3; 2 Cor. 2:13; 7:5). The following spring he made an unexpected visit to Philippi, spending the Passover season there (Acts 20:3, 6). Paul apparently visited Philippi again following the release from his Roman imprisonment (1 Tim. 1:3). His contacts with the Philippians were not confined to these occasional visits. Communications were maintained through messengers to and from them (Acts 18:5; 19:22; 2 Cor. 11:9; Phil. 2:25), and probably also

by letters (cf. Phil. 3:1,18; Polycarp, *Phil.* 3.2).

**II. Authorship and authenticity.** The opening salutation names Paul and TIMOTHY as the writers of the letter, yet it is clear that Paul alone is responsible for its composition. He begins at once with the singular (Phil. 1:3) and so continues throughout. The plurals that occur most naturally relate to Christians generally and are not to be restricted to Paul and Timothy only. In 2:19–23, Timothy is mentioned quite objectively and is not even named in the final salutation (4:21). Clearly, Philippians is a personal letter from Paul himself. Its biographical references are distinctly Pauline and its entire contents bear the stamp of Pauline authorship.

The authenticity of this letter was never questioned until the middle of the 19th cent. The traditional view was first assailed in 1845 by F. C. Baur (*Paulus*), followed by other representatives of the Tübingen school. The grounds of attack were its claimed lack of originality and its traces of imitation; the mention of "bishops and deacons" (Phil. 1:1) as evidence of a post-Pauline date; traces of Gnostic ideas in it; doctrinal discrepancies between the epistle and "authentic" Pauline letters.The arguments used are superficial and are no longer taken seriously. There is no obvious motive for a forgery. Modern scholars unhesitatingly accept Philippians as an authentic letter from Paul.

The external evidence for the Pauline authorship of Philippians is early and clear. The first external confirmation comes from the letter of POLYCARP to the Philippians. Writing early in the 2nd cent., he refers to "the blessed and glorious Paul…who wrote letters to you." That Polycarp knew this epistle seems clear from the distinct echoes of it in his letter. Toward the end of the 2nd cent., IRENAEUS quotes from every chapter of Philippians and unhesitatingly ascribes it to Paul (*Against Heresies* 3.12.9; 4.24.2).

**III. Unity.** Since the beginning of the 19th cent., efforts have been made to establish that the present epistle is two or more letters fused together, although their Pauline authorship is usually admitted. Such attempts find no support from the textual history of the epistle, which has uniformly been transmitted as a complete whole. Efforts to find external confirmation for such theories from Polycarp's reference to Paul's "letters" (*epistolai*) are indecisive. The plural may denote more than one letter but may have been used to designate a single dispatch or have been intended to include the Thessalonian epistles, which the Philippians certainly possessed.

Views contesting the unity of Philippians spring mainly from the abrupt change of tone and contents at the beginning of the third chapter. This change is asserted to be so harsh that only the view of two separate compositions can explain it. The preparation for a serene epistolary conclusion in Phil. 3:1 is suddenly broken by a ringing warning against opponents, which is completely different in tone from the preceding chapters. This sharp warning, it is argued, must have arisen out of a situation distinct from the remainder of the epistle.

Advocates of unity point out that those who postulate an interpolation beginning at Phil. 3:1b or 3:2 are not agreed as to where it ends—whether at 3:19 (J. H. Michael), 4:1 (F. W. Beare), 4:3 (K. Lake), or 4:19 (E. J. Goodspeed). The change in tone is surprising, but Paul elsewhere shows comparable swift changes in thought (Rom. 16:17–20; 1 Cor. 15:58; 1 Thess. 2:15–16). Nor is this warning wholly devoid of connections with what has gone before. The invective against opponents is prepared for by the warning in Phil. 1:28, and 3:7–14 has unmistakable connections with 2:5–11. The sharp warning enabled Paul to resume in 3:17 the reference to his own example in 1:30. Instead of assuming an interpolation, a more plausible explanation is that Paul was interrupted in dictating the letter (so J. B. Lightfoot). That Paul often was interrupted in his letter writing is highly probable. The

sudden warning against these opponents may have been due to further news reaching him of their activities at Philippi or elsewhere. At any rate, it is psychologically more credible that Paul in writing an informal letter would make such a sudden transition, than that a later editor would fuse two separate writings at such an improbable juncture. It is quite like Paul that this turbulent outburst leads gradually to a calm conclusion.

F. W. Beare regards the present epistle as a composite of three elements: a letter of thanks for the gift brought by EPAPHRODITUS (Phil. 4:10–20); a letter sent with Epaphroditus upon his return (1:1—3:1; 4:2–9, 21–23); and 3:2—4:1 as a long interpolation in the second letter. The view that 4:10 – 20 is a separate letter arises out of the assumed inconceivability that Paul should delay his thanks for the gift until the end of the letter. Such a further partition is unnecessary if he had already sent his thanks to the Philippians (see section V below). If not, why should he not be allowed to express his gratitude in connection with the loosely connected epistolary conclusion? Is it probable that a later editor would have delayed the insertion of such an earlier letter of thanks until the end? Many leading scholars hold that the evidence offers no valid proof for any partition theory and strongly maintain the unity of the epistle. (Since the first edition of the present encyclopedia, numerous essays and books focusing on the literary features of Philippians have argued for the strong structural cohesion of the letter. Almost all commentaries and monographs published after 1984 reject partition theories.)

That Paul actually wrote more than one letter to the Philippians is in itself altogether probable. This would be in harmony with his remarks in Phil. 3:1 ("to write the same things to you again") and 3:18 ("as I have often told you"). If so, these other letters have not survived.

## IV. Place of origin and date

***A. Place.*** Since Paul writes as a prisoner (Phil. 1:7, 13, 17), the main problem is to identify the imprisonment. It seems to have been of considerable duration. His imprisonment as a Christian missionary had become known "throughout the whole palace guard [Gk.*praitōrion G4550*]" (1:13); his presence stimulated aggressive evangelization (1:14–17), and there were saints even in "Caesar's household" (4:22). Evidently, a preliminary defense before the judicial authorities with favorable results already had been made (1:7) and he expected a favorable verdict soon (1:25; 2:23–24), but he was well aware that, whatever the verdict, it would be final (1:20–24;2:17).

Acts speaks of imprisonments at CAESAREA (Acts 23:33—26:32) and at ROME (28:16–31), but from other passages (2 Cor. 6:5; 11:23) it is clear that Paul experienced a number of brief imprisonments elsewhere during his ministry. Three views concerning the place of origin are advocated.

**1. Rome.** The traditional view, as old as the MAR-CIONITE PROLOGUES of the 2nd cent., has confidently accepted Rome as the place of origin. Only since 1800 has this view been brought into question. It continues, however, to receive the strong support of many scholars today.

This view gives the Greek word *praitōrion* (Phil. 1:13) its most natural meaning as denoting the "praetorian guard" rather than "palace" (KJV) since the added phrase, *kai tois loipois pasin* (lit., "and to all the rest") refers to people rather than buildings. See PRAETORIAN and PRAETORIUM. It also gives a natural explanation to "Caesar's household" as designating the slaves and freedmen of the emperor's palace in Rome. The increased preaching activity stimulated by Paul's presence best suits a city like Rome, where a considerable church already existed. The implied situation of the imprisoned apostle agrees with that of Acts 28. He has liberty to receive companions, carry on

correspondence with his churches, and arrange for the travels of assistants. Above all it explains the decisive character of the verdict being awaited. Having appealed his case to CAESAR, no further APPEAL was possible.

Lightfoot sought to place Philippians early in the Roman imprisonment because of its affinity to Romans and to avoid placing it after Colossians and Ephesians with their new trains of thought. Such arguments from literary relations are indecisive. Advocates of the Roman imprisonment generally agree that Philippians must be placed near the close of that imprisonment. This allows sufficient time for the indicated developments—the coming of Epaphroditus, his sickness and recovery, the passing of news between Rome and Philippi, as well as the widespread impact of Paul's presence. It is demanded by the fact that the verdict is impending. If it is argued that Philippians reveals a stricter custody than that indicated in Acts 28:30, it may be granted that during the trial Paul was taken into *custodia militaris* instead of *custodia libera.* This, however, is not certain.

Certain difficulties are urged against acceptance of this time-honored view. From Rome, Paul

Excavations at Philippi, S of the agora.

planned on going to SPAIN (Rom. 15:24, 28), but here he is making plans to visit Philippi (Phil. 2:24). The reply is that the plan to visit Spain was announced before his arrest, but after nearly four years of imprisonment the former plan was postponed or abandoned. In view of the great distance between Rome and Philippi, some find it difficult to conceive of all the travels between the two cities that would be required. The long journey, it is argued, was made four times (news of Paul's arrival in Rome reaching Philippi; Epaphroditus sent to Rome with the gift; news of his sickness reaching Philippi, and report of their concern for Paul again brought to Rome). Other scholars reply that by placing Philippians near the end of the two-year imprisonment there is ample time for these communications. Moreover, the situation does not actually demand four consecutive trips, for the Philippians may have heard of Paul's going to Rome before he got there. (For the view that no more than three journeys are required and that these could have taken place in a period of four to six months, see M. Silva, *Philippians,* BECNT, 2nd ed. [2005], 5–6.)

Other objections include the following. (a) Timothy was to be sent to Philippi as soon as he

learned of the verdict of the court, yet Paul expected him to come back with news from Philippi (Phil. 2:19); this seems inconsistent with Paul's plans for journeys in the near future, but Paul does not say where he expected to meet Timothy with his cheering news. (b) The polemic against the JUDAIZERS in ch. 3 is similar to that in Galatians and 2 Corinthians, and points to a time earlier than Paul's Roman imprisonment; however, any effort to promote law and works as opposed to salvation by grace through faith aroused Paul's warm protest (touches of it are seen even in the pastorals; cf. 1 Tim. 1:12–17; Tit. 3:4–7). (c) If Paul wrote from Rome, the period during which the generous Philippians had "no opportunity" to send him an offering is difficult to conceive (Phil. 4:10); the apostle, however, had requested that the Philippians participate in the relief offering raised during his third journey (2 Cor. 8:1–9) and may well have suggested that they suspend any gifts to him (but now that the relief collection was completed, they used their first opportunity to revive their concern for him).

**2. Caesarea.** The Caesarean provenance of Philippians was first propounded by H. E. G. Paulus in 1799, and it subsequently received the support of a number of scholars. It is asserted that the military custody in Caesarea better agrees with Paul's "chains" (Phil. 1:14) than the Roman detention, since during the latter period he had considerable freedom. The "praetorium" can equally well mean the palace of HEROD at Caesarea, and "Caesar's household" can well refer to the imperial slaves stationed at Caesarea. The plan to revisit Philippi thus blends smoothly with the plans to visit Spain. The sharp controversy in ch. 3 is best understood if written at Caesarea and directed against the Jews who caused Paul's imprisonment.

In reply it is held that reference to his "chains" applies equally to Rome, where he was chained to Roman soldiers guarding him. The praetorium and Caesar's household have a more natural explanation if applied to Rome. The exact identity of the opponents in Phil. 3 is debated, but there is no clear proof that the reference is to Paul's Christ-rejecting Jewish enemies.

A Caesarean provenance offers serious difficulties: this city does not afford opportunity for the extensive preaching that Paul's imprisonment had evoked; the failure to mention PHILIP the evangelist, whose hospitality at Caesarea Paul enjoyed before his arrest (Acts 21:8), is inexplainable; Caesarea does not suit the final nature of the verdict expected. Under FELIX, he could not have expected release without a bribe (24:26), and with the coming of FESTUS, Paul appealed to Caesar (25:6–11).

**3. Ephesus.** This alternative, first suggested by H. Lisco in 1900, has received the support of a good number of scholars and has enjoyed increasing popularity. Proponents point out that this view makes the journeys between Philippi and the place of Paul's imprisonment more easily conceivable; more readily explains the close connection between Philippians and Romans; gives a natural meaning to the praetorium and Caesar's household; makes the proposed trip to Philippi agree with his journey into Macedonia upon leaving Ephesus (Acts 20:1); would enable Timothy to go to Philippi and return before Paul left there; makes the controversy in Phil. 3 more timely and pointed; and accounts for the omission of any mention of Luke in Philippians, since Luke was at Philippi during that time.

Opponents raise serious objections to this view. Acts mentions no imprisonment at Ephesus and rather implies a continuous ministry there; any imprisonment suffered there must have been of brief duration, quite inadequate for the developments that Philippians suggests. The absence of any mention of the relief offering that filled Paul's mind at this time cannot be accounted for. He would not need an offering from the Philippians while surrounded by many friends at Ephesus, and to have accepted an offering from them at the time he desired them to participate in the relief offering would have exposed him to a charge of covetousness. The final nature of the verdict being expected tells heavily

against the Ephesian hypothesis. If he faced death at Ephesus, why did he not extricate himself by appealing to Caesar? Any suggestion that Paul would voluntarily accept martyrdom is contrary to what we know he did do. That no mention is made of an appeal to Caesar is best explained by the fact that such an appeal had already brought him before the court at Rome.

All three views are attempts to explain the indecisive evidence in the epistle, and all contain some difficulties. The Roman origin of the epistle may be accepted as the most probable. Neither of the alternative views offers evidence sufficiently strong to overturn this long-established view.

***B. Date.*** If written at Rome, the date of Philippians falls in the early 60s, possibly during the early part of the year 63. On the assumption of a Caesarean origin, the date would be 60 or 61. If an Ephesian origin is accepted, the writing of the letter must be placed near the end of Paul's ministry there, since he was planning a change of field; supporters suggest a date between 54 and 57, probably 56.

**V. Occasion and purpose.** The immediate occasion for the writing of Philippians was the return home of Epaphroditus following his recovery from a serious illness (Phil. 2:25–30). His return gave Paul the opportunity to commend this coworker to the Philippian saints and to write them concerning a variety of matters.

The popular view that the letter was written to thank the Philippians for their recent gift to him is unlikely. This assumption has caused much trouble in trying to explain why his thanks was delayed until the very end. It further makes it difficult to explain why Paul let some months pass before even acknowledging their gift. Such a delay in sending them his thanks cannot be due to lack of opportunity, since news had already reached the Philippians that Epaphroditus had fallen ill. From Phil. 2:25, it seems clear that Epaphroditus had been commissioned not only to take the money to Paul but also to stay and assist him. For safety, he presumably was accompanied by several brethren from the Philippian church. If so, Paul certainly sent his thanks back with the returning brethren. If Epaphroditus did come alone, Paul doubtless used the services of some traveler to dispatch his thanks to the church. Paul's immediate purpose apparently was to assure an appropriate welcome for the returning Epaphroditus. However, the letter was primarily inspired by friendship matters—Paul's outpouring of love for a church that always stood by him. He wrote to give them anxiously awaited news about himself. His imprisonment had actually advanced the gospel (Phil. 1:12–20); the verdict of the court in his case was being awaited, and Timothy would be sent to them as soon as he knew the outcome (2:23). He was confident of release and expected to visit them (2:24), but he was aware that the verdict was final and might be adverse (1:21 –26). His pastoral heart prompted him to give them needed exhortations. He urged harmony and unity in aim and work (1:27–29), humility as exemplified by Christ (2:1–11), the cultivation of joy and gladness amid difficulties (3:1; 4:1,4–7), the pursuit of noble virtues (4:8–9), and settlement of disagreements among them (4:2–3). He strongly warned them against the Judaizers, gently rebuked a "perfectionist" element among them, and censured sensualists and materialists (3:18–21).

**VI. Canonicity.** The canonicity of Philippians has never been disputed. It was included in all the early canons of the church as well as in the *Apostolicum* of MARCION. At the beginning of the 4th cent., EUSEBIUS recorded his investigations and indicated that Philippians was accepted by the entire orthodox church as among the undisputed books (*Eccl. Hist.* 3.3). See CANON (NT).

**VII. Text.** The text of Philippians raises no serious problems. The variants from the TR in the Nestle text are of minor significance for interpretation (but note the inversion of Phil. 1:16–17 and the variant readings in 2:5; 3:3, 16). The style and vocabulary present no special obstacles.

**VIII. Special problems.** Much discussion focuses on the origin and interpretation of Phil. 2:5–11. Following the lead of E. Lohmeyer, it is now widely regarded as an early hymn or Christian confession that Paul quoted in support of his appeal for humility. This view is part of a wider movement to find fragments of hymnic or liturgical compositions embodied in the NT writings. As to its origin, the passage has been regarded as an early pre-Pauline hymn (Lohmeyer), a hymn by an unknown disciple written under the influence of Paul's teaching (Beare), or a hymn composed by Paul, presumably before this epistle was written (R. P. Martin). That Paul when writing his letters was capable of exalted composition is evident from other passages (1 Cor. 13; Rom. 8:31–39; 11:33–36; cf. also G. D. Fee in *BBR 2* [1992]: 29–46). If the original composition is regarded as non-Pauline, which is by no means certain, there is no reason to doubt that Phil. 2:5–11 formed a part of the epistle as originally composed by Paul.

The unique mention of "the bishops and deacons" in the salutation (Phil. 1:1 KJV) has evoked much discussion; needless difficulty has been created by interpreting the terms in the light of later ecclesiastical developments. The identity or precise rendering of Paul's reference to his "loyal yokefellow" (4:3) remains a puzzle to the commentators.

**IX. Contents.** The epistle is distinctly a friendship letter. It is the spontaneous expression of Paul's strong esteem for the readers, wholly devoid of official stateliness. The tone is warmly personal and an undertone of deep joy runs through the whole. This springs partly from Paul's deep satisfaction with the readers and their fellowship with him in the gospel, but especially from his personal consciousness of the sufficiency of Christ. His emphasis throughout is Christocentric. All of life is viewed in relationship to him.

The letter is primarily concerned with personal matters. He spoke of his own affairs, his plans for his companions, and his concerns for the readers. Doctrinal formulations are at a minimum, and where doctrinal points are touched they have a practical or polemical purpose. The following outline serves to relate the different parts to each other.

Salutation (Phil. 1:1–2)

1. Relations to the Philippians (1:3–11)
2. Account of his circumstances (1:12–26)
    1. Joy at the furtherance of the gospel (1:12–20)
    2. Contemplation of life and death (1:21–26)
3. Practical appeals to the Philippians (1:27—2:18)
    1. Appeal for steadfastness (1:27–30)
    2. Appeal for unity and humility (2:1–11)
    3. Appeal to realize God's salvation (2:12–18)
4. Plans for his companions (2:19–30)
5. Warnings against errors (3:1—4:1)
6. Exhortations to the Philippians (4:2–9)
7. Thanks for their gift (4:10–20)

Conclusion (4:21 –23)

**X. Theology.** Although Philippians is practical in intent and purpose, it is of great importance theologically. In Phil. 2:5–11, Paul introduced a passage of profound theological significance to undergird a practical appeal for humility. It is the *locus classicus* of Paul's doctrine of the person of Christ Jesus. It is of fundamental importance for the doctrine of the INCARNATION of the Son of God. It tersely sets forth his preexistence, incarnation, and exaltation. It presupposes a highly developed CHRISTOLOGY, yet the full significance of this terse formulation is implicit rather than explicit. The interpretation of its full significance, although beset with difficulty, has challenged theologians through the centuries. The mention that Christ "emptied himself" (v. 7) has been the springboard for the KENOSIS controversy. Paul's reference to his desire "to depart and be with Christ, which is better by far" (1:23) has theological significance as indicating that the condition of departed saints is one of conscious bliss.

(Significant commentaries include J. B. Light-foot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians: A Revised Text with Introduction, Notes, and Dissertations* [1868]; M. R. Vincent, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles to the Philippians and to Philemon,* ICC [1897]; J. H. Michael, *The Epistle of Paul to the Philippians,* MNTC 10 [1928]; J. J. Müller, *The Epistles of Paul to the Philippians and to Philemon,* NICNT [1955]; F. W. Beare, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians,* HNTC [1959]; W. Hendriksen, *Exposition of Philippians* [1962]; E. Lohmeyer, *Der Briefe an die Philipper, an die Kolosser und an Philemon,* KEK 9, 13th ed. [1964]; R. P. Martin, *Philippians* [1976]; J. Gnilka, *Der Philipperbrief: Auslegung,* HTKNT 10/3, 2nd ed. [1976]; J.-F. Collange, *The Epistle of Saint Paul to the Philippians* [1979]; G. F. Hawthorne, *Philippians,* WCB 43 [1983; rev. ed. by R. P. Martin, 2004]; W. Schenk, *Die Philipperbriefe des Paulus: Kommentar* [1984]; P. T. O'Brien, *The Epistle to the Philippians: A Commentary on the Greek Text,* NIGTC [1991]; U. B. Müller, *Der Brief des Paulus an die Philipper,* THKNT 11/1 [1993]; G. D. Fee, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians,* NICNT [1995]; M. Bockmuehl, *The Epistle to the Philippians,* BNTC 11 [1998]; J.-N. Aletti, *Saint Paul: Épître aux Philip-piens* [2005]; M. Silva, *Philippians,* BECNT, 2nd ed. [2005]; B. B. Thurston and J. M. Ryan, *Philippians and Philemon,* SP 10 [2005].

(See also E. Lohmeyer, *Kurios Jesus* [1928]; O. Hofius, *Der Christushymnus Philipper 2, 6–11. Untersuchungen zu Gestalt und Aussage eines urchrist-lichen Psalms,* 2nd ed. [1991]; L. G. Bloomquist, *The Function of Suffering in Philippians* [1993]; P.Wick, *Der Philipperbrief: Der formale Aufbau des Briefs als Schlüssel zum Verständnis seines Inhalts* [1994]; D. Peterlin, *Paul's Letter to the Philippians in the Light of Disunity in the Church* [1995]; V. Koperski, *The Knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord: The High Christology of Philippians 3:7–11* [1996]; R. P. Martin,A *Hymn of Christ: Philippians ii 5–11 in Recent Interpretation and in the Setting of Early Christian Worship* [1997, orig. 1967]; G. W. Peterman, *Paul's Gift from Philippi: Conventions of Gift Exchange and Christian Giving* [1997]; J. T. Reed, *A Discourse Analysis of Philippians: Method and Rhetoric in the Debate over Literary Integrity* [1997]; P. A. Holloway, *Consolation in Philippians: Philosophical Sources and Rhetorical Strategy* [2001]; R. S. Ascough, *Paul's Macedonian Associations: The Social Context of Philippians and 1 Thessalonians* [2003]; J. H. Hellerman, *Reconstructing Honor in Roman Philippi: Carmen Christi as cur-sus pudorum* [2005]; M. S. Park, *Submission within the Godhead and the Church in the Epistle to the Philippians* [2007].)

D. E. HIEBERT

**Philistia** fi-lis'tee-uh (פְּלֶשֶׁת *H7148,* derivation uncertain; gentilic פְּלִשְׁתִּי *H7149,* "Philistine"). Name given to a territory on the coastal plain of CANAAN, extending approximately from GAZA in the S to JOPPA in the N. The name PALESTINE derives from the Greek form of Philistia, *Palaistinē,* applied to the whole of Canaan (Herodotus, *Hist.* 1.105 et al.; Jos. *Ant.* 1.6.2 §136 et al.). See PHILISTINE.

**Philistine** fi-lis'teen (פְּלִשְׁתִּי *H7149,* derivation uncertain). KJV also Philistim (only Gen. 10:14). A warlike people of AEGEAN origin who occupied a territory in SW PALESTINE known as PHILISTIA. Their period of greatest importance was 1200–1000 B.C., when they were the principal enemy of ancient Israel.

1. Name
2. Origin
3. Territory
4. History
5. Culture
    1. Government
    2. Language
    3. Religion
    4. Material culture
6. Role

**I. Name.** The Hebrew for "Philistine" (*pĕlištî H7149*) is an ethnic adjective derived from the territorial designation "Philistia" (*pĕlešet H7148*). It is from there (via Gk. *Palaistinē*) that the modern name PALESTINE derives. The name is found also in Egyptian records from the eighth year of RAMSES III (c. 1188 B.C.) as *prst* (hieroglyphic using r for l) and in Assyrian texts as *pilisti* and *palastu.* Since there is no good Semitic etymology for the word, it may be of Indo-European origin.

Another designation given to the Philistines in the OT is "the uncircumcised," a term of derision (Jdg. 15:18; 1 Chr. 10:4; et al.). Since they are the only people of Israel's neighbors referred to in this way, it may be inferred that they were unique in this respect. This conclusion is supported by the fact that Jeremiah says EDOM, AMMON, MOAB, and EGYPT all practiced CIRCUMCISION (Jer. 9:25–26).

**II. Origin.** The origin of the Philistines and their cultural affiliations before arriving in Palestine are still imperfectly understood. It has long been assumed that the Philistines came from somewhere in the Aegean area. The primary evidence for this view comes from the Bible, Egyptian records, and archaeological finds. According to the Bible, the Philistines came from CAPHTOR (Jer. 47:4; Amos 9:7; cf. Gen. 10:14; Deut. 2:23; 1 Chr. 1:12), which is generally thought to be CRETE (on the Genesis passage, see G. Rendsburg in *JNSL* 13 [1987]: 89–96). Such an origin is supported by the term KERETHITE, a name probably meaning "Cretan" and used in reference to the Philistines or a part of them. For example, 1 Sam. 30:14 refers to part of the Philistine coast as "the Negev of the Kerethites." In Ezek. 25:16 and Zeph. 2:5–6 the Philistines and Kerethites are mentioned in parallelism. Elsewhere, the Kerethites are part of DAVID'S personal bodyguard (2 Sam. 15:18 et al.) and probably were recruited from the Philistines while David was at ZIKLAG.

Egyptian records refer to a nebulous group of SEA PEOPLES who were invaders coming from islands in the N. These Sea Peoples caused a tremendous upheaval in the ANE at the end of the Late

Bronze Age (c. 1200 B.C.). They caused the downfall of the HITTITES and the destruction of the Hittite capital city, Hattusas, as well as the collapse of UGARIT. They attacked Egypt during the reigns of MERNEP-TAH and RAMSES III. Ramses describes how he successfully

The five Philistine cities.

cessfully repulsed them, though no other land could stand before them (*ANET,* 262–63). He lists several groups who made up the Sea Peoples, but the only ones that can be identified are the Philistines who settled in the SW coast of Palestine and the Tjeker who lived in DOR, according to the Egyptian story of Wenamon (11th cent. B.C.). At least some of the Sea Peoples came from the Aegean area, but whether the Philistines passed through Crete as part of a more general migration or whether they originally lived in Crete cannot be determined with certainty. Finally, the Philistine pottery and other Philistine archaeological finds are mainly of Mycenaean (not Minoan) derivation, blended with several other elements. (See below, section V.D.) It can be concluded safely, therefore, that the Philistines came through the Aegean area or originated there.

**III. Territory.** Philistia, or the land of the Philistines, was a narrow coastal plain in SW Palestine, extending from JOPPA to just S of GAZA. It contained heavy alluvial soil, except for sand dunes along the immediate coast, and was extremely fertile. Since it lacked hills and mountains, in contrast with the rest of the country, land routes naturally passed through here. These virtues, combined with coastal cities on the Mediterranean, made Philistia one of the richest and most desirable regions in the country. Five key cities constituted the Philistine pentapolis, but only ASHKELON was located directly on the coast. Therefore, it was the main Philistine harbor. Both Gaza and ASHDOD had their own ports, but were slightly removed from the coast because of the sand dunes. The other two cities, GATH and EKRON, were farther inland.

**IV. History.** The first mention of the Philistines in the Bible comes in the patriarchal narratives. Both ABRAHAM and ISAAC had dealings with a king of the Philistines in GERAR named ABIMELECH (possibly a title). This mention of the Philistines has generally been considered an anachronistic retrojection by a later writer or editor, since it is held that the Philistines did not migrate to Canaan until about 1200 B.C. However, if we were dealing with an anachronism, we would expect that the territory and character of the earlier Philistines would not have been changed. Yet these earlier

Philistines lived in the area of BEERSHEBA instead of along the Mediterranean coast; they were ruled by a king instead of five lords; and they were generally peaceful—not the principal enemy of Israel. It is better, therefore, to consider the patriarchal traditions about the Philistines as an accurate account of a historical situation. Admittedly, no specific extra-biblical evidence can substantiate this conclusion yet. Early Aegean trade and migration to the E may have been responsible for bringing an Aegean colony to the area of Beersheba. The term "Philistine" may then have already been in use in the patriarchal period to describe this Aegean colony.

Ramses III of Egypt claims to have repulsed the Philistines and other Sea Peoples in his eighth year (c. 1188). Yet his victory must have been only a partial one, because in the 12th and 11th centuries Philistine colonists lived in the NILE delta and in Egypt's southern frontier in Nubia. Those Philistines who settled in Canaan must have had the approval of Egypt, who controlled Canaan at this time. In fact, they may have been the vassals of Ramses III or were possibly hired by him as mercenaries and placed strategically where they would protect his interests. This would explain the situation at BETH SHAN, where the Philistines carefully preserved important objects installed by an Egyptian garrison in the temple.

Most of the Philistines settled in SW Canaan. This area was occupied by the Canaanites at that time. The Philistine "invasion" should not be considered a mass movement of people who wiped out the former Canaanite population and culture. Rather, the Philistines subjugated the native population but lost their own culture and absorbed the Canaanite culture in the process. They set up five key cities, all of which had a native Canaanite population, except possibly Ekron, which the Philistines may have founded.

Not content to remain near the coast, they began to expand into adjacent areas. The first notice of them in the Bible as the principal enemy of Israel comes in the days of SAMSON (Jdg. 13–16), about the beginning of the 11th cent. B.C. By this time they already controlled at the least the tribes of DAN and JUDAH (14:4; 15:11). Pressured by the Philistine expansion, the tribe of Dan moved to the N (18:11, 29). The political organization of

Aerial view of the Philistine plain with the Mediterranean Sea in the distance to the W. This area is very fertile and thus excellent for growing grain.

Philistia, in contrast to the tribal disorganization of Israel, and their superior material culture, including IRON weapons (1 Sam. 13:19–22), allowed them to continue their expansion rapidly until Israel was surrounded. Obviously their goal was the conquest of the whole country.

During ELI'S time, Israel resisted the Philistine advance unsuccessfully at EBENEZER. This defeat allowed the Philistines to capture the ARK OF THE COVENANT and the city of SHILOH, the center of Israel's worship at that time. Though there was a brief success in SAMUEL'S day (1 Sam. 7:7–14), the Philistine power was not broken. In fact, the Philistines were able to establish garrisons at strategic points within Israel's territory (10:5; 13:3–4, 23). This action forced a reaction by Israel. She suffered from lack of political unity and consequently could not effectively cope with the Philistines.

The result was the movement toward a monarchy and the election of SAUL as the first king. Though initially successful, Saul had his problems, as the well-known story of GOLIATH indicates. DAVID gained increasing popularity at the expense of Goliath, and the Philistines drove Saul beyond the bounds of rational behavior. Saul's attempts on David's life forced David into hiding and eventually to ACHISH, king of Gath, in the land of the Philistines (1 Sam. 27:2). For a year and four months David made raids in the service of Achish. Then the Philistines prepared for war against Saul and all Israel, but they did not trust David, and made Achish send him back to Ziklag (ch. 29). H. Kassis (in *JBL* 84 [1965]: 267–69) has suggested that these events, particularly the friendship and equality between David and Achish, might indicate that the latter was not a Philistine lord but a Canaanite king who was a vassal of the Philistines. This would better explain why David went to Achish to escape from Saul. In any event, the Philistines were successful in defeating Israel, and Saul and his sons died in battle.

Following a policy of divide and conquer, the Philistines allowed David to become king of Judah and watched with approval the ensuing war between the house of David and the house of Saul for leadership of all Israel (2 Sam. 3:1). But when David became king of all Israel, the Philistine plan was frustrated and they moved to stop his growing power (5:17–25). However, using his own well-trained troops and knowledge of Philitine tactics, David turned the tables on the Philistines and defeated them handily. Following up his initial successes, he pushed the Philistines out of the territory they had taken from Israel previously. David took Gath and its territory (1 Chr. 18:1), and one can infer that he also took Ekron and pushed Philistine control back to Gaza, Ashkelon, and Ashdod.

Since GEZER did not come into Israelite possession until the time of SOLOMON (1 Ki. 9:16), it must be inferred that David purposely refrained from taking this town, but left it surrounded and isolated. It certainly was not too strong for David to capture, so his reasons must have been political. The fact that Pharaoh had the authority to give it to Israel (9:16) probably indicates that it was understood to be Egyptian property. Thus David refrained from taking Gezer (and one assumes Gaza, Ashkelon, and Ashdod also) out of respect for Egyptian claims that predated Philistine claims and his desire not to become involved with Egypt if this could be avoided. In any event, the Philistines were checked effectively by David. The relative insignificance of the Philistines after his time is indicated by the fact that the term "Philistine(s)" occurs 149 times in both books of Samuel, but only six times in both books of Kings.

Solomon's rule covered a territory from the EUPHRATES to the land of the Philistines and the border of Egypt (1 Ki. 4:21). The three coastal cities were still apparently under Philistine rule but Gath was not. It had been taken by David (1 Chr. 18:1) and was still under Israel's control in Solomon's day (1 Ki. 2:39–40); or, if Kassis is right (see above), Achish had a suzerainty treaty with David that continued into Solomon's day. In the fifty years after Solomon, GIBBETHON, a town just W of Gezer, was controlled by the Philistines, though two kings of Israel unsuccessfully attempted to recapture it (1 Ki. 15:27; 16:15–17). The strength of Judah under JEHOSHAPHAT induced the Philistines to pay tribute to him (2 Chr. 17:11), but JEHORAM, son of Jehoshaphat, suffered a serious raid by the Philistines (21:16–17).

In the northern kingdom of Israel, AHAZIAH had preferred to consult BAAL-ZEBUB, the god of Ekron, rather than the God of Israel. Later the Assyrian king Adad-Nirari (810–783 B.C.) boasted of collecting tribute from the Philistines in his fifth year. Not too much later, UZZIAH attacked the Philistines, broke down the walls of several cities, and built his own cities in Philistine territory. One of the cities whose walls were broken was Gath. Probably as a result of this, it lost its significance and was not mentioned by the prophets with the other four Philistine cities (Jer. 25:20; Amos 1:6–8; Zeph.2:4; Zech. 9:5–7).

AHAZ of Judah suffered the attacks of the Philistines who occupied many of his cities (2 Chr. 28:18; Isa. 14:28–32). Within a year the Assyrian king TIGLATH-PILESER III subdued the Philistine cities because of their disloyalty. Assyria was now the dominant power in Palestine; Samaria soon fell to Assyria, and Judah, under Ahaz, was her vassal. When HEZEKIAH took the throne, he reversed his father's policy, rebelled against Assyria, and possibly sought by force to have other cities join him in the rebellion against Assyria. This may have been his reason for attacking and defeating Gaza (2 Ki. 18:8). Hezekiah is the last king mentioned in the Bible who had dealings with the Philistines. During the reign of the Babylonian king NEBUCHADNEZZAR, the Philistine cities were captured and the rulers and people were deported. This proved to be the permanent end of the Philistines.

## V. Culture

***A. Government.*** The Philistines were ruled by "lords" or "rulers" (the Heb. word is *seren H6249*). There were five of them, one for each of the five cities of the Philistine pentapolis (Josh. 13:3; cf. 1 Sam. 6:4, 18). The five together were the ruling body of the Philistine nation, acting for the common good and overruling the decision of a single lord (29:1–7). They possessed civil power and citizens requested advice from them (5:8). They felt themselves to be vested with authority (Jdg. 16:5, 8), and their civil power was executive (1 Sam. 5:11). They had the power to offer sacrifices to their gods (Jdg. 16:23). In wartime, they possessed military authority (1 Sam. 7:7; 29:1–7). Each lord apparently ruled his own city, plus the surrounding villages independently (6:18). The fact that together they ruled the Philistine nation gave the Philistines a tremendous advantage over the disorganized Israelite tribes, who had no central ruling body. How the lords were elected and whether there were other officials cannot be answered.

***B. Language.*** Little is known of the Philistine language or script. There is never any indication in the Bible of a language problem between the Israelites and Philistines. The Philistines must have adopted the local Semitic language soon after arriving in Canaan, or they might have already known a Semitic language before they came. Their names are usually Semitic (e.g., Ahimelek, Mitinti, Hanun, and the god Dagon). But two Philistine names may have come from the Asianic area: Achish has been compared with Anchises, and Goliath with Alyattes. A few Hebrew words may be Philistine loanwords. The word for helmet (*kôba H3916* or *qôba H7746*) is a foreign word often attributed to the Philistines. The term for "lords," already mentioned (*seren*), can possibly be connected with *tyrannos* ("tyrant"), a pre-Greek or Asianic word. Some have connected three seals discovered in the excavations at Ashdod with the Philistines. The signs resemble the Cypro-Minoan script. Three inscribed clay tablets from Deir ᶜAlla (SUCCOTH) also have been attributed to the Philistines. These signs resemble the Cypro-Mycenaean script. Both the seals and clay tablets are still imperfectly understood.

***C. Religion.*** There is little evidence available with which to reconstruct Philistine religion. The three gods known to us from the Bible—DAGON, ASHTORETH, and BAAL-ZEBUB—all have Semitic names. There were temples of Dagon in Gaza (Jdg. 16:21–30), Ashdod (1 Sam. 5:1–7), and probably in Beth Shan (1 Chr. 10:10; cf. 1 Sam. 31:10); temples of Ashtoreth in Ashkelon (Herodotus, *Hist.* 1.105) and probably in Beth Shan (1 Sam. 31:10); and a temple to Baal-Zebub in Ekron (2 Ki. 1:1–16). Sacrifices were made to Dagon by the lords of the Philistines (Jdg. 16:23), and warriors wore small portable images into battle (2 Sam. 5:21). There were priests and diviners from whom advice was sought to remove a plague (1 Sam. 6:2–9). The Philistines' experience with Israel's ark revealed their belief in the existence of Israel's God and his extraterritorial jurisdiction (5:1—6:18). The Philistines also earned a reputation for soothsaying (Isa. 2:6).

***D. Material culture.*** Archaeological work in Philistia itself has been minimal, but the excavation of Ashdod in the past few years is correcting this. Most of our limited information comes from excavations in adjacent areas into which the Philistines expanded. This has revealed a distinctive type of "Philistine" pottery, the only ware in ancient Palestine that can definitely be ascribed to one people. Three main arguments support the connection of this pottery with the Philistines: its geographical distribution, its stratigraphical position, and a comparative study of its various components. It is a large and homogeneous group of locally made painted ware with the fusion of various ceramic styles.

Four different influences can be distinguished: Mycenaean, Cypriot, Egyptian, and local Palestinian. By far the most influential, both in shape and decoration, has been the Mycenaean, especially Mycenaean III c1b pottery, closely related to Rhodes and Cyprus. But Philistine pottery is not a product of people bringing a homogeneous tradition directly from their home country. Rather, it reflects various cultural influences picked up on the long journey from their Aegean homeland. The chief pottery types are the buff-colored beer jugs with spouted strainers (indicating that the Philistines were heavy drinkers), craters, cups, and stirrup jars with a white slip. Characteristic decorations, painted in red and black, are the geometrical designs (spirals and interlocking circles) and metopes enclosing stylized birds (similar to swans, often with the head turned back).

Since no cemeteries have yet been found at the five major Philistine cities, burial customs are still imperfectly understood. Rectangular chamber tombs from Tell el-Far$^{c}$ah (c. 12 mi. SE of Gaza) closely resemble Mycenaean tombs. Burials

Philistine pottery.

in anthropoid clay coffins are especially distinctive. These coffins have a lid at the point where the head and shoulders of the body would come. On this lid, the head and hands of the deceased are found in high relief. Sometimes the arms are included, and in other cases a stylized headdress, similar to the "feather crown" of the Philistines shown in the scenes in the temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu near Thebes in Egypt. These reliefs from Medinet Habu depict the Philistines and their manner of waging war. They are clean shaven, wearing a helmet decorated with reeds or feathers similar to the plumed head from Crete. They wear short kilts similar to those from the Aegean. Although not equipped with a bow, they carry a spear, long rapier, and circular shield.

The description of Goliath's armor indicates that the head of his spear was made of iron (1 Sam. 17:7). It is clear that the Philistines controlled the smelting of iron and kept Israel from having even one ironsmith (13:19–22). Smelting installations for iron have been found only at Philistine settlements in Palestine (Ashdod, Tell Qasile, Tell Jem-meh, and Tell Mor). In making the five golden mice as an expiatory gift, the Philistines are depicted as competent in the goldsmith's art (6:4–5), and the discovery of golden jewelry at Philistine sites is in sharp contrast to the poverty of Israelite sites. All of this indicates that the Philistines were accomplished in the arts and crafts and that their material culture was far superior to that of Israel.

**VI. Role.** Today the term *Philistine* is used of an uncultured person. This negative reputation is due, in part, to the fact that the Bible always speaks of the Philistines in derisive terms as the principal enemy of Israel. However, such a reputation is unjustified. We already have seen that the high material culture of the Philistines was far superior to that of Israel. It was really the Philistines who were the main civilizing influence on Palestine. Their superior culture and political organization seemed for a long time to assure their dominance over the region. At great odds, Israel waged a long and difficult struggle with them for the Promised Land. During the struggle, however, Israel learned from them some of the lessons of culture that she needed. More important, the external opposition of the Philistines brought the bickering and rival tribes of Israel together and forged them into a nation as nothing else could have done. This was the historic function of the Philistines, and though they no longer remain, the magnitude of their impact lives on in the name *Palestine,* which they gave to the country in which they lived.

(See R. A. S. Macalister, *The Philistines: Their History and Civilization* [1914, repr. 1965, with additional bibliography by A. Silverstein]; A. R. Burn, *Minoans, Philistines, and Greeks* [1930]; A. Furumark, *The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery* [1941]; W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine* [1949], 110–22; K. A. Kitchen in *Peoples of Old Testament Times,* ed. D. J. Wiseman [1973], 53–78; W. F. Albright and R. D. Barnett in *CAH,* 2/2, 3rd ed. [1975], 371–78 and 507–16; T. Dothan, *The Philistines and Their Material Culture* [1982]; N. K. Sandars, *The Sea Peoples* [1985]; A. Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible, 10,000–586 B.C.E* [1990], 300–328, 531–36; T. Dothan and M. Dothan, *People of the Sea: The Search for the Philistines* [1992]; D. M. Howard, Jr., in *Peoples of the Old Testament World,* ed. A.J. Hoerth et al. [1994], 231–50; E. D. Oren, ed., *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment* [2000]; E. Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible. Volume II: The Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian Periods, 732–332 BCE* [2001]; 102–29, 316–19, 407–22; A. E. Killebrew, *Biblical Peoples and Ethnicity: An Archaeological Study of Egyptians, Canaanites, Philistines, and Early Israel 1300–1100 B.C.E.* [2005].)

**Philo, Pseudo-.** See PSEUDO-PHILO.

**Philo Judaeus** fi'loh joo-dee'uhs (Φίλων, "beloved" or "loving, friendly"). Also known as Philo(n) of Alexandria. A 1st-cent. Hellenistic Jewish philosopher who influenced early Christian theology and biblical INTERPRETATION.

1. Background
2. Allegorical interpretation
3. Theology
    1. God
    2. The Logos

**I. Background.** Philo's dates are uncertain. He was already an older man when he was chosen by the Jews of ALEXANDRIA to present their grievances before the emperor CALIGULA in A.D. 40, so most infer that Philo was born a decade or two before the NT era and that he died c. A.D. 50. These dates indicate that he could not have been influenced by Christian writings, and there is no evidence that he ever heard of Jesus.

The Jewish colony in Alexandria, protected by rights granted by ALEXANDER THE GREAT, had diverged from the Pharisaism of Palestine (see PHARISEE). Many Alexandrian Jews had apparently become incapable of reading the Hebrew Bible, which therefore was translated into Greek, beginning before 200 B.C. See SEPTUAGINT. This Greek Bible, in a few passages, seems to reflect some knowledge of STOIC terminology. In Ps. 51:12, for example, the Hebrew expression *rûah nĕdîbâ* ("a willing spirit") is translated in the LXX (50:14) as *pneumati hāgemonikō* ("governing spirit"); the second Greek word is a technical term in Stoicism. Such instances are far from proving a deliberate attempt to alter the meaning of the OT to advance the philosophy of a later Alexandrian school; they are evidence, however, of contact with Greek culture. It should also be noted that the earliest parts of the SIBYLLINE ORACLES (c. 150 B.C.), though strictly Jewish in content, attributes its message to a heathen prophetess. Similarly, the apocryphal WISDOM OF SOLOMON puts some Greek ideas into the mouth of a Hebrew king. It also makes use of allegorical interpretation, which Philo so greatly developed.

Many of the early Christian fathers not only adopted the methods of allegorical interpretation but directly borrowed many of Philo's particular details. Indeed, the Christian school at Alexandria may be considered the heir to the Philonic school. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA came to that city in middle life, and ORIGEN was born there; the Gnostics BASILIDES and VALENTINUS taught there, not to mention the strictly pagan philosophers, chiefly Neoplatonics; and later Athanasius preached there—all of whom made Alexandria a center of Christian scholarship.

With respect to Philo, two extremes are to be avoided. On the one hand, he has been pictured as essentially a Greek philosopher, who, because born a Jew, felt it necessary to use the text of the OT so as not to offend his nation too greatly. The other extreme is to see him as a miraculous anticipation of Christianity with its trinitarian Christology. Although opinions may continue to differ as to the amount of paganism he absorbed, and though some may continue to insist that he dimly recognized the second person of the TRINITY, the truth, more likely, is that he was indeed a learned philosopher, but a fairly orthodox Jew for all of that.

Philo's writings are extensive. Some of his books may be regarded as expository paraphrases of the PENTATEUCH (e.g., *On the Creation of the World, On Abraham, On Joseph, The Special Laws*). Others approach the genre of "exegetical commentaries" (*Questions and Answers on Genesis* [covering Gen. 2–17], *Allegorical Interpretation* [covering Gen. 2–3], *On the Confusion of Tongues, On the Migration of Abraham,* etc.). In addition, Philo produced a handful of strictly philosophical works (e.g., *On the Eternity of the World*) and several pieces that are more difficult to classify (e.g., On *the Embassy to Gaius, On the Contemplative Life*).

**II. Allegorical interpretation.** The motivation for interpreting the OT allegorically is the impossibility of taking the anthropomorphic passages literally. See ALLEGORY. Since these require a hidden meaning, it is also possible that purely historical narrative is a garb for the revelation of superior truth. Examples are the best way to show what allegorical interpretation is. Philo's comments on Gen. 2:5 are reminiscent of Platonism:

> What is the meaning of the words, "And God made every green thing of the field before it came into being on the earth, and every grass before it grew"? In these words he alludes to the incorporeal ideas. For the expression, "before it came into being," points to the perfection of every green thing and grass, of plants and trees. And as Scripture says that before they grew on the earth he made plants and grass and other things, it is evident that he made incorporeal and intelligible ideas in accordance with the intelligible nature which these sense-perceptible things on earth were meant to imitate. (*Questions and Answers on Genesis* 1.2)

Another example of finding philosophical truth hidden underneath literal statements occurs in the *Allegorical Interpretation* (1.10 §25):

> He says, "for God had not rained upon the earth, and there was no man to work the ground." These words discover a deep knowledge of the laws of being. For if God does not shower upon the senses the means of apprehending objects presented to them, neither will the mind have anything to "work" or take in hand in the field of sense perception. For the mind by itself is without employment when the Cause of all things does not pour down, like rain and moisture, colors on the sight, sounds on the hearing, savors on the taste…Thus before the creation of particular concrete substances, God did not rain on the original idea of sense perception, which Moses calls "earth."

A still more extreme example is Philo's comment on Gen. 16:16:

> Why is Abraham said to be eighty-six years old when Hagar bore him Ishmael? Because that which follows the eighty, namely the number six, is the first perfect number [a perfect number is one whose divisors add up to the number, as 1 + 2 + 3 = 6]…And the number eighty is the most harmonious of numbers, consisting of two most excellent scales, namely, of that which is by doubles and that which is by triples in the scheme of fourths. (*Q. Gen.* 3.38)

Perhaps the allegory that is best known—because it is a defense of the use of pagan philosophy in Hebrew and Christian theology—is the one concerning the newly emancipated Jewish slaves who borrowed or asked jewels of the Egyptians before marching out of the country. Egyptians, explains Philo, means Greeks; and since jewels are precious possessions, they represent the precious Greek

philosophy; that the Jews asked for and took them means that Philo or any child of God may make use of Greek philosophy.

Since the allegorical method continued in the medieval church until the Reformers replaced it with grammatico-historical exegesis, and since also it reappears today, its great defect should be made clear. Unlike the connection between types and shadows with their realistic fulfillment, there is in the allegorical method no logical or necessary relation between the text and the interpretation. Ingenuity can always invent equally plausible or implausible alternatives. *Abram* could mean Humean skeptic as well as natural philosopher, and *Abraham* could mean Kantian. Not only can many meanings be imposed on a single text, but the same meaning can be equally well obtained from several texts, so that Homer's *Iliad* could give the same message as the Pentateuch.

One must not suppose that Philo was as indifferent to the literal meaning of the text as his allegorizing seems to imply. Philo accepted the OT as authoritative and its historical narratives and doctrinal explanations as true. Wherever the literal meaning is possible (ANTHROPOMORPHISMS and figures of speech are exceptions), it must be accepted. The emancipated slaves did in fact, historically, ask for and receive literal jewels. More important, however, than the bare events, are the moral lessons inculcated. Still more important are the philosophical truths obtained by the allegorical method; but neither of the two higher meanings contradicts or denies the literal account.

**III. Theology.** That Philo was not introducing to Jewish culture an undiluted paganism is seen most clearly in his basic theology. Plato, for epistemological reasons, asserted the existence of incorporeal ideas, absolute realities, of which bodily objects are no more than imitations and approximations. (See GREEK RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY.) Mathematical Equality, Justice, Man, and Horse are such Ideas; and the Idea of Good is the highest of all. The Maker of the visible world, the Demiurge, fashions the visible world by arranging chaotic space in order, according to the pattern of the World of Ideas. They exist eternally independent of him. This Platonic scheme conflicts with the sovereignty of God as taught in the OT; and Philo, although accepting the reality of the Ideas for the same epistemological reasons, completely reverses the relationship.

***A. God.*** In the *Allegorical Interpretation* (2.1 §3) Philo writes, "God has been ranked according

Theater at Alexandria, hometown of Philo Judaeus.

to the one and the unit; or, rather, even the unit has been ranked according to the one God, for all number, like time, is younger than the cosmos." In *Creation of the World* (4 §17) he writes, "But that world which consists of Ideas…how it was created we shall know if we take for our guide" the activity of an architect who begins to build a visible city by first conceiving its invisible plan in his mind.

That God is the creator of the Ideas (a thesis that would have horrified Plato) is in strict accord with the OT doctrine of transcendence. Greek philosophy never entertained the notion of divine transcendence, never even dreamed of an absolute CREATION. In contrast, the OT puts this idea in its very first lines. Therefore Philo's basic alteration of the Platonic theory shows how essentially Jewish his thought is.

Philo also expresses a view of divine incomprehensibility that is far from the classical philosophy of Plato, Aristotle, or the later Stoics. The concept of incomprehensibility is best anticipated by examining Philo's method of learning about God. First of all, Philo uses some forms of the cosmological and teleological arguments to prove God's existence. In these he stresses the analogy between the human mind in a body and the mind of God in the universe. Of course, he is not willing to follow the analogy to the point of making the world God's body; and perhaps because of such weaknesses in the argument, he places greater reliance on a superior method of knowing God: "There is a mind more perfect and more thoroughly cleansed, which has undergone initiation into the great mysteries, a mind which gains its knowledge of the First Cause not from created things, as one may learn the substance from the shadow, but lifting its eyes above and beyond creation obtains a clear vision of the uncreated One, so as from him to apprehend both himself and his shadow" (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.33 §100).

Whether this direct vision is a mystic trance or whether it is only a flash of illumination, it is at any rate only an occasional experience. Solitude, because God is solitary, and absence of bodily distractions, because God is spiritual, are necessary conditions for this intuition. Although God has breathed his own divinity into the mind of every person, there is no guarantee that any random individual will attain the vision. But even so, the attempt to achieve the vision is itself a worthwhile spiritual exercise.

Yet for all that Philo says about such a direct vision, and in spite of all that can be learned of God in the OT, Philo also speaks of God as incomprehensible and in fact unknowable: "Nothing that can give assurance can give positive assurance touching God, for God has shown his nature to no one, but he has rendered it invisible to our whole race. Who can assert of the First Cause either that it is without body or that it is a body, that it is of such a kind or that it is of no kind. In a word, who can make any positive assertion concerning his essence or quality or state or movement?…[Man] is unable to possess knowledge regarding his nature" (*Alleg. Interp.* 3.73 §§206–7).
Elsewhere, Philo says God is nameless; he repeats that God has no qualities; God cannot be classified because he is unlike everything else, or, in modern language, God is "Totally Other." Taken strictly, these phrases mean that God is utterly unknowable. Nevertheless Philo, consistently or inconsistently, tries to make room for that amount and kind of knowledge without which revelation and religion would be impossible.

***B. The Logos.*** If Philo must be acquitted of the charge of having abandoned Judaism to offer just another variety of pagan philosophy, so too one must guard against the early Christian view that Philo anticipated the doctrine of the Trinity in his theory of the LOGOS. He was a Jew, neither Greek nor

Christian.

The supposed anticipation of Christ, the Logos of God, depends on some of Philo's picturesque phrases. He calls the Logos the "Firstborn Son of God." The Logos is also the image of God, the wisdom of God, unbegotten and eternal when compared with the world, yet when compared with God, begotten though still eternal. This language, to which a Christian interpretation can indeed be given, must not in Philo be pressed too far. If one concludes that the Logos is a divine person because he is called Son, what does one do with Laughter, also called the Son of God? Note too that God is the husband of Wisdom, Wisdom is the daughter of God, and Wisdom is also the mother of the Logos.

Since these phrases, if taken literally, are mutually inconsistent, the language of personification must be taken as nothing more than figurative expression. So understood, the material forms a reasonably plausible metaphysical or cosmological theory. The problem Philo faces is not narrowly theological. His Logos doctrine is not a speculation on the internal nature of the divine Being, but rather an account of the framework of the universe. He writes: "No material thing is so strong as to be able to bear the burden of the world: the everlasting Logos of the eternal God is the strongest and most certain support of the universe. Stretched from the center to the extremities and from the extremities to the center, it runs its long course throughout nature, combining and conjoining all its parts. For the Father who begat [the Logos] made him [*or* it] such a bond of the universe as nothing can break" (*Planting* 1 §§8–9).

The best interpretation of Philo, so it would seem, equates the Logos with the world of Ideas. Philo calls the Logos the thought of God. It comprehends the whole intelligible cosmos. It is the "place" of the cosmos and is an Idea, a pattern, or seal, stamped on physical things, the frame of the visible world.

This Platonic (versus a trinitarian) interpretation of Philo is supported by his subsuming *logoi* (pl.) as particular Ideas under the Logos. This is supported by the illustration, previously given, of the architect who forms a complete picture in his mind of the city he is to build. The pattern as a whole is the Logos; the various buildings and bridges are *logoi*. The passage ends with these words: "like a good craftsman he begins to build the city of stones and timber, keeping his eye upon his pattern and making the visible and tangible objects correspond in each case to the incorporeal Ideas" (*Creation of the World* 4 §18).

At the same time, in addition to such a "static" Platonic framework, Philo has borrowed a certain dynamic outlook from Stoicism. Plato had construed the details of the world as approximations of a perfect, never-changing model. The Stoics explained these details by means of seminal reasons that developed like living, growing beings. To preserve their materialism in the face of idealistic objections based on epistemology, they tried to analyze the meaning of "the rose is red" into "the rose reddens." Platonic predicates are thus turned into the activities of living powers. Thus, Philo speaks of the *logoi* as the powers of God. The sun and moon, for example, are the results of forces impressing matter. In Philo the dynamic action of Plato's Demiurge is transferred to the multiple powers. Whether Platonism and Stoicism can thus simply be harmonized, and whether such Idea-Powers can then be thought of as OT angels, are questions Philo never distinctly asked. Note that for a century the philosophic schools themselves were accommodating their views to one another and losing their distinctiveness and consistency.

Presumably without detriment to the unity of the Logos, Philo heads up the powers under two that are supreme. His thought, or at least his mode of expression, can be seen in a concluding quotation. It is part of the allegorical interpretation of Abraham and his three angelic visitors. But if Platonic Ideas are hard to combine with Stoic powers, their identification with Hebrew angels makes a still stranger combination.

> When as at noon-tide God shines around the soul, and the light of the mind fills it through and through and the shadows are driven from it by the rays which pour all around it, the single object [God, the Father] presents to it a triple vision, one representing the reality, the other two reflected from it…The central place is held by the Father of the Universe, who in the sacred scriptures is called He That Is [*ho on*] as his proper name, while on either side of him are the senior powers, the nearest to him, the creative and the kingly. The title of the former is God, since it made and ordered the universe; the title of the latter is Lord, since it is the fundamental right of the maker to rule and control what he has brought into being. So the central Being with each of his powers as his squire presents to the mind that has vision the appearance sometimes of one, sometimes of three: of one, when the mind is highly purified and, passing beyond not merely the multiplicity of other numbers, but even the dyad which is next to the unit, presses on to the unmixed, uncompounded, self-contained Idea that stands in need of nothing; of three, when as yet uninitiated into the highest mysteries…it is unable to apprehend the Existent alone by Itself and apart from all else, but only through its actions, as either creative or ruling…That the triple vision is in reality a vision of a single object is clear not merely from the principles of allegory but from the literal text. When the Sage [Abraham] supplicates the three seeming travellers to accept his hospitality, he discourses with them as though they were one and not three. (*On Abraham* 24–25 §§119–32)

To the later Christians at Alexandria, subject to the same eclectic tendencies, this sounds trinitarian. Therefore they praised him, and perhaps for the same reason the Jews virtually disowned him.

(See further J. Drummond, *Philo Judaeus, or The Jewish-Alexandrian Philosophy in Its Development and Completion*, 2 vols. [1888]; E. Bréhier, *Les idées philosophiques et religieuses de Philon d'Alexandrie* [1925]; H. A. Wolfson, *Philo,* 2 vols. [1947]; J. Daniélou, *Philon d'Alexandrie* [1958]; S. Sandmel, *Philo of Alexandria: An Introduction* [1979]; R. Radice and D. T. Runia, *Philo of Alexandria: An Annotated Bibliography 1937–1986* [1988]; P. Borgen, *Philo of Alexandria: An Exegete for His Time* [1997]; P. Frick, *Divine Providence in Philo of Alexandria* [1999]; D T. Runia, *Philo of Alexandria: An Annotated Bibliography 1987–1996, with Addenda for 1937–1986* [2000]; J. W. Martens, *One God, One Law: Philo of Alexandria on the Mosaic and Greco-Roman Law* [2003]; K. Schenck, *A Brief Guide to Philo* [2005]; F. Calabi, *God's Acting, Man's Acting: Tradition and Philosophy in Philo of Alexandria* [2008].)

G. H. CLARK

**Philologus** fil-ol'uh-guhs (Φιλόλογος *G5807,* "lover of learning, scholar"). A Christian in ROME to whom PAUL sent greetings (Rom. 16:15). He is listed first in a group of five, and it is possible that he was the leader of a house church (cf. vv. 5, 10, 11, 15). In the Greek text, his name seems to be coupled with that of JULIA, and some have speculated that she was his wife (or possibly his sister).

D. E. HIEBERT

**Philometor** fil'uh-mee'tor (Φιλομήτωρ). See PTOLEMY VI.

**Philo of Alexandria.** See PHILO JUDAEUS.

**Philo of Byblos.** Also known as Herennius Philon. An ancient writer who probably lived in the Phoenician city of Byblos (see GEBAL). He was born in the second half of the 1st cent. and died c. A.D. 160. Among several works attributed to him, none of which has survived intact, he is best known for his *Phoenician History,* substantial portions of which are quoted by EUSEBIUS. Philo was a strong opponent of allegorization and of the MYSTERY RELIGIONS. Although polemical, his work preserves considerable data from Phoenician history and tradition. (See A. I. Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos* [1981]; H. W. Attridge and R. A. Oden, *The Phoenician History, Philo of Byblos: Introduction, Critical Text, Translation, Notes* [1981]; ABD,5:342–44.)

**philosophy.** This term (from Gk. *philosophia G5814,* lit., "the love of wisdom") refers traditionally to the study of logic and the basic principles of science, metaphysics, ethics, and aesthetics. In a wider sense, the general principles of any subject can be called its philosophy. Approaching a misuse of the word, a phrase such as "philosophy of education" means merely the policy of school administration; and a "philosophy of life" designates any individual's preferences, no matter how poorly systematized. Inspired though it be, the biblical book of ECCLESIASTES is an example of this popular meaning and has little to do with the subject matter of professional technical philosophy. The meaning of the word in Col. 2:8 is hard to determine: it could possibly refer to GNOSTICISM or perhaps only ETHICS, for in the 1st cent. the Greek schools had sunk to their nadir and discussed little else.

The reason for these shades of meaning is that philosophizing is generalizing, and no authority can fix the degree of generalizing necessary to merit the name. The common element in all generalizations is a claim to KNOWLEDGE. Therefore the crucial question of philosophy becomes, How is knowledge possible? Attempts to justify knowledge are called *epistemology.*

*Metaphysics,* the theory of being (not the being of plants or botany, not the being of animals or zoology, not even the being of inanimate matter, but of being without qualification—being as such), is sometimes said to be the basic subject; but even Thomism, which makes such a claim, stands or falls with its theory of learning. The answer to the question "What do you know?" provokes the further question "How do you know?" Beyond this, no question can be asked. Therefore, epistemology is the basis of philosophy.

There are two very general types of epistemology. (1) First is *empiricism,* whose thesis is that all knowledge is based on experience. The majority of empiricists equate experience with sensation; others allow for nonsensory aesthetic or religious experience. (2) The second general type of epistemology has no good single name. Perhaps *rationalism* is as good as any. Its varieties unite on the principle that not all knowledge is based on experience. In one way or another, knowledge is gained from sources other than sensation, chiefly the mind itself. Thus some of these philosophers assert the existence of innate ideas. For example, it may be said that the law of contradiction or the idea of God is inborn. Kant taught that the mind has a priori forms: sensation is essentially chaotic and becomes intelligible only after the mind arranges it by these forms. Augustinians and Platonists rely on intellectual intuitions: their strong point is that logic, ethics, and aesthetics cannot be derived from experience because experience at best tells us what is, whereas these subjects speak of what must or what ought to be; furthermore, all experience is limited, but knowledge must include universal judgments.

During the 20th cent., the most active schools of philosophy were Logical Positivism, a strongly scientific school; Analytical Philosophy, largely confined to semantics; and Existentialism, an utter chaos of radically individual decisions. The older schools are more or less in eclipse.

The Scripture does not discuss these subjects explicitly and technically. Various Christian philosophers believe that one can see philosophical principles presupposed by the text. The Thomists, for example, think that Rom. 1:20 requires empiricism and justifies the cosmological argument. Calvinists have historically made the knowledge of God—not the knowledge of sensory objects—basic, and hold that Gen. 1:26 and Rom. 2:15 presuppose innate ideas, or a priori forms. See also GREEK RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY.

G. H. CLARK

**Phinees** fin'ee-uhs. KJV Apoc. form of PHINEHAS (Sir. 45:23 et al.).

**Phinehas** fin'ee-huhs (פִּינְחָס *H7090,* prob. from Egyp. *p-nhsy,* "the southerner," referring mainly to Nubians, hence "dark-skinned"; the name is found especially during Egypt's New Kingdom, 16th–12th centuries B.C.). KJV Apoc. Phinees. (1) Son of ELEAZAR and grandson of AARON (Exod. 6:25; 1 Chr. 6:4, 50; 9:20; 1 Esd. 8:2). He was once superintendent of certain Korahite gatekeepers (1 Chr. 9:20; see KORAH). He is shown to have been an ancestor of EZRA (Ezra 7:5); also he is noted as ancestor of GERSHOM (8:2), one of the family heads who went up from Babylon with EZRA. The number of occasions that called Phinehas into special activity indicates that he was a man of integrity and dependability, one in whom flamed deep moral passion.

The first of these instances was at SHITTIM, at the end of the wilderness journey before crossing the Jordan (Num. 25:1), and following BALAAM'S notable prophecies (chs. 22–24). Balaam was forbidden of God to curse Israel, but the incident led to licentiousness with Moabite women (Num. 25:3; 31:16; Mic. 6:5). In such a moral and spiritual crisis, MOSES commanded that the guilty be slain. A plague broke out, but it was stayed following Phine-has's exploit in transfixing ZIMRI and COZBI, his paramour, with one spear-thrust, because of which he was given the covenant of an everlasting priesthood (Num. 25:7–15; Ps. 106:30; 1 Macc. 2:54). Except for a brief interregnum under ELI (descendant of ITHAMAR), Phinehas's descendants held the office until Jerusalem was razed in A.D. 70.

It was Phinehas who accompanied the 1,000 from each tribe in the move to avenge Israel, when he carried certain "articles from the sanctuary and the trumpets for signaling" (Num. 31:6). He seems to have been installed as high priest later; some passages note that his father Eleazar was still in the office (3:13,21,26, et al.). Again Phinehas was commissioned to inquire into the apparent violation of divine law by the E Jordan tribes, which were exonerated and praised when it was found that the altar raised was simply for reminder in times to come (Josh. 22:9–34).

Once more, following the outrage of the concubine of the sojourning Levite at GIBEAH of Benjamin, it was Phinehas who at that time ministered before the ARK OF THE COVENANT, and who gave divine endorsement and promise of success for the third attempt in avenging the crime (Jdg. 20:28). Presumably he was buried in the hill of Ephraim where his father was laid to rest (Josh. 24:33).

(2) Son of Eli the priest (1 Sam. 1:3), who along with his brother HOPHNI, demanded reversal of sacrificial regulations, engaged in gross immorality, and was condemned by a "man of God" (2:11–36). The brothers connived at taking the ark into battle, but they were killed, and the ark was taken by the PHILISTINES (ch. 4).

(3) Father of Eleazar, a postexilic priest who with others made accounting for certain valuables that the returnees brought from Babylon (Ezra 8:33; 1 Esd. 8:63).

(Phinehas was also the name of the last high priest before the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D.

70 and of the last treasurer of the temple, who when the city fell handed the Romans some of its treasures [Jos. *War* 4.3.8; 6.8.3].)

R. F. GRIBBLE

**Phison** fi'son. KJV Apoc. form of PISHON (Sir. 24:25).

**Phlegon** fleg'uhn (Φλέγων *G5823,* "burning, blazer"). A Christian in ROME to whom PAUL sent greetings (Rom. 16:14). He is named in a group of five believers who possibly formed a household church.

**Phocylides, Pseudo-.** See PSEUDO-PHO-CYLIDES.

**Phoebe** fee'bee (Φοίβη *G5833,* "bright, pure," orig. the name of a Greek mythological figure). KJV Phebe. A woman from the church in CENCHREA (a harbor village to the E of CORINTH) whom PAUL commended to the church in ROME. The apostle describes her as (1) "our sister," (2) "a servant" or "deacon" or "deaconess," (3) a person who "has been a great help to many people, including me" (Rom. 16:1–2). Phoebe had undoubtedly ministered to Paul during his visits to Cenchrea, and the apostle now urged the Roman Christians to welcome her as one of their own number; and that they should "give her any help she may need." It is generally assumed that she acted as courier, delivering this epistle to the church in Rome.

Whether the Greek term *diakonos G1356* (a form that is both masc. and fem.) in this passage bears the general sense of "servant, assistant" (Matt. 20:26 et al.) or denotes an ecclesiastical office has been a matter of considerable dispute. Some argue that elsewhere in the NT and other early Christian literature there is no clear evidence that women held the position of DEACON and that a distinct office of "deaconess" did not arise until the 3rd cent. (according to BDAG, 230, the term here refers specifically to her service as "agent" or "courier"; cf. TYCHICUS in Col. 4:7).

Others point out that Paul's description of Phoebe suggests more than general service and that she must have held a position of ministerial leadership. Moreover, the apostle applies to her the term *prostatis G4706* (NIV, "great help"), which could be used in the sense of "benefactor" or "patron," implying some leadership role. The matter cannot be resolved with certainty. (See further E. J. Goodspeed, "Phoebe's Letter of Introduction," *HTR* 44 [1951]: 55–57; B. Withering-ton III, *Women in the Earliest Churches* [1988], 113–14; F. M. Gillman, *Women Who Knew Paul* [1992]; T. R. Schreiner, *Romans,* BECNT [1998], 786–88.)

R.E.PERRY

**Phoenicia** fi-nish'uh (Φοινίκη *G5834*). KJV Phe-nicia (Acts 21:2) and Phenice (11:19; 15:3). An ancient country on the E coast of the Mediterranean. Its two main cities were TYRE and SIDON. The name is applied to a strip of seacoast stretching about 120 mi. N from Mount Carmel (see CAR-MEL, MOUNT), in what is now Lebanon and Syria.

1. Name
2. Geography
3. History
4. Religion

**I. Name.** The Greeks, as early as Homer, referred to the Canaanite inhabitants of the Syrian coast as *Phoinikes,* a name thought to be derived from the term *phoinios,* "(blood-)red" (the term for "purple-red" or "crimson," *phoinix,* attested in Mycenean Greek, was apparently coined because the earliest use of this color was ascribed to the Phoenicians). If so, it is unclear whether the Phoenicians were so designated because of their purple industry or their dark skin or their copper trade or their date palms (the latter is another meaning of *phoinix*), etc. The Egyptian word *fnhw,* sometimes claimed to mean "Phoenicians," is probably unrelated to the Greek. It has been claimed that the Greek term *Phoini-kes* is a loan translation of the native Semitic term for "Canaanite" (cf. Heb. *kĕna$^c$an H4046*), since a Hurrian word *kinahhi* appears to mean "purple dye." According to the theory, the HURRIAN term for the dye was first applied to the land (*kĕna$^c$an H4046,* "land of purple") and then to the people. But it is just as possible that the two namings, both by foreign groups, were mutually independent.

**II. Geography.** The land of the Phoenicians was a long, narrow strip extending from the river called today Nahr el-Kebir in the N to Mount Carmel


This excavated area along the Mediterranean coast (at Dor) was a place where purple dye was extracted from the murex shells.

in the S, a distance of c. 120 mi. At its widest, this strip measured only c. 5 mi. from the Mediterranean Sea on the W to the foothills of the LEBANON mountain range on the E. The vegetation in the fertile plain consisted of evergreen shrubs, pine, oak, mulberry and beech trees, grape vines, fig trees, date palms, and olive trees, wheat and barley, onions, and garlic. The region was quite fertile in antiquity and was cultivated from an early date.

The LEBANON mountain range runs 105 mi. parallel to the coast, from the Nahr el-Kebir in the N to the Nahr el-Qasimiyeh in the S. The mountains are of gray limestone and include some peaks as high as 11,000 ft. above sea level. The winter temperatures on the slopes are decidedly lower than on the plain. The vegetation of these two areas differs accordingly. The trees consist entirely of evergreens: CEDARS, PINES, CYPRESS, and two varieties of JUNIPER. Another type of tree whose wood was highly prized was the ALMUG, which the merchant marine of HIRAM of Tyre and SOLOMON of Israel imported from OPHIR (1 Ki. 10:11–12; 2 Chr. 9:10–11). But Ugaritic texts from two centuries

earlier indicate the cultivation of the almug in the Lebanon itself, as do Akkadian and Sum-erian texts from the same period and earlier. The Lebanon was heavily forested in antiquity, but the continuous exporting of cedars and other timber to Egypt, Israel, and even to the E to Assyria and Babylonia resulted in progressive denudation of the range. Today, all that remains of the once rich forests of Lebanon are a few small groves of cedars.

Considering the limitations set upon them by the narrowness of their coastal plain, it is not surprising that the Phoenicians sought to augment their food production through overseas trade. The Phoenicians were famous in the ancient world as sailors (cf. Isa. 23). They developed sea trade in the Mediterranean Sea, the Red Sea, and quite possibly also in the Atlantic Ocean. Underwater exploration and investigation of Bronze Age shipwrecks indicate that Phoenician ships carried on trade between Minoan Crete and the ANE mainland powers. Phoenicians established colonies in the W Mediterranean in Carthage, in Malta, in Sardinia, and in southern Spain. The principal exports of Phoenicia were timber, purple dye, glassware, and finished goods. In return they sought gold, silver, ivory, and other luxury items, but also wheat and barley to supplement their own limited production (cf. 1 Ki. 10:22). Such accomplished merchants were the Phoenicians that the term "Canaanite" soon became synonymous in Hebrew with "merchant."

**III. History.** HERODOTUS (*Hist.* 1.1; 7.89) thought that the seafaring Phoenicians arrived overland from the Persian Gulf area by way of the Red Sea and founded the Phoenician cities such as Sidon. Contemporary documentary evidence does not appear earlier than the 3rd millennium. Excavations conducted by the French of the ruins of ancient GEBAL (Byblos) have shown that in late Neolithic times (c. 3500 B.C.), Phoenicia was inhabited by a "Mediterranean" race, which used circular huts and buried their dead in big earthen pots. This civilization disappeared in the latter half of the 4th millennium.

The "Mediterranean race" was supplanted by several new groups. One, coming from the N, brought with them a characteristic type of weapon. Semites came from the E, from MESOPOTAMIA and ARABIA (c. 3000 B.C.). By the middle of the 3rd millennium, Semites dominated the population of N Mesopotamia, SYRIA, and the Lebanon. It is likely that they bestowed on the countryside names from their own language, such as "Lebanon" and "Sidon" (meaning "fishery"). These Semites of the period c. 2500–1700 are usually called "Amorites," although they should not be confused with the AMORITES of the OT, which were a much smaller clan from a later period. The 18th cent. witnessed a flourishing trade between Phoenicia and Egypt in timber and artistic commodities. By this time also, the Phoenicians had established the coastal colonies of UGARIT, ACCO, DOR, and JOPPA. The Phoenician cities now numbered at least the following: Gebal (Byblos), Sidon, Tyre, Ugarit, Arvad, Beirut, Sumur, Ulluza, Dor, and Joppa.

For several centuries beginning c. 1500 B.C., Phoenicia was controlled by the Egyptian 18th and 19th dynasties, although the northernmost Phoenician cities such as Ugarit, Arvad, Sumur, and Ulluza came under the political and military power of the HITTITE emperor Suppiluliuma I in the middle of the 14th cent. The Egyptian Pharaoh THUTMOSE III (c. 1490–1435) led his armies northward through Palestine and into Phoenicia. Among the northern cities that he claimed to have captured was Arvad. Still all did not go well for the Egyptians under his successors, Amenophis II and III. Letters written to Amenophis III from two of his loyal vassals, Rib-addi of Gebal and Abi-Milki of Tyre, show that by c. 1400 the three cities of Sumur, Beirut, and Sidon had disaffected and were blockading Phoenician cities still loyal to the pharaoh. A prime fomenter of rebellion among the northern Phoenician cities seems to have been a man by the name of Abdi-ashirta. He was followed in this

policy during the reign of Amenophis IV (Akhenaten) by his son, Aziru, who professed loyalty to Egypt, but was in fact allied by treaty with the Hittite emperor Suppiluliuma I.

Quite naturally, it was the southernmost city of the Phoenician coast, Tyre, that remained loyal longest to the Egyptians. Its king, Abi-Milki, complained in a letter to Pharaoh Amenophis IV (Akhenaten) that even Sidon, his immediate northern neighbor, was flirting with Aziru and the rebellious cities to the N. Many of the rebels were characterized by the loyalists as *hapiru* (see HABIRU), a term that seems to have designated footloose groups of nomads and mercenary soldiers in the employ of local dynasts. From c. 1380,

Phoenicia.

when the Hittite emperor Suppiluliuma I conquered N Syria, until after the Battle of Kadesh between the Hittites and Egyptians (c. 1287), the two major powers contended for control of Phoenicia. Five Hittite kings (Suppiluliuma I, Muršili II, Muwatalli, Muršili III, and Hattušili III) ruled over loyal vassals in N Syria and the northern two-thirds of the Phoenician cities. Under the successors of Hattušili III (Tudhalia IV, Arnuwanda III, and Suppiluliuma II), Hittite influence in Syria and Phoenicia deteriorated.

About 1190 B.C., invading hordes of SEA PEOPLES swept over the Hittite lands to the N and the Phoenician cities, bringing destruction to the sites of Gebal, Arvad, and Ugarit. Hittite influence (and apparently also Egyptian influence) in this region came to an abrupt end. The surly treatment accorded to Wenamon (c. 1100), the Egyptian envoy from Thebes, by the Phoenician princes of Tyre, Sidon, and Gebal indicates the lack of prestige enjoyed by the pharaohs in the N. Another foreign power that invaded Phoenicia briefly c. 1100 was Tiglath-Pileser I, king of Assyria. He conquered Arvad, but only temporarily.

In the 10th cent. Phoenicia enjoyed its golden age. This was the age of the famous King Hiram I of Tyre (c. 981–947), a contemporary of the Israelite kings David and Solomon. The Phoenician alliance with Israel was begun already under David (2 Sam. 5:11; 1 Ki. 5:1) and continued with Solomon. Under its terms, Hiram supplied Israel with materials and craftsmen for the construction of

the palace and temple (1 Ki. 5; 2 Chr. 2), and ships and seamen for the development of the Israelite merchant marine operating out of the Red Sea port of EZION GEBER (1 Ki. 9). On her part, Israel exported grain, oil, and wine to Tyre and ceded to Hiram twenty cities along a contested border in the NW corner of Israel (1 Ki. 9:10–14). Under Hiram, sea trade and exploration enjoyed a remarkable growth. A long breakwater was constructed at Tyre.

Hemmed in on all sides by strong land powers (Hittites in the N, Arameans in the E, Israelites and Philistines in the S), the Phoenicians were forced to carry out whatever expansion they required along the sea lanes to the W. Among these lanes were: (1) the route to Egypt, (2) a second route via CYPRUS to CRETE and Sicily, (3) a third to N Africa, and (4) a fourth to Spain. By c. 1000 B.C., they had founded colonies in Utica in N Africa and Gades (modern Cadiz) in Spain. By c. 900, colonies had been established in Asia Minor (Karatepe), Cyprus (Kition), and Sardinia (Nora, Tharros). By c. 850, the important colony at Carthage (Phoenician *qrt hršt,* "new city") had been founded on a site close to the SE of Utica in N Africa. By c. 800, there were still others on Sicily (Motya) and Tunisia. There is some evidence to suggest that Phoenician ships reached as far N in the Atlantic as Cornwall in England.

Nearly a century after Hiram I, a high priest named ETHBAAL gained the throne, who continued the alliance with the kingdom of Israel by the marriage of his daughter JEZEBEL to AHAB, the son of OMRI (1 Ki. 16:31). The reign of Ahab witnessed heavy penetration of the worship of the Phoenician BAAL into Israel and the outbreak of violence between the party of religious innovation and the loyalist party of Yahweh worshipers (18:3–4, 25–40; 19:10). The leader of the loyalist party was the prophet ELIJAH. The reign of Ahab in Israel also witnessed continuing battles with the Arameans of DAMASCUS, which distracted the small western states from the growing menace of Assyrian power in the E. ASHURNASIRPAL II of Assyria (c. 884–859 B.C.) campaigned in the W and received tribute from the Phoenician cities of Tyre, Sidon, Gebal, and Arvad.

Temporary respite was found in 853 B.C., when the western powers were able to unite in a league to oppose the advance of SHALMANESER III (858–824) of Assyria. In a pitched battle at Qarqar, N of HAMATH on the ORONTES River, the twelve kings of the western league checked the advance of the Assyrian king. The heaviest contributors of chariots and infantry to this league were Ahab of Israel and HADADEZER of Damascus. Four Phoenician cities contributed troops: Arvad, Arqa (Irqanta), Ushnata, and Siyannu. Gebal, Sidon, and Tyre to the S apparently remained uncommitted, fearing a later Assyrian reprisal. That reprisal in fact came twelve years later in 841, when Shalmaneser III besieged Damascus and marched to the Mediterranean coast at the Nahr el-Kalb. His route took him first to the coast at Carmel in the S and from thence northward past Tyre and Sidon. Two victory monuments were set up at Carmel ("Baal-rosh") in the S and at the Nahr el-Kalb (Lycus, or Dog River) in the N.

In 803 B.C., Adad-nirari III (809–782) of Assyria claimed Tyre and Sidon among his vassals. Tribute was paid to TIGLATH-PILESER III (745–727) of Assyria c. 741 by Hiram II of Tyre and Shibitti-Baal of Gebal. A few years later, taxes were collected from Metenna of Tyre, who committed them to a resident Assyrian supervisor for delivery to the Assyrian depot at CALAH. In 734, Tiglath-Pileser captured the fortress of Kaspuna, which guarded the approaches to Tyre and Sidon, now allied with one another in defense. During the reign of Shalmaneser V (727–722) of Assyria, King Luli of Sidon attempted to unite all the Phoenician cities, including those on Cyprus, under his own control. The Assyrians, who had left the Phoenician cities alone for the time being while they made of the kingdoms of Israel and Syria organized conquered provinces, could not tolerate this defiance.

In 701 B.C., SENNACHERIB, king of Assyria (704–681), led his armies through the Phoenician cities of Sidon, Beth-zaith, Zarephath, Mahalab, Gebal, Arvad, Tyre (i.e., associated Uzu), Akhzib, and Acco. Sennacherib installed as a native puppet ruler over the conquered cities a man named Ethbaal (Tubalu). Phoenician prisoners were deported to NINEVEH to build his new palace and to Opis (on the Tigris River near later Seleucia) to construct the fleet to be used against the Babylonian rebel MERODACH-BALADAN. During the twenty-four years from 701 to 677, the larger Phoenician cities preserved their independence from Assyria. In 677, the king of Sidon led a revolt, which was crushed by ESARHADDON, king of Assyria (681–669), who utterly destroyed the city of Sidon and placed the remaining cities under the rule of Baali of Tyre. This ruler, together with Milki-asapa of Byblos and Mattan-Baal of Arvad, contributed contingents of troops to Esarhaddon's expeditionary force for the invasion of Egypt in 669 B.C. Ashurbanipal of Assyria (668–626) found it necessary to suppress treasonous conduct by Baali of Tyre in 665 prior to his own advance into Egypt. When Baali died, Azi-Baal was made king of Tyre, and Yakin-ilu was appointed to rule Arvad.

When the Assyrian empire collapsed with the fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C., the Neo-Babylonian king NEBUCHADNEZZAR II (604–562) assumed the role of foreign aggressor among the Phoenician cities. He besieged Tyre for thirteen years (585–573; cf. Ezek. 26–29) and received its capitulation in 572. Its king was carried away prisoner to Babylon, and, although the city maintained a measure of autonomy throughout the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods, its expanding power was gone, and its shipping and colonial activity was assumed by others, including its own colonies (the Punic cities) in the W. By a naval victory over the Etruscans in 535, these Punic kinsfolk finally closed the western Mediterranean to the Phoenicians.

After the Persian king CYRUS II (559–529) conquered BABYLON in 539, Phoenicia became a part of a new empire and gave valuable assistance to the Persian monarchs in their naval battles against the Egyptians and the Greeks. Phoenician fleets supported CAMBYSES (530–522) against Egypt, and XERXES (485–465) in 480 against the Greeks. Encouraged by their Persian patrons, the formerly disunited Phoenician cities formed a new federation, consisting originally of Sidon, Tyre, and Arvad, which met in annual conventions of delegates at the newly founded city of Tripolis in the N. The total number of delegates was 300. Sensing the immanent collapse of the Persian empire, this league organized a rebellion in 351. The rebellion was premature and only resulted in the tragic destruction of Sidon.

When the collapse of the Persian empire finally came under the attacks of ALEXANDER THE GREAT in the year 333 and following, the city of Tyre refused to submit to him and was utterly destroyed, the conqueror having constructed an artificial causeway that joined the island city to the mainland. Tyre and Sidon were rebuilt and flourished again in Hellenistic and Roman times (cf. Matt. 15:21), but the distinctive cultural character of Phoenicia had been replaced by HELLENISM. Under the SELEUCID kings (323–64 B.C.), Sidon and Tyre were centers of Greek philosophy and literature and produced some of the great literary figures of the age, such as Zeno the Stoic, Antipater of Sidon, and Meleager of Gadara.

In 64 B.C., the Roman general POMPEY conquered Syria and Phoenicia. From 64 to 31, the Roman proconsuls were unable to maintain the peace in these areas. The PARTHIANS with their capital in Ctesiphon in Mesopotamia constantly harassed the new provinces. In 31 B.C., the Roman Octavian (later known as AUGUSTUS) defeated Marc Antony at Actium and initiated the era called Pax Romana ("the Roman peace"). Peace and relatively low taxes brought prosperity to Phoenicia. New roads were built, encouraging international trade with its markets for Phoenician glassware, dyed stuffs, wine, dates, and wheat flour. The peace was maintained by Roman garrisons at Beirut and Baalbek.

In the NT, Phoenicians are included among the early followers of Jesus (Mk. 3:8; 7:24–31). When Christianity began to expand beyond the borders of Palestine, it extended early into Phoenicia (Acts 11:19; 15:3; 21:2).

**IV. Religion.** Knowledge of Phoenician religion is derived from various sources. Cuneiform texts composed in Akkadian and Ugaritic, dating from c. 1700–1200 B.C., contain allusions to Phoenician deities, theology, and ritual found in the pages of the OT, and statements of the Phoenician author Sanchuniathon of Beirut (c. 1050), which were passed on via the writings of PHILO OF BYBLOS to the Christian historian EUSEBIUS. The works of


Woman at the balustrade window. This popular theme in Phoenician art is often associated with Astarte (Ashtoreth) and ritual prostitution.

Sanchuniathon and Philo of Byblos are themselves lost. What is known of them comes only from the quotations that Eusebius has preserved. In addition, native Phoenician inscriptions of the 9th and 8th centuries B.C. supply some information.

The picture that these sources supply is of a pantheon of fertility deities (see FERTILITY CULTS ). The head of the pantheon and king of the gods was a male deity named EL, whose wife-consort bore the name ASHERAH. The young god, who was most influential among the people, was called HADAD, the son of Dagan (see DAGON). Because of his immense popularity and influence, he was often referred to by his epithet *Baal,* a common Phoenician noun meaning "lord." Hadad Baal was associated with two other young deities, the goddesses ANATH and Ashtart (see ASHTORETH), who at an early stage in the development of Phoenician religion were fused into a single goddess. Other deities mentioned in the texts are: the sea-god, Yamm; the god of death, Mot; the moon-god, Yarih; the sun-god, Shapsh; the god of pestilence, Resheph; the god of healing, Eshmun; and the city god of Tyre, Melqart, who developed into a god of all maritime activities.

In later times, a male deity who was the consort of Ashtart and who strongly resembled the

Sumero-Babylonian deity Dumuzi-Tammuz was known by the epithet *Adōnî* (Gk. ADONIS, "my lord"). He was a vegetation and fertility god who was supposed to die when the summer heat began. It is clear from later sources that he was thought of as dying and rising again annually, but there is no proof as yet that the Hadad (or Baal) of the 2nd millennium B.C. texts was likewise conceived. The religion of the Phoenicians involved statues and other pictorial representations of their deities, as well as the practice of human sacrifice and ritual PROSTITUTION (both male and female). As such it was roundly condemned by Moses (Lev. 18), Elijah (1 Ki. 18; 19), and the later Hebrew prophets (Jer. 3:2).

(See further W. F. Albright, "The Role of the Canaanites in the History of Civilization," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East,* ed. G. E. Wright [1961], Appendix I; V. Maag, "Syrien-Palästina," in *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orient,* ed. H. Schmökel [1961]; D. Harden, *The Phoenicians* [1962]; J. Gray, *The Canaanites* [1964]; H. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausends v. u. Zeit* [1965]; S. Moscati, *The World of the Phoenicians* [1968]; G. Herm, *The Phoenicians: The Purple Empire of the Ancient World* [1975]; J. D. Grainger, *Hellenistic Phoenicia* [1991]; V. Krings, ed., *La civilisation phé-nicienne et punique: Manuel de recherche* [1995]; S. Moscati, ed., *The Phoenicians* [1997]; G. Markoe, *Phoenicians* [2000]; M. Sommer, *Die Phönizier* [2005]; *ABD,* 5:349–63.)

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**Phoenix** fee'niks (Φοῖνιζ *G5837,* a term that had several meanings, such as "purple" and "date palm"; in Gk. literature it was the name attributed to the eponymous founder of the Phoenicians and other figures, but the term also refers to a mythological bird believed to arise from the corpse of its parent [cf. Herodotus, *Hist.* 2.73; *1 Clement* 25; Tertullian, *De resurr.* 13.6]). KJV Phenice. A harbor in CRETE on the western end of its southern shore. According to Acts 27:12, it provided a safer shelter in winter than FAIR HAVENS, the place where the Alexandrian grain ship carrying PAUL had anchored. Rather than risk the safety of the ship and the lives of the 276 passengers (v. 37; some MSS read 76), the master of the ship decided to leave Fair Havens when the wind seemed favorable, and to proceed farther westward to the better harbor. The ship was caught in a sudden NE storm, which carried it past the island of CAUDA (v. 16) and westward toward MALTA, where it was wrecked (v. 41).

The location of Phoenix has caused some debate. Strabo (*Geogr.* 10.4.3) places it on the S side of the narrower part of the island. Ptolemy (*Geogr.* 3.17.3) lists places from W to E along the S coast of Crete. The information he gives suggests a site in the neighborhood of the small rocky peninsula of Cape Mouros, which projects about a mile from the coast. On the E side lies the village of Loutro (Loutron) with a deep harbor, and on the W is a larger and more open bay. Evidence seems to favor the western bay. Ptolemy in his list puts the harbor of Phoenix to the W of the town. This western harbor still retains the name of Phineka. The description of its aspect in Acts, "facing both southwest and northwest," supports this view (Acts 27:12; the RSV rendering, "northeast and southeast," is rejected by most scholars).

Today, the W side of the peninsula is abandoned. Earthquakes in the 6th cent. A.D. raised the sea bed, and today that side cannot be used as a harbor. The E harbor facing SE is unsafe from November to February because of the prevailing winter winds from the N and E. The W harbor, which was deeper in Paul's day, was a much more sheltered area and was the goal of the master of Paul's ship. The prevailing E wind, however, caught the ship before it could reach Phoenix and drove it past its desired haven. It should be said that some commentators argue for the E harbor. (See C. K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles,* ICC, 2 vols. [1994–98], 2:1192–

93; *ISBE,* rev. ed. [1979–88], 3:862.)

J. ARTHUR THOMPSON

**Phoros** for'os. KJV Apoc. form of PAROSH (1 Esd. 5:29; 9:26).

**Phrygia** frij'ee-uh (Φρυγία *G5867*). A tract of territory of indeterminate and wavering boundaries, lying on the W watershed of the Anatolian plateau, and comprising in earliest times, apparently, the major part of W ASIA MINOR. The difficulty found in any attempt at geographical definition is a reflection of the history of an area frequently overrun and compressed by successive waves and ripples of folk migration from Europe, and particularly from contiguous Thrace (THRACIA). It may be said that Phrygia was simply the area occupied by the Phrygians, with its W limits at one time on the AEGEAN, and its N boundaries on the upper valley of the Sangarius River (modern Sakarya), thus adjacent to BITHYNIA; to the S and E, Phrygian occupation seems not to have penetrated beyond the basin of the Maeander or the areas around ANTIOCH OF PISIDIA and ICONIUM.

The Phrygians themselves certainly came from Europe, because it is possible to find evidence of their presence in Thrace and also in MACEDONIA. The fact seems to suggest a route of folk wandering on a familiar and repeated pattern, a thrusting S of Indo-European tribesmen toward the warmer Mediterranean coasts. The main influx of Phrygians (or *Phryges* in the Greek nomenclature) into Asia Minor took place toward the end of the 2nd millennium before Christ, a period of multiple tribal migrations. The sagas, which found ultimate surviving expression in the Homeric epics, seem to contain a folk-memory of the Phrygian invasion. "Erewhile," says Priam to Helen, "fared I to Phrygia, the land of vines, and there I saw that the men of Phrygia were very numerous, they of the nimble steeds, even the hosts of Otreus and Mygdon, that were encamped along the banks of Sangarios. For I, too, being their ally, was numbered among them on the day that the Amazons came" (Homer, *Iliad* 3.184ff.).

The reference to confrontation with alien tribes in the last sentence of the Homeric passage is suggestive of the subsequent history of the invading Phrygian tribes.They reached the limits of their eastward expansion on the high country of the central Anatolian plateau, and were subject to pressure on the E and N by subsequent movements of invasion from the same European tribal reservoirs from which they themselves had originally come. Mysian, Bithynian, and later Galatian tribes pressed in on their territory, and made a pattern of geographical overlay, which is visible in one difficult passage. In Acts 16:6, the KJV renders "Phrygia and the region of Galatia," but a better translation is "the Phrygian region of Galatia." Literally, the Greek text runs, "the Phrygian and Galatian region" (*tēn Phrygian kai Galatikēn chōran*), and this can mean only the portion of the province that was both Phrygian and Galatian. As with the Homeric passage already noted, the geographical expression contains a hint of history. This was old Phrygian territory, overrun by the Celtic tribes of a later Gallic inroad, who left their name in GALATIA—as one might, with reference to Alfred's day, speak of a Danish or a Saxon part of Britain.

The kingdoms of the half-legendary Midas and Gordius belong to the little known period of Phrygian independence and ascendancy. Perhaps the rock cities and the sculptured and sometimes inscribed façades of the so-called "Phrygian Monument country," S of Dorylaeum, are the chief surviving memorial of an independent and powerful Phrygia. The conquest of Phrygia by LYDIA was complete and final. Phrygia was never free again, and the word Phrygian in classical Greek (e.g., in Aristophanes's comedy) seems to be synonymous with the idea of a slave. To such indignity was the warrior stock of Homer's day reduced by conquest and degradation. In both Greek and Latin

literature, the Phrygians also appear as a by-word for softness and effeminacy.

From her collapse onward, Phrygia, as a geographical expression for the area of a depressed peasant stock, followed the fortunes of W Asia Minor, subject in turn to the imperialism of PERSIA and Persia's successor states: the Seleucid empire of ANTIOCH OF SYRIA and the kingdom of PERGAMUM under its Attalid dynasty. In 133 B.C., the kingdom of Pergamum, bequeathed by its last king, ATTALUS III, to Rome, became the province of ASIA, and in 116 B.C. Asia's extended boundaries took in most of Phrygia. The remaining E portion became part of the province of Galatia in 25 B.C., occasioning the phrase of Acts 16:6.

The Roman administrative divisions are interesting, and it is to be noted that the provincial boundaries did not attempt to conform to the ethnic divisions of the territory. W. M. Ramsay *(St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen,* 14th ed. [1920], 136) has an important comment on this:

> The issue of events showed that the Empire had made a mistake in disregarding so completely the existing lines of demarcation between tribes and races in making its new political provinces. For a time it succeeded in establishing them, while the energy of the Empire was still fresh, and its forward movement continuous and steady. But the differences of tribal and national character were too great to be completely set aside; they revived while the energy of the Empire decayed in the second century. Every change in the bounds of the provinces from A.D. 138 onward was in the direction of assimilating them to the old tribal frontiers; and at last in 295 even the great complex province of Asia was broken up after 428 years of existence into the old native districts, Lydia, Caria, Phrygia, etc; and the moment the political unity was dissolved there remained nothing of the Roman Asia.

The Romans had always found a peculiar attraction in the orgiastic rites of the goddess Cybele, which were indigenous in Phrygia (cf. Catullus, *Carmen* 63). Phrygian FERTILITY CULTS, along with the Phrygian language, survived until the early Byzantine period.

Phrygia was a major area of settlement for the Jews of the DIASPORA. There is evidence that Jewish migrants were encouraged to settle there by the Seleucid kings, who regarded them as a stabilizing element in the population. Cicero wrote that his client took a large sum of gold from the Jews of Asia, and mentioned specifically two Phrygian cities, Apamea and LAODICEA, as their places of residence *(Pro Flacco* 28). The amount involved would appear to represent the annual tribute for Jerusalem of 50,000 Jews, a very considerable minority group in the population of the territory.

At the same time the Jews of Phrygia were not highly regarded by metropolitan Jewry, whose stricter members looked upon them as lax in their Judaism, and too prone to take up the corrupt religious practices of their environment. The Jewish minority had lost contact with their ancient tradition and had nothing of the developed Judaism of the Alexandrian Jews. "The baths of Phrygia and its wine had separated the Ten Tribes from their brethren, as the Talmud expresses it" (Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller,* 142, based on A. Neubauer, *La géographie du Talmud* [1868], 315); hence their open-mindedness. Even the TALMUD mentions many defections from Judaism. PAUL's adventures in the area, both his large measure of acceptance and the subsequent persecution, may reflect this situation, a readiness to accept the new and the unorthodox, opposed by a rigid group of traditionalists sensitive about the testimony and the reputation of the local Diaspora.

Phrygia.

Jews from Phrygia were on Pentecostal pilgrimage in Jerusalem when the events recounted in the early chapters of the Acts of the Apostles took place (Acts 2:10). Converts to Christianity among those who participated in this mass movement into the new faith may have been those who founded the church in the region of their dispersion (2:41), but if this is the case, nothing is known of their primitive evangelism. The earliest recorded penetration of the Christian faith is on the occasion of Paul's first journey, when, coming up to the central high country from PERGA in PAMPHYLIA to ANTIOCH OR PISIDIA, ICONIUM, LYSTRA and DERBE, Paul and Barnabas left Christian cells behind them. Antioch and Iconium were the only Phrygian towns of the four, deeply submerged under Greek, Roman, and Jew though their Phrygian elements were. The frontier lay between Iconium and Lystra, as Acts 14:6 implies.

A second visit by these missionaries was by way of the Cilician Gates and the inland route, reaching Derbe first. This was also the entry point for the third visit to the Phrygian region. Such repeated traverses of the Phrygian territory suggest the presence there of a strong Christian establishment, but both the epistles to the Galatians and to the Colossians may also reflect difficulties arising in the Christian communities from the old tendencies to syncretism and to emotional religion native to the area from pagan times. W. M. Ramsay's famous theory (developed in his book, *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia and Their Place in the Plan of the Apocalypse* [1904]) was that Christian groups mirror in some fashion the ethos and the spirit of the society in which they live, both for good and for ill. Perhaps the churches functioning in old Phrygian environments offer further illustration of Ramsay's thesis.

COLOSSE, HIERAPOLIS, and LAODICEA—the towns of the Lycus valley—were in part of ancient Phrygia. These towns were, to the best of our knowledge, not visited by Paul, and their churches were therefore not Pauline foundations. It is possible to pick up such names as EPAPHRAS (Col. 4:12) and ARCHIPPUS (4:17), and to suggest the activity of the dynamic Ephesian church, and later the ministry of John and, traditionally, of Philip, as providing historic explanation for the origin of the churches of the Lycus valley. They were varied and vigorous communities, and determined to hold out against strong movements of persecution that fell upon the area (1 Pet. 1:1). The stern condemnation of the Laodicean church in the cryptic apocalyptic letter of John (Rev. 3) does nothing to diminish the impression of a powerful church in the town. It was merely colored and enervated by the wealth,

affluence, and liberalism of the social environment, and needed firm rebuke and stiffening in the face of coming testing and opposition.

The 2nd cent. reveals the same pattern of good and ill. Influential leaders like PAPIAS and Apollinaris, both bishops of Hierapolis, appeared in Phrygia, and a somber list of martyrs proved the reality of conviction and dedication in the church. At the same time, the fatal tendency toward emotional perversions of religion seems not to have been purged from the Phrygian spirit. In the second half of the 2nd cent. (the recorded dates vary between 156 and 172) one Montanus, inventor of a curious apocalyptic heresy, arose in Phrygia. Montanus preached an imminent outpouring of the Spirit of God upon the church, and the "new Jerusalem," literally interpreted, was to descend near Perpuza in Phrygia. After the perennial fashion of such ecstatic perversions, the movement boasted its own prophets and prophetesses, and claimed a special divine unction that set its devotees beyond argument or appeal. Montanus himself was associated with two women especially called to minister, Prisca and Maximilla. TERTULLIAN was Montanus's most famous convert when the movement spread to N Africa. It died out, as such cults from then to now commonly do, not under orthodox condemnation—some Montanist epitaphs are notable for their defiance of such opposition—but rather because of the disappointment that inevitably follows the failure of extravagant promises of signs, wonders, and ultimate catastrophe to materialize.

The 3rd cent., according to EUSEBIUS *(Eccl. Hist.* 8.11.1), saw a near triumph of Christianity in the Phrygian areas of Asia Minor. He mentions one city that was wiped out during the Diocletian decade of persecution (A.D. 301-312) because its entire population was professedly Christian. This is not impossible, if only in view of the situation in early 2nd cent. Bithynia, where, according to its Roman governor PLINY the Younger, the Christian faith had all but emptied the pagan temples of the whole province.

(See further W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* [1895]; id., *Historical Commentary on Galatians* [1900]; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor,* 2 vols. [1950], passim; C. H. E. Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia: Sites and Monuments* [1971]; H. A. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces,* 2nd ed. [1971], passim; R. D. Barnett in *CAH,* 2/2, 3rd ed. [1975], ch. 30; T. Drew-Bear and C. Naour on Phrygian deities in *ANRW 2/18/3* [1990], 1907-2044; K. Belke and N. Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien* [1990]; L. Kealhofer, ed., *The Archaeology of Midas and the Phrygians: Recent Work at Gordion* [2005]; *ABD,* 5:365-68.)

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

**Phud** fuhd. KJV Apoc. form of PUT (Jdt. 2:23).

**Phurah** fy*oo*'ruh. KJV form of PURAH (Jdg. 7:10-11).

**Phurim** fy*oo*'rim. KJV Apoc. form of PURIM (Add. Esth. 11:1).

**Phut** fuht'. KJV alternate form of PUT (Gen. 10:6; Ezek. 27:10).

**Phuvah** fy*oo*'vuh. KJV form of Puvah (Gen. 46:13). See PUAH (MALE NAME).

**Phygelus** fi'juh-luhs (Φύγελος *G5869* [variant spelling Φύγελλος]). A Christian named with Hermogenes as among those in the Roman province of ASIA who deserted PAUL in his hour of need (2

Tim. 1:15). See discussion under HERMOGENES.

D. E. HIEBERT

**phylactery** fi-lak'tuh-ree. This term is a transliteration of Greek *phylaktērion 5873,* which in classical literature meant "safeguard, means of protection, amulet" (the Latin VULGATE took over the Greek word and it was accepted by English translations). The term occurs only once in the NT (Matt. 23:5), which records Jesus' accusation against the SCRIBES and PHARISEES, "Everything they do is done for men to see: They make their phylacteries wide and the tassels on their garments long." This was not necessarily a condemnation of the custom of wearing phylacteries, but only of ostentation that prostituted an ancient custom full of symbolism in the interests of outward display.

It commonly has been held that the phylacteries were the small black leather receptacles containing verses of Scripture bound to the forehead and left arm of the Jewish man during prayer (Aram. *tĕpillîn).* This view is disputed by some Jewish writers on the grounds (a) that too little is known of the *tefillin* in Jesus' day, and (b) that since the sentence in Matt. 23:5 is derogatory, it must have applied to some object other than the time-honored and revered *tefillin.* It should be said, however, that Jesus, like the prophets before him, often rebuked people for purely formal practices (cf. Isa. 1:11-15). Also it is unlikely that the Jews in general attached magical significance to the use of the *tefillin,* implied by the Greek term *phylaktērion* (this may have arisen through secular interpretation of the practice, and at least one modern translation [Goodspeed] renders Matt. 23:5, "They wear wide Scripture texts as charms").

Most scholars regard the "phylacteries" as identical with the *tefillin* that every male Israelite over the age of thirteen was required to "wear at daily morning prayer." Modern Jewish usage follows essentially the practice described in the MISHNAH and is based ultimately on the biblical injunctions (Exod. 13:9,16; Deut. 6:8; 11:18) that the people of Israel were to bind God's law as frontlets between

A phylactery parchment.

the eyes and as a sign upon the hand. The four passages where this command occurs (Exod. 13:1-10; 13:11-16; Deut. 6:4-9; 11:13-21) were written out on parchment and placed in small cubic boxes made of the skin of clean animals, varying from half an inch to one and a half inches in width. Each phylactery was sewn to the base of thick leather by twelve stitches, one for each of the tribes of

Israel. Leather flaps were left on the top of the cube through which passed long leather straps for binding the phylacteries to the head and the left arm. Both the boxes and the straps were black.

The *"head-tefillah"* contained four distinct compartments into which the four separate passages were inserted. The "hand-*tefillah"* contained a simple compartment and carried a single piece of parchment with the four texts written out. The Hebrew letter SHIN (שׁ, alluding to *šēm H9005,* "name," i.e., God) was inscribed on both sides of the box worn on the head, the right-hand letter often carrying four prongs instead of three (alluding to the four passages of Scripture). The head strap was tied at the back of the head in a knot shaped like the Hebrew letter DALETH (ד), while the arm phylactery was supposed to form the letter YOD (י). These three consonants together formed the word *šadday H8724* (usually translated "Almighty"), one of the names for God in the OT. See EL SHADDAI.

The phylacteries were placed on the body in a definite order. The hand is "laid" first to the accompaniment of a special prayer. It lies on the inside of the bared left arm, just above the elbow, so that the case may rest upon the heart (cf. Deut. 11:18). The strap is then tightened and wound first around the left arm, and then around the middle finger of the left hand *(HDB,* 3:870). The head phylactery is next "laid" in the middle of the forehead "between the eyes" (Exod. 13:9 et al.) with the knot at the back of the head, and with the two free ends of the stray falling over the breast in front. Various prayers, benedictions, and Hos. 2:19 were recited as the phylacteries were fixed in position. After the prayers, the phylacteries are removed in the reverse order and placed in a bag, which is often beautifully ornamented. The praying shawl *(ṭallît)* that is always associated with the *tefillin* is put on first.

Were the Scripture passages intended to be taken literally or figuratively? Christian exegesis has taken them figuratively, but whatever the original intention, the custom developed of actually wearing these texts in the manner described. When it was that the practice began is not clear. It is not practiced among the SAMARITANS; thus it may have arisen after the Samaritan-Jewish schism (an event that cannot be dated precisely). The *Letter of Aristeas* (§159), written probably in the 2nd cent. B.C., seems to refer to the practice as an old one.

Fragments of phylacteries have been found in the Qumran caves (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS), but here the TEN COMMANDMENTS were included among the texts, which shows that the form was not absolutely standard before the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 (see DJD 1:72-76; 6:48-79; Y. Yadin, *Tefillin from Qumran (X Q Phyl 1—4)* [1969]). The exclusion of the Ten Commandments from the phylacteries and from the Jewish daily services may have been a reaction against Jewish Christianity. In the Middle Ages there was no uniformity, and in modern times orthodox Jews observe the practice, but reformed Judaism has abandoned it. (See further *Jewish Encyclopedia,* 10:21-28; Str-B, 4:250-76; H. Danby, *The Mishnah* [1933; see index under "Phylacteries"]*; ABD,* 5:368-70.)

J. ARTHUR THOMPSON

**phylarch** fi'lahrk. See PHILARCHES.

**physician.** A person skilled in the art of HEALING (see also DISEASE; MEDICINE). Perhaps the earliest recorded physician in history was Imhotep of EGYPT. He lived and practiced medicine c. 3000 B.C., and was so highly regarded by the Egyptians that they worshiped him as a god. The early Egyptian physicians were primarily priests, and secondarily medical men. Sickness was attributed to the presence of evil spirits in the afflicted person, and these spirits had to be exorcised by incantations

and magic known only to the priests (see EXORCISM). Some herbs were used, wounds sutured, and fractures splinted. Skulls with holes cut through them have been dug up by archaeologists in N Africa and Europe. This type of surgery (trephining) was done presumably to allow demons to escape—possibly as a cure for intractable migraine headache.

The priest-physician concept of medicine had an important point in its favor. Modern physicians are heard to say repeatedly that 90 percent of their patients have psychogenic ailments and need psychological or psychiatric aid rather than drugs. Perhaps 90 percent is too high an estimate; but a priest or doctor who can win a patient's trust, calm the emotions, and convey confidence that all will be well has usually done more good in that way than with the medicine prescribed.

As time went by, Egyptian knowledge of medicine increased. Some of the physicians became specialists in surgery, embalming (Gen. 50:2), and obstetrics. About 300 B.C. a famous school of medicine was started in ALEXANDRIA, Egypt. The faculty had the benefit of considerable medical knowledge from Greek, Roman, Babylonian, and Indian sources. It is well for Bible students to remember this. If LUKE was trained at the Alexandrian school, or by graduates of that school, his medical knowledge had considerable scientific basis. Some of this appears in his gospel when he gives details concerning the diseases of people Jesus healed.

Among the Greeks, the legendary figure ASCLEPIUS was a physician regarded as a miracle worker and as the god of medicine. It is said that he would spend time with his patient explaining the ailment and giving advice. Then he would keep the patient in the temple, put him to sleep with hypnosis or drugs, and the patient would be well the next day. Hippocrates (about 460 B.C.) is considered the founder of scientific medicine. He refused to believe in demons as the cause of diseases. He used only a few medicines and had strong faith in the body's ability to cure itself. The amazing Aristotle (about 350 B.C.) was the first great biologist and studied intensively both plants and animals. He taught medicine and other sciences in the academy at ATHENS, and wrote many books about his findings.

Physicians are not mentioned in the Bible as often as might be expected, and their attitude toward diseases is interesting. The thought, so prevalent in other countries, that evil spirits were the principal causative agents of disease was largely discarded. Minor ailments apparently were allowed to correct themselves, probably with the aid of home remedies. Serious illness was considered a visitation from God, and if healing occurred, it was because God willed it so (Deut. 32:39, "I have wounded and I will heal"). Even when medication was prescribed, as when cakes of figs were applied to HEZEKIAH's boil (2 Ki. 20:1-7), the emphasis was on God's intervention.

However, there were many physicians in Israel. The TALMUD speaks of a physician specifically assigned to the temple for the benefit of the priests. It also records that every city had its own physician, and that he was required to obtain a license to practice from the city authorities. Hebrew midwives are well spoken of in the Bible, and they must have been good. When TAMAR had her twins, the MIDWIFE was faced with a difficult problem. The first baby trying to be born had an arm extending to the outside of Tamar's body. That could only mean that the baby was in a transverse position and just could not be born that way. Delicate and dangerous manipulation was necessary to correct the faulty position, and it was successfully accomplished.

The detailed laws of Moses concerning personal cleanliness, isolation of contagious disease, and emphasis on sanitary camp conditions are still a source of amazement because of their practical value. Did Hebrew physicians have to contend with venereal disease? Leviticus 15:2-15 contains some very strict rules pertaining to "discharge." Some believe that this refers to venereal disease. However, it is more likely to refer to dysentery, which was so prevalent and so dangerous in those

days. One need only think of typhoid fever to realize how wise the strict rules were.

GARLIC, RUE, and MANDRAKE were three herbs frequently used. Rue is a strongly-scented, bitter herb used for medicinal purposes. Mandrake has a long, divided root, which some thought resembled a human being. It was used to stimulate conception, and also as a cathartic.

In the NT, the skills of physicians are ignored, excepting with reference to Luke, "the beloved physician" (Col. 4:14 NRSV). What a comfort it must have been for PAUL to have Luke as his personal physician; and what a privilege it must have been for Luke to be closely associated with such an intense and devoted Christian leader as Paul! The Good Samaritan (Lk. 10:34) was not a physician, but his treatment of the wounded man was effective. The WINE, although not a strong alcohol, could help to clean and asepticize the wound, while olive OIL would give some soothing relief from pain. TIMOTHY may have been troubled with gas in his stomach, which led Paul to suggest the use of some wine. If the ailment had been an ulcer, wine would have been contraindicated. Many sick, deformed, and injured persons are referred to in the NT, but they were not cured by physicians. Cure was effected by miracles and faith healing (Jas. 5:14-15).

R.H.POUSMA

**Pi Beseth** p*i*'-bee'sith (פִּי־בֶסֶת *H7083,* from Egyp. *pr-bʾśtt,* "house of [the goddess] Bastet"; class. Gk. Bo ύβαστις [Herodotus, *Hist.* 2.59.1; 2.60.1-3; et al.]; LXX Βούβαστος). Also Pi-beseth. Capital of the 18th nome of Lower Egypt, and capital of EGYPT under the 22nd dynasty. It is modern Tell Basteh on the Tanitic branch of the NILE, near modern Zagazig. The city was important throughout Egyptian history. An earthquake chasm appeared there during Egypt's 2nd dynasty. Two of the PYRAMID builders, Cheops and Chefren, left remains there, as did Pepi I of the 6th dynasty. Later kings, notably those of the 12th, 18th, and 19th dynasties left their marks. The city's greatest glory came when SHISHAK made it second only to THEBES in prestige and glory under the 22nd dynasty.

The city's original name, Bast, and that of its goddess, Bastet, were related. Later it was known by its sacred name, House of Bastet (Bubastis).The goddess, Bastet, usually was depicted as a woman with the head of a cat or a lioness. HERODOTUS *(Hist.* 2.137.5) identifies her with ARTEMIS. She was one of the lesser deities whose popularity greatly increased after the Assyrians sacked Thebes and caused a readjustment in Egyptian religion. This new religious importance may have helped turn Ezekiel's attention to the city, for the prophet predicts that its young men, as well as those of HELIOPOLIS, would fall by the sword, and the inhabitants would be taken captive (Ezek. 30:17; NIV, "Bubastis"). (See further E. Naville, *Bubastis* [1891]; L. Habachi, *Tell Basta* [1957]; A. el-Sawi, *Excavations at Tell Basta: Report of Seasons 1969—71 and Catalogue of Finds* [1979]).

A. BOWLING

**pick.** This English noun is used to render Hebrew ḥ*ārîs H3044,* referring to a sharp iron instrument of some kind. The word occurs only when it is stated that DAVID consigned the Ammonites "to labor with saws and with iron picks and axes" (2 Sam. 12:31; 1 Chr. 20:3; KJV, "harrow").

**picture.** The KJV uses "picture" on three occasions to render two different Hebrew terms (Num. 33:52 [NIV, "carved images"]; Prov. 25:11 [NIV, "settings"]; Isa. 2:16 [NIV, "vessel," referring to a ship]). The NRSV and NJPS use the term once to render the common Hebrew word for "likeness," *dĕmût H1952* (Ezek. 23:15).

**pig.** See SWINE.

**pigeon.** See DOVE.

**Pi Hahiroth** pi'huh-hi'roth (פִּי הַחִירוֹת *H7084* [in Num. 33:8 the MT reads only הַחִירוֹת], probably an Egyp. name otherwise unknown; by popular Heb. etymology, it may have been understood to mean "mouth of the canals," possibly alluding to the terrain of the E NILE). Also Pi-hahiroth. A place near BAAL ZEPHON, between MIGDOL and the RED SEA (Sea of Reeds), where Pharaoh was miraculously defeated (Exod. 14:2, 9; Num. 33:7-8). Its identification is dependent upon the route taken by the Israelites when they left Egypt. See EXODUS, THE.

One view would identify the Sea of Reeds with Lake Sirbonis and place Pi Hahiroth near the Mediterranean Sea. This theory is supported by the facts that other military disasters have occurred there and that Mons Casius on the Mediterranean may be Baal Zephon. A second theory, keeping the Hebrews in the S to avoid the way of the PHILISTINES (Exod. 13:17), places Pi Hahiroth just N of modern Suez. At present, this view attracts relatively little support. Third, it may be placed near modern Tell Defneh (Defenneh, classical Daphne) on the assumption that Baal Zephon is TAHPANHES, but the evidence is less than conclusive. Nevertheless, this view seems more compatible with contemporary identifications of RAMESES and PITHOM. Another suggestion is "the low ground near Jebel Geneife, W of Suez Canal near Bitter Lakes" (C. G. Rasmussen, *Zondervan NIV Atlas of the Bible* [1989], 248, map on p. 89).

A. BOWLING

**Pilate** p*i*'luht (Πιλᾶτος G*4397,* meaning uncertain; his *nomen* or tribal name [orig. from the Samnite clan] was Πόντιος *G4508,* "Pontius," which occurs only three times in the NT [Lk. 3:1; Acts 4:27; 1 Tim. 6:13]). The Roman governor of JUDEA who sentenced JESUS CHRIST to death by CRUCIFIXION (Matt. 27:2-65; Mk. 15:1-44; Lk. 3:1; 13:1; 23:1-52; Jn. 18:29—19:38; Acts 3:13; 4:27; 13:28; 1 Tim. 6:13).

**I. Sources of information.** All four Gospels say something about Pilate; the fourth gospel yields additional insight of his character and philosophy. Outside of the NT, nearly all information comes from two sources: (1) JOSEPHUS *(Ant.* 18.3.1-3 §§55-64; 18.4.1 §§87-89; *War* 2.10.2-4 §§169-77) and (2) PHILO JUDAEUS *(Legatio ad Gaium).* Of these, Josephus is by far the fuller and more reliable, Philo being strongly prejudiced against Pilate and therefore unable to write of him with sufficient objectivity. Besides these, a very important stone inscription was discovered at CAESAREA in 1961; it came from a building dedicated to the emperor TIBERIUS and refers to "Pontius Pilatus" as "Praefectus Iudaeae" (according to the commonly accepted restoration; cf. *HJP,* rev. ed. [1973-87], 1:358 n. 22), thus affording archaeological

This inscription, which dedicates a temple to Emperor Tiberius, contains the only known extrabiblical reference to Pontius Pilate.

evidence of Pilate's historicity and rule. This inscription also confirms that his proper title (as was true generally of provincial governors prior to the emperorship of CLAUDIUS) was PREFECT; the term PROCURATOR, used by TACITUS with reference to Pilate *(Annals* 15.44), is a minor anachronism (the Gospels use the general term for GOVERNOR, *hēgemōn G2450;* cf. also Josephus in *Ant.* 18.3.1 §55, though in *War* 2.10.2 §169 he uses *epitropos G2208* ["manager," a term that served as the equivalent of *procurator],* as does Philo, *Legat.* 299).

**II. Summary of Pilate's life.** Pilate was a Roman citizen, born probably in Italy some time prior to the beginning of the 1st cent., but no specific information about his birth or ancestry is available. He was married, and his wife is mentioned (Matt. 27:19); whether he had any children is unknown. A member of the equestrian (or middle) class of Romans, he may have inherited the amount of wealth necessary to qualify him for this status. His career prior to becoming governor of Judea is unknown, but he must certainly have held a series of civil or military appointments before he could be placed in charge of a province.

Pilate was the fifth Roman governor of Judea, appointed probably c. A.D. 26 by the emperor Tiberius to replace Valerius Gratus (for the view that the appointment took place in the year 19, see D. R. Schwart in *ABD,* 5:396-97). He brought his wife to Judea with him. Pilate's area of jurisdiction was Samaria and Judea, that is, the former kingdom of Archelaus (see HEROD IV). His functions combined military and administrative responsibilities. His immediate superior was the Roman governor of SYRIA, but the actual nature of the relationship is unknown. Pilate's authority over all persons in his area except Roman citizens was virtually absolute. On the other hand, the Jews were granted a degree of liberty and self-government. The SANHEDRIN at Jerusalem possessed various judicial functions, but death sentences could not be carried out until confirmed by the Roman governor.

Because of political and religious problems, Judea, from the Roman point of view, was a

difficult province to govern. Pilate outraged the Jews by sending soldiers into Jerusalem with Roman military standards bearing emblems that the Jews regarded as idolatrous. This had been attempted before, and the Jewish opposition was so strong that the Roman authorities removed the offensive insignia. When Pilate reversed this policy he met with determined Jewish resistance, which he sought to overcome by threatening to kill the objectors. Finding them adamant in their opposition and not afraid to die, Pilate finally had to yield the point. This incident reveals poor judgment, stubbornness, and finally weakness on Pilate's part. Pilate further outraged the Jews by appropriating the CORBAN money, or religious contributions from the temple treasury, to finance the construction of an aqueduct, some 25 mi. in length, to bring water to Jerusalem from the highlands S of the city. The Jews considered this action sacrilegious and reacted violently. Many rioters were killed by Pilate's soldiers (this may be the atrocity mentioned in Lk. 13:1-2).

Philo (quoting Agrippa I) says of Pilate that the Jews "exasperated Pilate to the greatest possible degree, as he feared lest they might go on an embassy to the Emperor, and might impeach him with respect to other particulars of his government—his corruptions, his acts of insolence, his rapine, his habit of insulting people, his cruelty, and his continual murders of people untried and uncondemned, and his never-ending, gratuitous and most grievous inhumanity" (*Legat.* 38). This appraisal must be regarded as greatly exaggerated, as shown by the much more moderate tone of statements about Pilate in the NT. That he was able to continue in office as procurator of Judea for ten years would seem to indicate the extreme bias of Philo's words. Schwartz (*ABD,* 5:398), pointing out that there is evidence of only two clashes between Pilate and the Jews, and that only the incident of the aqueduct resulted in bloodshed, remarks: "This is not a bad record for a term as long as Pilate's; later governors, who served for much shorter periods, would do much worse…. Thus, the impression [from Josephus's account] that Pilate's tenure was stormy is probably misleading."

Pilate's political ruin came about through his own folly. A S AMARITAN put forth the claim that he knew where on top of Mount GERIZIM the golden objects pertaining to the tabernacle had been hidden by MOSES. This claim proceeded from ignorance and fanaticism, for Moses had never crossed the Jordan and thus could not have visited Mount Gerizim. A large assembly of Samaritans, however, gathered at the base of the mountain, intending to climb to the summit to search for the alleged treasures. Foolishly they were armed with weapons, which Pilate interpreted as a threatened insurrection. Many of the Samaritans were killed by Pilate's soldiers. The Mount Gerizim affair, however, was a mere passing incident and certainly no real threat to Roman rule in Palestine. Pilate had killed so many people that the Samaritans filed a complaint with Pilate's superior, Vitellius, the Roman governor of Syria. Vitellius deposed Pilate as governor of Judea and ordered him to Rome for the judgment of the emperor on his rash conduct in the Gerizim affair. This ended Pilate's ten years of rule.

The emperor Tiberius died 16 March 37, before Pilate's arrival in Rome. Apparently Pilate escaped trial because of the emperor's death. All accounts of Pilate after his arrival at Rome are of late date and are considered doubtful and legendary by historians. The common story is that he was banished to the city of Vienne in Gaul, where he eventually committed suicide. This account is found in EUSEBIUS *(Eccl. Hist.* 2.7). According to another story, Pilate was beheaded by order of Tiberius, but repented before his execution. The spurious *book Acta Pilati* (dating possibly from the 4th or 5th cent. A.D.; see PILATE, ACTS OF) clears Pilate of all blame, and even represents him as confessing that Jesus is the Son of God (ch. 46). Other books entitled *Acta Pilati are* extant, which differ among themselves, and all of which are spurious. One legend claims that Pilate's wife became a Christian. The Coptic Church is said to observe June 25 as a day honoring Pilate as a saint and martyr (A.

Souter in *DCG,* 2:366). This tradition lacks historical basis. It is much more likely that Pilate committed suicide, but this also cannot be proved.

**III. Pilate and the trial and death of Jesus.** The external facts of Pilate's connection with the trial and death of Jesus are as follows: (1) The Jewish SANHEDRIN adjudged Jesus worthy of death (Mk. 14:64). (2) Jesus was bound and turned over to Pilate (15:1). (3) Pilate asked the Jews what accusation they brought against Jesus (Jn. 18:29). (4) Pilate told the Jews to take Jesus and judge him according to their law, but they replied that they lacked authority to carry out a death sentence (18:31). (5) Pilate questioned Jesus about his claim to be a king; Jesus admitted that he was a king, but "not of this world" (18:33-35). (6) Pilate sent Jesus to Herod Antipas, and Jesus was sent back by Herod (Lk. 23:6-12). (7) Pilate's wife sent him a warning message (Matt. 27:19). (8) Pilate proposed releasing Jesus, but the multitude clamored for BARABBAS (Mk. 15:9-11; Jn. 18:39-40). (9) Pilate publicly washed his hands with water in a futile gesture of disclaiming responsibility (Matt. 27:24). (10) Pilate had Jesus scourged (Jn. 19:1). (11) Pilate attested Jesus' innocence, "I find no basis for a charge against him" (19:4). (12) Pilate said, "Here is the man!" (19:5). (13) Pilate again attested Jesus' innocence (19:6). (14) Pilate spoke with Jesus again about his power to crucify or release him, and Jesus replied (19:10-11). (15) Pilate again sought to release Jesus, but was told by the Jews that this would be an offense against CAESAR (19:12). (16) Pilate brought Jesus before the people and said, "Here is your king" (19:14). (17) The Jews disclaimed having any king but Caesar and repeated their demand that Jesus be crucified (19:15). (18) Pilate sentenced Jesus to be crucified (19:16). (19) Pilate wrote a title above Jesus' cross, "Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews" (19:19). (20) Pilate refused to grant the Jews' request that the wording of the title be changed (19:21-22). (21) Pilate granted Joseph of Arimathea the body of Jesus (19:38). (22) Pilate granted the Jews permission to seal and guard the tomb of Jesus (Matt. 27:62-66).

**IV. The character of Pilate.** The NT record portrays Pilate as cynical and skeptical—a hardheaded Roman, but lacking the traditional Roman virtues of honor, justice, and integrity. Pilate was a dealer in compromise and expediency rather than a maintainer of justice. His cynical question "What is truth?" (Jn. 18:38)—essentially a brush-off rather than an inquiry—keynotes his character. Pilate knew Jesus to be innocent, and he knew that the Jews were motivated by hatred and envy in their demand for Jesus' death. Pilate sought to release him but only if it could be done without adverse effect upon himself. His yielding to popular clamor and pressure in sentencing Jesus to be crucified shows that he was not fit to be a judge according to the Roman ideal *of fiat justitia ruat caelum* ("Let justice be done, though the heavens fall"), far less according to the ideal of justice set forth in the sacred Scriptures.

By a brief command Pilate could have prevented the soldiers from mocking and torturing Jesus—already in terrible pain from the scourging—but he did not. This callousness to human suffering perhaps was common among Roman provincial officials, yet Pilate seems exceptionally and shockingly callous. The faults and weaknesses of Pilate were those of a sinful, unredeemed or "natural" man, whose position in life exposed him to great temptations, and made it possible for him to yield without being called to account over a period of several years.

It has been said that power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Pilate's power was virtually absolute over the non-Roman population of his territory. He had power of life and death over the people. Only following the most outrageous abuses was he finally deposed and ordered to Rome to answer for his deeds.

(See further G. A. Müller, *Pontius Pilatus, der fünfte Prokurator von Judäa und Richter Jesu von Nazareth* [1888]; S. Liberty, "The Importance of Pontius Pilate in Creed and Gospel," *JTS* 45 [1944]: 38-56; P. Winter, *On the Trial of Jesus,* 2nd ed. [1974]; J.-P. Lémonon, *Pilate et le gouvernement de la Judée: Textes et monuments* [1981]; H. K. Bond, *Pontius Pilate in History and Interpretation* [1998]; A. Wroe, *Pontius Pilate* [2001]; W. Carter, *Pontius Pilate: Portraits of a Roman Governor* [2003]. Note also the fictional work by P. L. Maier, *Pontius Pilate: A Biographical Novel* [1968], which is based on thorough research and includes reliable historical documentation.)

J.G.Vos

**Pilate, Acts of** p*i*"luht. This work falls into two distinct and independent parts: (1) the *Acts of Pilate,* extant in two Greek recensions (A and B) and also in Latin, Coptic, Syriac, and Armenian, dealing with the passion and resurrection of Jesus; (2) an account of the *Descensus ad Inferos,* extant in two Latin recensions and in MSS of the later Greek recension B, but not in recension A or in any eastern version. Recension B, in which the two parts were first combined, presupposes the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431), but may be considerably later. Recension A, according to its prologue, goes back to A.D. 425. The alternative title, *Gospel of Nicodemus,* is late, and found only in Latin MSS after the 10th century. In part 2, Latin A and the Greek version go together, but Latin B shows several modifications.

**I. Patristic evidence.** JUSTIN MARTYR twice refers to "Acts of Pontius Pilate" recording the trial before Pilate *(First Apology* 35 and 48), and attempts have been made to identify that book with part 1 of the present work. Against this it is argued that Justin simply assumed that such records must exist (so M. R. James, *Apocryphal New Testament* [1924], 94-95). F. Scheidweiler, however, notes that the book (a) presupposes the *earlier* form of the Panthera story, (b) adheres solely to Matthew in its account of the resurrection and ascension; and (c) disregards the forty days of Acts 1:3. Accordingly he argues for an earlier *Grundschrift,* and claims that "the possibility that apocryphal Acts of Pilate were already available to Justin cannot seriously be disputed" *(NTAp,* 1:503).

TERTULLIAN mentions a dispatch from Pilate to TIBERIUS, which indicates his knowledge of an apocryphal document under Pilate's name; but EUSEBIUS, though mentioning Tertullian, makes no reference to a Christian *Acts of Pilate (Eccl. Hist.* 2.2), although he does speak of "certain spurious acts against the Savior" (1.9; cf. 9.5). It is commonly held that the present work was a counterblast to these pagan *Acts* published under the emperor Maximin, but the possibility remains that its author made use of an older work already known to Tertullian, and even to Justin. This however, is in the realm of speculation. The first firm evidence is provided by EPIPHANIUS *(Pan.* 50.1), who says that the Quartodecimans claimed to determine the exact date of the passion with the aid of *the Acts of Pilate.* As the work of Epiphanius dates from A.D. 375 or 376, a *Grundschrift* for the *Acts* was already in existence half a century before the Greek recension A.

**II. Contents.** This writing, as noted above, consists of two sections.

***A. Acts of Pilate.*** The prologue claims the document to be a translation of the Hebrew record drawn up by NICODEMUS, and gives an elaborate but not entirely consistent date for the CRUCIFIXION *(see NTAp,* 1:534 n. 2). The book proper begins with the accusations laid against Jesus by the Jewish leaders. When he is brought before Pilate, the images on the military standards do him reverence,

against the will of the standard-bearers. In its main lines the narrative of the trial follows the canonical story, but with considerable expansion. Pilate's wife, described as a God-fearer, sends him a warning (cf. Matt. 27:19). The charge that Jesus was of illegitimate birth is denied by twelve Jews. Nicodemus speaks on his behalf before Pilate, and several of those whom Jesus healed seek to testify in his favor. Finally Pilate yields to Jewish pressure and orders the execution. JOSEPH of Arimathea buries the body and is himself imprisoned by the Jews. When they assemble on the first day of the week to condemn him, however, his prison is found empty, though the doors were sealed and CAIAPHAS had the key.

The guards from the tomb report the resurrection and are bribed into silence. Three men from Galilee who report having seen Jesus with his disciples there are hurriedly sent away. At Nicodemus's suggestion the Jews search for Jesus, but in vain. They do, however, find Joseph at home in ARIMATHEA. Invited to Jerusalem, he tells his story; the three men from Galilee are brought back to tell theirs; one almost expects to read of the repentance and wholesale conversion of the Jews, but the book does not go quite so far.

There are variations among the versions in the final sections. In particular, recension B and the Latin have to make considerable changes to provide a transition to the *Descensus*.

***B. The descent into hell.*** This part begins with a speech by Joseph affirming that Jesus was not raised alone but that others, including SIMEON (Lk. 2:25) and his two sons, also experienced resurrection with him. Their tombs are open and empty, "but they themselves are alive and dwelling in Arimathea." On investigation the claim is found to be true. The men are brought to Jerusalem and there write their testimony, which is signed and sealed in the presence of the Jewish authorities, after which they vanish. The testimony describes the tumult in hell, and the mutual recriminations of Satan and Hades. In the Latin versions, Simeon's sons are named Leucius and Karinus, a point both of interest and of perplexity, since the *Acts of John* are reputed to have been written by one Leucius Charinus. (English trans. in *NTAp,* 1:505 –36.)

R.McL. WILSON

**Pildash** pil'dash (פִּלְדָּשׁ *H7109,* derivation uncertain). Son of NAHOR by his wife MILCAH; nephew of ABRAHAM (Gen. 22:22). The passage as a whole seems to indicate the origins of various tribes; the descendants of Pildash may have inhabited N ARABIA.

**Pileha** pil'uh-hah. KJV form of PILHA.

**pilgrim, pilgrimage.** The KJV uses the *term pilgrimage* as a rendering of Hebrew *māgôr H4472,* "[place of] sojourning, temporary residence," in three OT passages (Gen. 47:9 [also NIV]; Exod. 6:4; Ps. 119:54; cf. also the NIV's contextual translation in Ps. 84:5). In addition, it uses *pilgrim* twice to render Greek *parepidēmos G4215,* "stranger, foreigner," describing Christians whose final citizenship is in heaven and who are regarded as temporary dwellers on earth (Heb. 11:13; 1 Pet. 2:11; in the only other passage where this Greek word occurs, 1 Pet. 1:1, the KJV uses "strangers").

In the OT, pilgrimage was important in the life of Israel. In later times, a pilgrimage to Jerusalem was an ambition, if not an obligation, for the faithful Jew of the DIASPORA. A whole group of Psalms, the so-called "Songs of Ascent" or "Pilgrim Songs" (Pss. 120—134), may have been used by pilgrims on their way to JERUSALEM. The NT makes reference to Jews going to Jerusalem for PASSOVER and PENTECOST (Lk. 2:41; Jn. 5:1; 7:2; Acts 2:1-11; et al.) after "the manner of

pilgrims."The requirement that Israel should "appear before the LORD God" three times annually—at the three major festivals of Passover and Unleavened Bread, of Weeks, and of Tents—was an ancient one (Exod. 23:17; 34:23; Lev. 23; et al.). The gathering of Israelites to Jerusalem or to some other center in earlier times was in the nature of a pilgrimage. Some writers suggest that there were other important festivals. Since the basis of Israel's early political life was a tribal federation, it has been argued that periodical gatherings at the central sanctuary for the renewal of the COVENANT with Yahweh became regular pilgrimages in the course of time; thus at each New Year there was a festival of covenant renewal. This, however, cannot be proved from the biblical data.

In addition to regular and legitimate pilgrimages, the prophets make it clear that some in Israel frequented pagan shrines where the local rites all but obliterated the worship of Yahweh (Amos 4:4, 5; 5:5-6). The reforms of JOSIAH (2 Ki. 23:1-25) sought to do away with much of this worship at ancient pilgrim centers and to concentrate legitimate worship at the central sanctuary in Jerusalem. (See R. Brinker, *The Influence of Sanctuaries in Early Israel* [1946]; R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* [1962], 484-517.)

J. ARTHUR THOMPSON

**Pilha** pil'hah (פִּלְהָא *H7116,* possibly "millstone"). KJV Pileha. One of the Israelite leaders who sealed the covenant with NEHEMIAH (Neh. 10:21).

**pillar.** This English term, referring to an upright support for a building (sometimes in a figurative sense), is used variously in the Bible versions to render several words.

**I. In the** OT. The architectural sense is found first in the description of the TABERNACLE. Pillars (Heb. *ʿammûd H6647,* NIV, "posts") of ACACIA wood overlaid with gold supported the curtain that separated the Holy Place from the Most Holy Place (Exod. 26:32-33) as well as the curtain at the entrance to the tent (vv. 36-37).The curtains in the courtyard were supported with numerous pillars (27:10-17).

In SOLOMON's palace complex was the "Hall of Pillars" (1 Ki. 7:6 NRSV; see HALL), referring to a "colonnade" (NIV) or "portico of columns" (NJPS). These were made of CEDAR, but Solomon also used rare ALMUG wood for columns (10:12). The twin bronze pillars, named Jakin and Boaz, stood before the TEMPLE and may have held up the architrave of the vestibule, or they may have been free-standing memorial pillars, recalling the PILLAR OF FIRE AND OF CLOUD of the exodus days (7:15-22). See JAKIN (PILLAR). There is a possibility that one of the columns was the pillar by which the king stood on

Pillars lined the streets of Hellenistic Scythopolis (OT Beth Shan).

crisis occasions, as when young JOASH was proclaimed king at the close of ATHALIAH's usurpation (2 Ki. 11:14) and when King JOSIAH made his great reformation covenant (23:3).

The columns in the PHILISTINE temple that SAMSON pulled down on the assembled crowd were "the two central pillars on which the temple stood" (Jdg. 16:25-26,29). The pillars referred to in Ezek. 40:49 were more likely pilasters. Esther 1:6 tells of the marble columns in the Persian palace of SUSA. JEREMIAH was to stand like an iron pillar against wicked Judah (Jer. 1:18). When WISDOM built her house she used seven pillars (Prov. 9:1).

In a figurative sense, JOB spoke of God shaking the pillars of the earth (Job 9:6) and making the pillars of heaven tremble (26:11). A different and rare term, *māsûq H5187,* is used similarly in HANNAH's prayer, "the pillars [NIV, foundations] of the earth are the LORD's, and on them he has set the world" (1 Sam. 2:8 NRSV). A more literal usage of the word *ʿammûd* is with reference to a column of smoke ascending from a burning city (Jdg. 20:40). Another term, *tîmārâ H9406,* can be used as a synonym in this sense (Joel 2:30 [NIV, "billows"]; in Cant. 3:6 it seems to be a cloud of incense).

The first use of *massēbâ H5167 is* in a good religious application: according to Gen. 28:18-22, JACOB took the stone he had been using as a pillow and set it up as a memorial pillar to his vision of God. He anointed it with oil, made a vow, and named the place BETHEL, that is, "the house of God" (cf. also Gen. 31:13, 45, 51-52; 35:14, 20). MOSES erected twelve pillars beside the altar he built at the foot of Mount SINAI (Exod. 24:4); these represented the twelve tribes of Israel. The messianic message of Isa. 19:19 predicts an altar and a pillar to the Lord in Egypt.

The same term is used for pagan religious practices. Israel was commanded to destroy the pillars used in Canaanite worship (Exod.23:24). They were used both in their outdoor sanctuaries (2 Ki. 17:10) and in their temples (10:26), and were specifically called pillars of BAAL (3:2). The term "pillar" could also refer to "the obelisks of Heliopolis" (Jer. 43:13 NRSV; the NIV speaks of "sacred pillars" that were found "in the temple of the sun"; see HELIOPOLIS). Abimelech was made king at "the great tree at the pillar in Shechem" (Jdg. 9:6; the term here is *mussāb H5164).* Archaeologists have found and reerected a pillar that was in front of the temple of BAAL-BERITH; and this may have been the same pillar. Israel was commanded never to erect a pillar as any part of WORSHIP (Lev. 26:1).

The cognate noun *maṣṣebet H5170* occurs only once with reference to a memorial stone: ABSALOM, since he had no sons, set up a pillar as a memorial and gave it his name (2 Sam. 18:18; cf. Gen. 35:20). The term used for the pillar of salt into which LOT's wife was changed is *nĕsîb H5907 (Gen.* 19:26; this word elsewhere means "garrison" or "outpost," 1 Sam. 10:4 et al.).

**II. In the** NT. The Greek term for "pillar," *stylos G5146,* occurs only a few times in the NT and always figuratively. James, Cephas, and John were pillars of the Jerusalem church (Gal. 2:9; see JAMES II; PETER; JOHN THE APOSTLE). The church is "the pillar and foundation of the truth" (1 Tim. 3:15). In the letter to the church at PHILADELPHIA is the phrase, "Him who conquers I will make him a pillar in the temple of my God" (Rev. 3:12). The angel of Rev. 10:1 has "legs like fiery pillars."

**III. Archaeological data.** The Israelite tabernacle was actually a mobile temple—a building that could be dismantled easily, moved to a new site, and erected quickly. Architecturally, it was based on the use of pillars and interlocking boards. The use of pillars was also the ideal way to handle the curtains used in the tabernacle. RAMSES II, who may have been the pharaoh of the exodus, used a mobile temple in his campaign against the HITTITES, and there is a picture of that temple in his records of the campaign.

The pillar as a feature of a permanent building developed as soon as rooms were built too large to be covered by the timber span available. Two types of pillars were mainly used in Bible times—wood and stone (if no stone or wood was available, columns were made of mud bricks). The timber normally used was grown in the immediate neighborhood, except for such major buildings as those of Solomon. His temple-palace complex used CEDAR imported from LEBANON. The entire ANE considered cedar the finest timber.

Archaeologists have found many stone bases upon which the wooden columns stood. The stone columns are usually composite—made of stones of various heights placed one upon the other to give the necessary height. Large buildings might use a single stone, which often was roughly squared, as a column. Sometimes the column seems to have been composite, with the lower part made of stone, and the upper segment of wood. Plaster covered the irregularities of the stone pillars and gave them a finished pattern. Pilasters were also used in public buildings. In MEGIDDO and SAMARIA, proto-Ionic capitals were found in use with pilasters.

The houses from the period of JOSHUA are recognized easily by the primitive multiple-stone pillar used. The post-Solomonic house often had the semidressed stone pillar, usually of several members or a stone-wood pier. By NT times, the Greek and Roman types of columns were common in Palestine. HEROD the Great was a more prolific builder than Solomon; he was a constant user of column architecture. Columns lined the colonnaded streets of Roman times (the best example of these is the post-NT Jerash [see GERASA]). See ARCHITECTURE.

The Canaanite religious pillar seems to have been originally a natural stone of a rough obelisk form. Later, it was quarried and semidressed. Such a large stone is seen at Adder in MOAB. Occasionally these pillars were given a finished dressing, as those at SHECHEM. High in artistic form was the Egyptian OBELISK. Occasionally the pillar might better be described as a stone slab. Two were used in front of the temple at Shechem (possibly the temple dedicated to BAAL-BERITH, Jdg. 8:33). One is almost twice as wide as it is thick, and the width of the other is three and one-half times the thickness. Both slabs are broken and without any clue as to their original heights.

The Canaanite pillars were used originally in open-air sanctuaries. When the city of Shechem grew in size, the old sanctuary was incorporated within the new city walls, and thus the pillars are

adjacent to the temple. At BETH SHAN one pillar was actually inside the temple. These pillars sometimes were taken as the major booty in war and dragged to the sanctuary of the conqueror. Some of the sacred stones were meteorites.The most famous one is the ancient sacred stone that fell from heaven at the EPHESUS shrine of ARTEMIS (Acts 19:35). A black meteorite is built into one corner of the Kaaba at Mecca, and it is the most sacred spot in that most holy city for Moslem worshipers. (See further G. A. Barrois, *Manuel d'archéologie biblique II*[1953], 346-48, 358-63.)

J. L. KELSO

**pillar of fire and of cloud.** During the wilderness wanderings, Israel was guided on her way by the phenomenon of "the pillar of fire and of cloud" (*ʿammûd ēš wĕʿānān,* Exod. 14:24). This particular phrase occurs only once, but in several passages we find the separate expressions "pillar of fire" and "pillar of cloud" (Exod. 13:21-22; 14:19; Num. 14:14; Neh. 9:12, 19; Ps. 99:7). When Israel left SUCCOTH and reached the edge of the wilderness, Yahweh went before them by day "in a pillar of cloud to guide them on the way and by night in a pillar of fire to give them light" (Exod. 13:21). Thereafter, the pillar continued to guide and protect the nation. Normally, the cloud by day and the fire by night moved in front of Israel to point the way. As Israel left Egypt, however, the cloud moved to the rear to provide protection from the Egyptians (14:19-20,24).

There are other references to "the pillar of cloud" (or cloudy pillar) descending and standing at the door of the TABERNACLE when MOSES entered the tent (33:9—10). Possibly the "cloud" that came down at SINAI when Moses spoke with God was the same pillar of cloud (34:5). When MIRIAM and AARON murmured against Moses, the Lord came down in the pillar of cloud and stood at the door of the tent of meeting to confirm Moses' authority (Num. 12:5-10). As the time of Moses' death approached, JOSHUA was called to the tent of meeting where the Lord appeared in the pillar of cloud to give him a charge as Moses' successor (Deut. 31:15). In these latter instances the pillar of cloud was the place of divine revelation.

The explanation of this phenomenon is not easy. The association of the term CLOUD with God is very frequent in the OT. In some of the above passages the term *cloud* may mean "pillar of cloud" (Exod. 34:5), although the presence of the Lord often is denoted by a THEOPHANY of cloud and GLORY. Perhaps there are two different phenomena—the guiding cloud and the cloud of the divine presence.

Some rationalistic writers have suggested that the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night may have been produced by a lighted bowl of pitch mounted on a pole. There are references by ancient historians and later travelers to the practice of Persian armies and Arab caravans carrying braziers of burning wood at the head of their march. The large bronze pillars in front of SOLOMON's temple (see PILLAR) are thought by some to have been fiery cressets (or bowls of pitch) that emitted smoke and flame by day and night during festivals (1 Ki. 7:15; cf. W. F. Albright in *BASOR* 85 [Feb. 1942]: 18-27). There is, however, absolutely no proof in the Hebrew text for this theory. Although it may be conceded that a device made with God's approval could still serve his purpose, and that fire and smoke might have been employed as symbols of his presence, the Scripture narrative implies that the pillar of fire and of cloud was supernatural in origin, and was intended to demonstrate God's presence rather than merely symbolizing it. (See further T.W. Mann in *JBL* 90 [1971]: 15-30.)

J. ARTHUR THOMPSON

**pillow.** This English term is used by the KJV to translate several Hebrew words that most modern versions render differently (Gen. 28:11, 18; 1 Sam. 19:13,16; Ezek. 13:18,20). In addition, it is used to translate Greek *proskephalaion G4676,* which does mean "pillow" or "cushion" (only Mk. 4:38).

**pilot.** This English term, referring to someone who steers a ship, is sometimes used to render the Hebrew word ḥōbēl *H2480,* "sailor, seaman" (Ezek. 27:8, 27-29 KJV, NRSV; cf. Jon. 1:6, *rab hahōbēl,* "shipmaster, captain"). The common Greek word for "pilot, helmsman" is *kybernētēs G3237,* which occurs twice in the NT (Acts 27:11; Rev. 18:17), but the participle of *euthynō G2316* ("to guide straight, to steer") is used in this sense once (Jas. 3:4).

**Piltai** pil'ti (פִּלְטַי *H7122,* prob. short form of פְּלַטְיָהוּ *H7125,* "Yahweh has delivered"; see PELATIAH). Head of the priestly families of Miniamin and Moadiah in the days of the high priest JOIAKIM (Neh. 12:17).

**pim.** See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES IV.G.

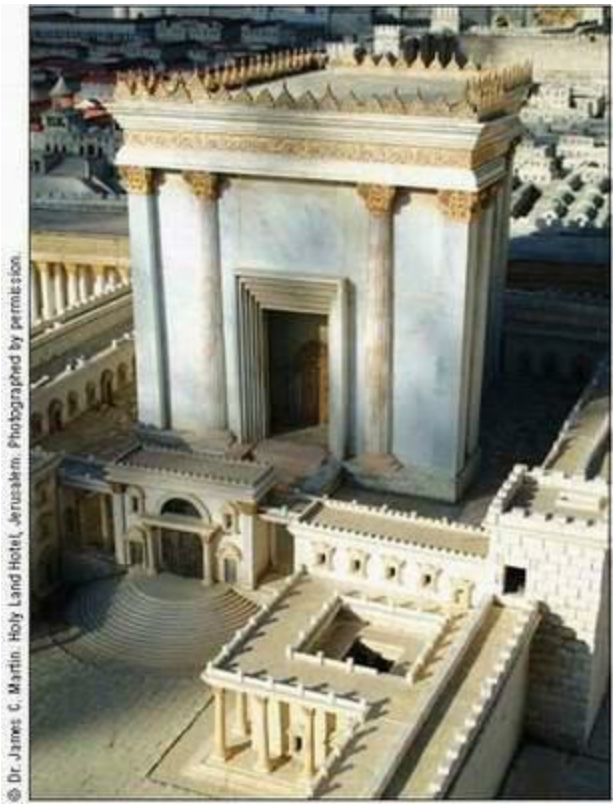
**pin.** This English term is used by the KJV mainly to render Hebrew *yātēd H3845,* referring to the tent pegs of the TABERNACLE (Exod. 27:19 et al.); they were probably sharpened at one end and so shaped at the other end as to allow chords to be attached (38:18). This Hebrew word also occurs in other contexts, for example, with reference to the pins used in a loom to tighten the weave (Jdg. 16:13-14).

S.BARABAS

**pine.** A coniferous evergreen tree with elongated needles. The term occurs seldom in most Bible versions, but the NIV uses it regularly to render Hebrew *hĕrôš H1360* (1 Ki. 5:8 et al.; KJV, FIR; NRSV, CYPRESS; others, JUNIPER; the use of "pine" by the KJV in Neh. 8:15 is inaccurate). A Palestinian conifer is the Jerusalem pine, also known as the Aleppo pine (*Pinus halepensis),* which can grow 60 ft. high and has irregularly arranged, slender branches. The cones are short-stalked. There is a variety called Brutian pine (*P. brutia),* whose branch system is less dense, and some think this is the tree referred to by the difficult word *tidhār H9329* (Isa. 41:19; 60:13 [NIV, "fir"; NRSV, "plane"]). These pines grow in the Mediterranean regions in places that are too dry for other conifers. (Cf. *FFB,* 162-65.) See also FLORA (under *Pinaceae).*

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

**pinnacle.** Traditional rendering of *pterygion G4762* (lit., "small wing," but applied to any "tip" or "edge"), referring to the part of the TEMPLE in Jerusalem to




A reconstruction of the Jerusalem temple at the time of Jesus. According to some, the top of this structure was the "pinnacle" from which Jesus was tempted by Satan to throw himself.

which Satan took Jesus and from which he tempted him to cast himself down (Matt. 4:5; Lk. 4:9; NIV, "highest point"). The exact location is unknown. The two places suggested most frequently are a high point on the SE corner, overlooking the valley of the KIDRON, or some part of the roof of the temple.

S. BARABAS

**Pinon** p*i*'non (פִּינֹן *H7091,* meaning unknown). Descendant of ESAU, listed among the clan chiefs of EDOM (Gen. 36:41; 1 Chr. 1:52). His name may be preserved in PUNON, an Edomite copper-mining center.

**pipe.** See MUSIC, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IV.C.

**Pira** p*i*'ruh. KJV Apoc. variant form (1 Esd. 5:14; see KEPHIRAH).

**Piram** p*i*'ruhm (פִּרְאָם *H7231,* possibly from the Heb. word for "wild donkey"). A king of JARMUTH (a city-state SW of Jerusalem) who formed a league with four other AMORITE kings to punish GIBEON for submitting to the Israelites (Josh. 10:3-5). JOSHUA defeated them in battle at BETH HORON, killed the five kings, and cast their bodies into a cave (10:6-27).

**Pirathon** pihr'uh-thon (פִּרְעָתוֹן *H7284,* meaning uncertain; gentilic פִּרְעָתוֹנִי *H7285,* "Pirathonite"; LXX Φαραθων Φαραθωνι). A town in EPHRAIM, "in the hill country of the Amalekites," that was the home of the Israelite judge ABDON (Jdg. 12:15). Both Abdon and BENAIAH, one of DAVID's mighty warriors, are called "Pirathonites" (Jdg. 12:13; 2 Sam. 23:30; 1 Chr. 27:14). Pirathon is identified with modern Far(ata, some 7 mi. WSW of SHECHEM.

According to 1 Macc. 9:50, "Pharathon" (KJV, "Pharathoni") was one of the towns that the SELEUCID general BACCHIDES fortified, but the towns listed in that verse are said to be in JUDEA, and thus some argue that Pharathon is not the same as OT Pirathon. Perhaps Pharathon should be identified with modern ʿAin Farah, c. 7 mi. NE of Jerusalem (cf. Y. Aharoni et al., *The Carta Bible Atlas,* 4th ed. [2002], map 98 and index, p. 215). Others have suggested that "Timnath [and] Pharathon" should be read as an otherwise unknown compound name, "Timnath-pharathon." It is also possible, however, that here the name Judea is used inexactly and that the reference is indeed to OT Pirathon.

J.M.HOUSTON

**Pirke ʾAbot** (פִּרְקֵי אָבוֹת, "chapters *[i.e.,* lessons of the fathers"). Also *Sayings of the Fathers;* sometimes simply *ʾAbot* (variants *Aboth, Avot)* or *The Fathers*. A collection of rabbinic maxims and sayings attributed to sages that lived from the 3rd cent. B.C. to the 3rd cent. A.D.; they are arranged with some regard for chronology and name a considerable selection of RABBIS. It is one of the tractates in the fourth division (*Neziqin,* "Damages") of the MISHNAH.

Since *ʾAbot,* like the Mishnah generally, is basically a compilation of sayings, the question of authorship is really a question of editorship. After the reformation of EZRA in the 5th cent. B.C., a continuing need was felt for more and more explicit precepts concerning righteous conduct. In response to this, there developed an accretion of prescriptive interpretations of Scripture alongside of Scripture itself. These "traditions of the elders" were amplified and extended through each succeeding generation until the whole became an entirely unwieldy and ponderous mass. Rabbi AKIBA (A.D. c. 50-135) was seemingly the first to attempt the task of organizing and reclassifying these traditions. Rabbi Akiba's initial attempt was carried on further by the efforts of Rabbi Meir, but it was Rabbi Judah (d. A.D. 219) who accomplished the organization of the whole into the Mishnah.

Although *ʾAbot* is contained in the Mishnah, the nature of its contents is considerably different from that of the other tractates in it. The Mishnah as a whole is *halakic* in character—that is, its contents are in the form of prescriptions for conduct, designed to aid the individual in meeting the requirements of the law (see HALAKAH). *ʾAbot,* on the other hand, is basically a list of the main sages who produced the Mishnah, together with some of their nonhalakic sayings. *ʾAbot* is included in the division dealing with "injuries" or "damages" but would seem more appropriate as a kind of covering preface or introduction to the Mishnah as a whole. That the GEMARA contains a number of references to *ʾAbot* introduced in the same way as are references to the rest of the Mishnah implies that this tractate was a part of the Mishnah from early times in spite of its aberrant character.

As it now exists, *ʾAbot* contains six chapters. The first four chapters include a list of prominent rabbis, or "fathers," some sixty in all, through whom the Mishnaic traditions were developed and passed on. Chapter 1 traces the handing on of tradition from MOSES until about the time of the war of A.D. 66-70. Chapter 2 gives a further list, which pays less attention to chronology and probably was designed to indicate how the tradition was reestablished after the war. Chapters 3 and 4 simply preserves various traditions from this later period. Chapter 5 gives additional gnomic material, related not to authors but to certain numbers. Chapter 6 was evidently not added to *ʾAbot* until much later.

The Mishnah as a whole became, in the years following its compilation, the subject for study in the rabbinical schools. *ʾAbot* itself apparently came to be used in the Middle Ages as a book for some

Sabbath readings in colleges and synagogues. Since certain Jewish readings were supposed to be read over a period of six sabbaths, it may be that this was the reason for the addition of the sixth chapter. This last chapter is usually called the Chapter of Rabbi Meir or the Acquisition of Torah, the latter designation describing quite accurately its contents.

*)Abot* is not a theological treatise in the strict sense of the term. It is mainly concerned with ethical maxims, though it is well to remember that no sharp distinction between theology and ethics was tolerable to the rabbinic mind. TORAH, in its widest sense of "divine thought" or "divine truth," is the main theological concept in *)Abot*. The name of God does not occur in the treatise except in scriptural quotations; other terms, such as "the Allpresent," are used. Considerable stress is laid upon God's justice and upon reward and punishment. In general, *)Abot* makes no distinctive contribution to theology but simply participates in the views that are known from the Mishnah as a whole and from the TALMUD.

There are numerous MSS of *)Abot,* found either separately or together with the Mishnah or the Talmud. The most important of these is in the Cambridge University Library and contains the whole Mishnah in the Palestinian recension, which dates from the 14th cent. Here *)Abot* has only the first five chapters. Several other important MSS are in Britain, dating from the 13th cent. and later, and usually containing the text of six chapters and a commentary on the same.

(See C. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers,* 2 vols. [1900]; R. T. Herford in *APOT,* 2:686-714; H. Danby, *The Mishnah: Translated from the Hebrew with Introduction and Brief Explanatory Notes* [1933], 446-61; R. T. Herford, *Pirkē Aboth: The Tractate 'Fathers' from the Mishnah,* 3rd ed. [1945]; B. Viviano, *Study as Worship: Aboth and the New Testament* [1978]; J.Neusner, *The Mishnah: A New Translation* [1987], 672-89; P. Blackman, *Mishnayoth: Pointed Hebrew Text, Introductions, Translation Notes, Supplements,* 7 vols., 2nd ed. [1990], 4:487-553; I. M. Baum, *Ethics from Sinai: A WideRanging Commentary on Pirkei Avos,* 3 vols. [2000]; A. Tropper, *Wisdom, Politics, and Historiography: Tractate Avot in the Context of the Graeco-Roman Near East* [2004].)

H. G. ANDERSEN

**Pisgah** piz'guh (פִּסְגָה *H7171* [always with the definite article, הַפִּסְגָה], perhaps "cleft"; cf. *ISBE,* rev. [1979-88], 3:873). A height in the mountains of ABARIM, NE of the DEAD SEA. The name Pisgah never occurs apart from the phrases "the top of Pisgah" (Num. 21:20; 23:14; Deut. 3:27; 34:1) and "the slopes of Pisgah" (Deut. 3:17; 4:49; Josh. 12:3; 13:20; the KJV, following LXX, transliterates the Heb. word for "slope" with "Ashdoth" [except Deut. 4:49, "springs of Pisgah"]). The first occurrence of the name is in the account relating the progress of the wandering Israelites. They came "to the valley in Moab where the top of Pisgah overlooks the wasteland [KJV, Jeshimon]" (Num. 21:20). It was to "the top of Pisgah" that BALAAM was taken to curse Israel (23:14). Not only does this height overlook the plains of MOAB where the Israelites were, but to the W it looks over the Dead Sea (Deut. 3:17; 4:49; Josh. 12:3). The slopes of Pisgah later became part of the tribe of REUBEN (Josh. 13:15-20).

Pisgah was easily scaled, although very high. God told MOSES to go there to look in all directions (Deut. 3:27). The problem of an identification arises in Deut. 34:1-2, which states that "Moses climbed Mount Nebo from the plains of Moab to the top of Pisgah, across from Jericho." From that point God showed him the Promised Land as far N as Dan and as far W as the western sea. The Mediterranean, however, is not visible from any point in S TRANSJORDAN. God must have shown

him what was otherwise not observable.

Many scholars identify Jebel en-Neba with


North shoulder of Mount Nebo; many scholars believe this to be Pisgah. (View to the SW toward the N end of the Dead Sea.)

Mount Nebo and Ras es-Siyaghah with Pisgah (but see NEBO, MOUNT). These two peaks, approximately 5 mi. NW of MEDEBA, are connected by a saddle. Pisgah commands a magnificent view of the JORDAN Valley and even to Mount HERMON on clear days. The "wasteland" of Num. 21:20 would be the Ghor el-Belqa, and the "valley" would be that of ʿAyun Musa. (Cf. E. Kraeling, *Bible Atlas* [1956], 127-28.)

R. L. ALDEN

**Pishon River** p*i*'shon (פִּישׁוֹן *H7093,* derivation uncertain). KJV Pison (in Sir. 24:25, Phison). One of the four headwaters into which the river flowing from EDEN divided (Gen. 2:11; cf. Sir. 24:25). It is described as winding "through the entire land of Havilah, where there is gold" (see HAVILAH). Suggested identifications of the Pishon include Wadi Baish and nearby Wadi Bisha, in SW ARABIA (cf. *ABD,* 5:374). It must be kept in mind, however, that the TIGRIS and EUPHRATES, two of the other headwaters, do not flow out of a common source; hence the account does not literally fit today's geography.

**Pisidia** pi-sid'ee-uh (Πισιδία *G4407;* the adj. Πισίδιος *G4408,* "Pisidian," found only in Acts 13:14, is questioned by some [e.g., BDAG, 816], but see F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians: A Commentary on the Greek Text,* NIGTC [1982], 6 n. 17). A contour map of ASIA MINOR shows that the Taurus range forms a rampart behind CILICIA and PAMPHYLIA, and walls off the open coastline, with its Greek ports and cosmopolitan cities, from the central Asia Minor plateau. Pisidia is a mountainous district, some 120 mi. long by 50 wide, at the W end of this upland chain, forming a hinterland to Pamphylia. The nature of the terrain, where the Taurus breaks into a tangle of ridges and valleys, made it the natural home of independent and predatory mountain tribesmen, who resisted successfully the attempts of the Persians, during their occupancy of Asia Minor, to subdue them.

These highland tribes also defied the Persians' Hellenistic successors. They professed submission to ALEXANDER THE GREAT, but it could have been little more than in name. To establish

some form of control over them, the SELEUCID kings founded ANTIOCH OF PISIDIA (to be distinguished from the royal capital, ANTIOCH OF SYRIA, and from the Phrygian Antioch on the Maeander). For similar reasons of security, Amyntas of GALATIA strengthened Antioch toward the end of his reign (26/25 B.C.) and established a system of strong points linked with military roads in the area. PAUL's reference to "danger from bandits" in his list of tribulations (2 Cor. 11:26) could well refer to the continued insecurity of the mountain roads of the region even after Pisidian Antioch had become a bastion of the empire's military power in Asia. Paul traversed the area twice. Amyntas had acquired the Pisidian highlands as part of the kingdom of Galatia assigned to him by Marc Antony in 38 B.C., and it was in the course of his campaign against the mountain tribesmen that the king was killed.

Sulpicius QUIRINIUS, famous in connection with the CENSUS that brought Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem (Lk. 2:2), was commissioned by AUGUSTUS to establish order in the Pisidian area. In the course of his systematic organization of the Roman frontiers—a difficult and ill-documented process that occupied fully twenty significant years of his principate—Augustus gave considerable attention to the pacification of the perennially rebellious mountaineers who formed islands and enclaves in his frontier system. Drusus and TIBERIUS sought to tame the Alpine clans N of Italy, and Quirinius undertook the same laborious task in Pisidia. He seems to have established some sort of peace, and his subsequent organization incorporated the mountain region in the province of Galatia.

In A.D. 74 VESPASIAN attached a considerable part of Pisidia to the province of Pamphylia, where no large military force was stationed. The reorganization might suggest that by this time the slow pressure of the Roman peace had tamed the lawless natives. In the 2nd cent., numerous market towns sprang up, but there is no evidence of Christian penetration of the wild hill country before the time of Constantine and the conversion, if the term may be used, of the empire to Christianity. Paul's visits were urban, and the political and military bastion of Pisidian Antioch on its high plateau and in the midst of a great road system was typical of Pauline strategy.

(See further A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces,* 2nd ed. [1971], ch. 5; K. Belke and N. Mersich, *Phrygien und Pisidien* [1990]; G. H. R. Horsley and S. Mitchell, *The Inscriptions of Central Pisidia* [2000].)

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

**Pison** p*i*'suhn. KJV form of PISHON.

**Pispa** pis'puh. See PISPAH.

**Pispah** pis'puh (פִּסְפָּה *H7183,* derivation unknown). NRSV and other versions, Pispa. 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).

**pistachio nuts.** See NUT.

**Pistis Sophia** pis'tis soh-fee'uh (Πίστις Σοφία "Faith-Wisdom"). One of the spirit beings who inhabited the world of aeons, according to GNOSTICISM; this figure is prominent, for example, in the HYPOSTASIS OF THE ARCHONS (a treatise included in the NAG HAMMADI LIBRARY). *Pistis Sophia* is also the title usually given to a Gnostic "gospel" in which this spirit is mentioned. The document was probably composed in Greek, but it is preserved in a 4th-cent. Coptic MS, Codex Askewianus (it was

acquired by a British doctor named A. Askew in the 18th cent.).

*Pistis Sophia* has four chapters, the last of which is considered a separate work dating from the first half of the 4th cent. (possibly late 3rd cent.); the first three were apparently added some time later. The former section purports to relate Jesus' teachings upon his resurrection and glorification. The latter section teaches that Jesus remained on earth twelve years after his resurrection and claims to reproduce his teaching both during the last of these years and also upon his appearance in brilliant light after he had ascended through the aeons. It is this section—the first three chapters in the extant work—that relates the story of Pistis Sophia, a spirit who wanted to ascend to the highest place, but "fell" and needed redemption. Jesus tells, in answer to the questions of Mary Magdalene and others, of the means of the restoration of Pistis Sophia, who some think represents mankind.

The "gospel" expresses gnostic theology through such terms as "aeons," "mysteries," and the like, and employs some material from Jewish literature, and from the OT and NT, but adapted to its use. The birth of Jesus is alluded to, but not the cross. Some have seen Valentinian influence in it, and it has been compared with the Nag Hammadi texts, but such relationships are uncertain. (Introduction and summary in *NTAp,* 1:361-69. Text and English trans. by C. Schmidt and V. MacDermot, *Pistis Sophia* [1978]. See also V. MacDermot, *The Fall of Sophia: A Gnostic Text on the Redemption of Universal Consciousness* [2001].)

W. L. LIEFELD

**pit.** This English term is used frequently in Bible versions to render a variety of Hebrew words. For example, the noun *bôr H1014,* which occurs more than sixty times, conveys the idea of a hole especially dug for water, but is also used where water is not present. It can often refer to a CISTERN (e.g., Lev. 11:36), and sometimes to a DUNGEON (Exod. 12:29). The word may be used to describe the place of physical BURIAL, a hole with graves dug into the sides. By a natural transition it refers to calamity (e.g., Ps. 40:2). Probably by analogy to the burial crypt, the expression "go down to the pit," means more than dying without hope, being a reference to the nether world of departed spirits (Ps. 28:1). Another term, *šaḥat H8846,* occurs almost two dozen times, always in poetic texts. Some have thought that it derives from a root meaning "to sink" (cf. Ps. 9:15), but this etymology is disputed. In any case, the word expressed confusion, despair, and sorrow. (See *NIDOTTE,* 1:620-21; 4:93-94.)

In the NT, the Greek word *bothynos G1073* ("hole, pit") occurs three times (Matt. 12:11; 15:14; Lk. 6:39). In Lk. 14:5 (parallel to Matt. 12:11), the term *phrear G5853* is used; this word often means a "well" purposely dug (Jn. 4:11-12), but in Revelation it refers to the "shaft" of the ABYSS (Rev. 9:1-2; KJV and other versions, "bottomless pit"), where mention of a key indicates that the pit was considered a type of dungeon.

B. C. STARK

**pitch.** As a verb meaning "to erect, raise" (esp. with reference to a TENT), this English word is usually the rendering of Hebrew *nāṭâ H5742* (Gen. 12:8 et al.), although the KJV uses it frequently to translate other words, such as *ḥānâ H2837,* "to camp" (Gen. 26:17 et al.). As a noun "pitch" renders Hebrew *kōper H4109* (only Gen. 6:14) and *zepet H2413* (Exod. 2:3 and Isa. 34:9). See BITUMEN.

**pitcher.** This English term, referring to a container used for holding and pouring liquids, is used seventeen times by the KJV, mainly as the rendering of Hebrew *kad H3902* (modern versions prefer the rendering "jar," but cf. NIV and NRSV at Eccl. 12:6). In the account of ELIEZER's search for a wife for ISAAC and the unique method he used to determine that REBEKAH was the right woman, the

word occurs nine times (Gen. 24:14-46). GIDEON's attacking force was equipped with pitchers that served to hide the torches until the moment of attack (Jdg. 7:16-20). The NIV uses "pitcher" also to render Hebrew *qaśwâ H7987* (Exod. 25:29). In the NT, the KJV has "pitcher" for Greek *keramion G3040,* referring to an earthenware vessel (Mk. 14:13; Lk. 22:10; the English word *ceramics* is derived from this Gk. term). The NIV uses it for *xestēs G3829* (Mk. 7:4; the KJV and NRSV, less precisely, "pots").

B. C. STARK

A pitcher from the 1st cent. A.D. discovered at Masada.

**Pithom** p*i*'thom (פִּתֹם *H7351,* from Egyp. *)ritm,* "house *[i.e.,* temple] of Atum"). A store city in EGYPT that the Hebrews were forced to build (Exod. 1:11). Although Pithom is securely attested as a proper name in Egyptian sources from the 13th cent. B.C. onward, its precise identification and localization present some problems, especially in its relation with Tjeku, called Succoth in the OT (Exod. 12:37 et al.). See SUCCOTH #2.

Of the location of Tjeku there can be no serious doubt. In the Wadi Tumilat in the SE delta of the NILE, the ancient site of Tell el-Maskhuta has produced a long series of monuments that repeatedly mention Tjeku. Furthermore, they most frequently do so in connection with Atum (or Tum) as the god of the city. Tjeku contained a temple *(pr,* usually vocalized *per)* devoted to Atum, from which have come various monuments of RAMSES II and later times. A statue of the priest ⁽Aak entitles him Overseer of Prophets of Atum and Chief Priest over Tjeku, and addresses all the priests "who (shall) enter the temple of Atum…residing in Tjeku" (see E. Naville, *The Store City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus,* 4th ed. [1903], plate 4A).

Literary sources provide further information. A letter in Ostracon Deir el-Medineh (1076:1) offers greetings "in the favor of all the gods of Tjeku" (the name is determined with the town sign; see G. Posener, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh* 1 [1934-38], plate

43). Papyrus Anastasi V (19.2; 25.2; 26.1) mentions Tjeku in connection with the Medjay police as desert scouts, very appropriate so near to the wilderness of Etham (cf. R. A. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* [1954], 253,269). At Tjeku was a "keep" that could be reached in one day's travel from "the palace" (Papyrus Anastasi V, 19.3-8; Caminos, 255-58). The palace would then be that at Pi-Ramessē (Heb. RAMESES), and the day's journey would correspond in length with the march of the Hebrews from Rameses to Succoth (Exod. 12:37). Papyrus Anastasi VI (55ff.) mentions an Edomite tribal group coming in past the fort of King MERNEPTAH in Tjeku to go "to the pools of Per-Atum [= the House or Estate of Atum] of Merneptah" in Tjeku *(ANET,* 259a), that is, in the reverse direction to the Israelites when they went out toward Etham.

The term Per-Atum is used also by an official of Osorkon II on his statue from Tell el-Maskhuta (Naville, *Pithom,* plate 4). Insofar as Per-Atum or Pi-Tum is the Egyptian equivalent of Hebrew Pithom, Tjeku-Succoth has been advocated as the site of biblical Pithom: Tjeku would be the ordinary name of the town, fort, and immediate neighborhood, and Per-Atum its religious name. A Latin inscription reading *Lo(cus) Eropolis, Ero castra* would suggest that classical Hero(on)polis (which seems to be a translation of *pr-ʾitm,* equating Atum with Heros) was at Tell el-Maskhuta, supporting the latter's identity with Pithom. (In Gen. 46:28, the LXX renders "Goshen" with *Hērōōn polin,* and the Coptic Bohairic, in turn, renders the Gk/ with "Pethom the city"; see J. W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis* [1993], 787.)

However, some doubt persists over this neat solution. About 9 mi. W of Tell el-Maskhuta, the

Tell el-Maskhuta in Egypt, a suggested location of biblical Pithom.

site of Tell er-Retabe (or er-Rotab) has also yielded monuments of Ramses II and traces of a temple of Atum (See W. M. F. Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities* [1906], plates 29-31). With A. H. Gardiner (in *JEA* 5 [1918]: 261-69), this too could be a Per-Atum and perhaps biblical Pithom. Late sources might favor this identification, and a second Latin inscription from Tell el-Maskhuta could be taken as a milestone to be read "from Ero (on the way) to Clysma, nine miles," meaning that Ero (Pithom) was already 9 Roman mi. (8.28 mi.) W of Tell el-Maskhuta, on the road to Clysma (Suez; cf. Gardiner, 269). Furthermore, a more westerly location for Pithom would bring it closer to the land of GOSHEN, where the Hebrews were principally domiciled. (See further D. B. Redford in *VT* 13 [1963]: 403-8; H. W. Helck in *VT* 15 [1965]: 35-40.)

Still a third proposal identifies Pithom with HELIOPOLIS (Tell el-Hisn, c. 10 mi. NNE of Cairo) on the grounds that Per-Atum would be naturally understood as the national shrine located in that major city (E. P. Uphill in *JNES* 27 [1968]: 291-316 and 28 [1969]: 15-39). This location, however, would be more than 40 mi. SW of Succoth, and there are other problems with such an identification. Thus, the Pithom of Exod. 1:11 was either Succoth/Tjeku at Tell el-Maskhuta or, more likely, about 9 mi. to the W at Tell er-Retabeh. (See further K. A. Kitchen in *DOTP,* 211.)

K. A. KITCHEN

**Pithon** p*i*'thon (פִּתּוֹן *H7094,* derivation uncertain). Son of Micah and descendant of SAUL through JONATHAN and MERIB-BAAL, included in the genealogy of BENJAMIN (1 Chr. 8:35; also 9:41).

**pity.** See COMPASSION; MERCY.

**plague.** In a strict medical sense, the term *plague* refers to the bubonic plague, a highly contagious, deadly disease due to infection by the bacillus *Pasteurella pestis* (also known as *Yersinia pestis* and *Bacillus pestis).* Rats are the usual carriers of plague, and fleas are the liaison agents that obtain the bacilli from rats and infect human beings. The incubation period is from one to six days. When symptoms appear, the ensuing progress is rapid, with severe fever, chills, septicemia, pneumonia, buboes, mental deterioration, and death—all within a period of about three days.

Plague occurred frequently in ancient EGYPT and was also fairly common in PALESTINE, especially in PHILISTIA, along the seacoast. Terrible outbreaks also occurred in Asia and Europe. In the 14th cent., the so-called Black Death swept across Europe and killed an estimated 25,000,000 people, or one-fourth of the entire population. Even as recently as 1907, over 1,300,000 persons were reported from worldwide sources as having died from plague.

In the years before modern medicine, there was no known cure for plague. People did learn, however, that if rodents were drastically controlled, and fleas were discouraged by cleanliness, the spread of plague could be slowed down. Today there are medicines


Reconstruction of a Philistine cart. When the presence of the ark of the covenant caused plague among the Philistines, they used a cart to return it to the Israelites (1 Sam. 6:7-14).

that usually cure the infected person if given promptly after symptoms first appear. Furthermore,

vaccines are effective.

In Lev. 13-14, the KJV uses the *word plague* loosely for almost any kind of skin rash. It was the duty of the priests to determine whether the condition was relatively harmless or required isolation. The ten PLAGUES OF EGYPT did not include plague as a disease entity on humans (with the possible exception of the boils, Exod. 9:8-11; note also the murrain that affected the livestock, vv. 9:3-7). However, the horrible plagues experienced by the Hebrews during their Sinai Desert journey (Num. 14:37; 16:47; 25:9) may have been plague in its true medical sense.

When the ARK OF THE COVENANT was returned from ASHDOD and other PHILISTINE cities, after the inhabitants had suffered many deaths, probably due to plague, gold mice (or rats) and TUMORS were presented to the Hebrews (1 Sam. 5). The tumors could well have been representative of the enlarged glands, or buboes, observed in plague.

R. H. POUSMA

**plagues of Egypt.** A series of ten penal miracles performed upon the PHARAOH and people of EGYPT (Exod. 7-12).

**I. Description.** The ten wonders performed upon Egypt are collectively described with several terms: *šĕpātîm,* "acts of judgments" (Exod. 7:4; pl. of *šepet H9150,* "judgment, penalty"); *maggēpōtay,* "my plagues" (9:14; *maggēpâ H4487,* from a verb meaning "to smite, defeat"); *nega( H5596,* "stroke," in the sense of a "wound" (11:1). Collectively with other miraculous acts, the plagues are also referred to as "signs" and "wonders" (7:3, et al.).The text is most specific in presenting these plagues as the direct result of God's intervention in human affairs by divine decree. The moral response of God's justice against the lawless iniquity of the pharaoh and his court—the just recompense for the pharaoh's hardness of heart—was given historical form in the plagues. Two features of the plagues are uppermost: (a) they are the result of divine activity; (b) they are natural phenomena expanded to catastrophic proportions.

(1) *Blood* (Exod. 7:17-21). That the reference is to mammalian blood is actually not indicated as has been traditionally assumed. However, nowhere in the OT is the noun used in any other sense without some qualifying term (e.g., "blood of the grape," Deut. 32:14). On the other hand, this transposition of the waters and another natural fluid was also performed by the magicians of the pharaoh (Exod. 7:22).

(2) *Frogs* (Exod. 8:1-15). The rare word *ṣĕpardēa( H7630* appears only thirteen times in the OT, most of them in this context and later in two references to the same incident (Pss. 78:45; 105:30; see FROG). A similar situation holds for some of the other terms used in connection with the rest of the plagues.

(3) *Gnats* (Exod. 8:16-18). The Hebrew term is *kēn H4031,* which some believe refers to lice, but it may indicate a type of mosquito or some other insect (see GNAT). Because the magicians were unable to reproduce this miracle, they said, "This is the finger of God" (v. 19).

(4) *Flies* (Exod. 8:20-30). The word here, *)ārōb H6856,* probably refers to a biting swamp fly, some sort of blood-sucking insect, but there are many kinds in Egypt (see FLY).

(5) *Murrain* (Exod. 9:1-7). This English term, referring to a PESTILENCE affecting domestic animals, is used by the KJV to render Hebrew *deber H1822,* itself a general term often rendered PLAGUE. It smote the cattle and draft animals of the country. The precise description or etiology is not indicated, but its result was death (v. 6). In the parallel retelling of the plagues (Ps. 78:48), this

affliction seems to be interpreted differently: "He gave over their cattle to the hail, / their livestock to bolts of lightning" (but cf. the seventh plague). The word for "hail," *bārād H1352,* may be a textual corruption (*brd* for *dbr),* while the term rendered "lightning" (*rešep H8404)* appears to mean "plague" in some contexts (cf. esp. Hab. 3:5).

(6) *Boils* (Exod. 9:8-11). The Hebrew expression *šĕḥšn pōrēaḥ) ăba(bu(ōt* ("inflammation breaking out in pustules") is difficult because the term *(ăba(bu(ōt H81* occurs only here. This word, however, has a cognate in Akkadian and is found frequently in the Assyrian medical texts. The Assyrian contexts in which it appears would tend to support a meaning of a swelling "filled with pus." Thus the plague was a disease entity raising vesicles or abscesses, such as bubonic plague. The text specifically states, "The magicians could not stand before Moses because of the boils that were on them and on all the Egyptians" (v. 11). This sixth plague reached the counselors of the pharaoh. See also DISEASE.

(7) *Hail* (Exod. 9:18-33). In both the OT and the NT, hailstorms are mentioned a number of times as judgments from God (Isa. 28:2, 17; Hag. 2:17; Rev. 8:7; et al.). See further HAIL.

(8) *Locusts* (Exod. 10:1-19). The term *)arbeh H746* originally meant "abundance, swarm," but in the OT it always refers to the migratory LOCUST in its developed stage (cf. Deut. 28:38 et al.). The scourge of locusts that frequently afflicted Egypt are well known from many nonbiblical sources.

(9) *Darkness* (Exod. 10:21-23). The Hebrew word for "darkness," *ḥōšek H3125,* used initially in Gen. 1:2, can carry a special cosmic or sinister sense. Traditionally, this plague has been explained as a result of the clouding over of the sun by the locusts of the eighth plague. More of a catastrophe is involved, however, because it stands between the last of the grievous but natural plagues and the one great and utterly supernatural one. Thus the darkness was the harbinger of the tenth plague.

(10) *Death of the firstborn* (Exod. 11:1—12:29). This last and most awesome scourge demonstrated without any doubt the PROVIDENCE of God in regard to Israel and his determinate council regarding the eldest in each family of both man and beast. Nowhere else in Scripture is such a terrible illustration of God's judgment displayed. The contrast of Israel's deliverance and Egypt's condemnation is repeated over and over in later ages. The total separation or antithesis between Israelite and Egyptian is stressed in 11:7.

**II. Theological significance.** That Egypt's deities and its animistic worship of idols were being cursed is made clear by the statement, "and I will bring judgment on all the gods of Egypt" (Exod. 12:12). Just in what way and to what degree the pagan cult of the Egyptians was involved in the plagues is not clear. The knowledge extant concerning the practical everyday worship of the Egyptian pantheon is meager, and little is known about their metaphysical assumptions from the documented sources. It is obvious, however, that the twenty-two Egyptian provinces each had their respective religious center and totemic animal or plant. It is precisely the attributes of these deities that are involved in the plagues, but whether each of the plagues was thought to be the special domain of one or another of the Egyptian gods cannot be stated with certainty.

The plagues, however, were outward physical consequents of inward moral conditions. "Not merely the Egyptians, but likewise the Egyptians' gods are involved in the conflict" (G. Vos, *Biblical Theology* [1954], 126). The situation of the exodus from Egypt comprised not merely the physical bondage of the Jews, but also the spiritual oppression of sin from which they were released by an act of God's special grace. See EXODUS, THE. In the same fashion that Yahweh intervened to free them from the pharaoh, so also he freed them from the restraints and penalty of their iniquity. Nowhere in

the OT is the particularistic quality of God's grace so openly declared as in the exodus. The identical judgments and circumstances that delivered Israel sentenced Egypt—the one to salvation, the other to reprobation.

As a prefigurement of the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, the exodus and the plagues that accompanied it derive their true meaning and proper perspective. The sacred poetry of later ages celebrate the event, and the clear remembrance of it is reiterated at the PASSOVER and celebration of the first communion by Jesus before his death. The two events, the exodus and the PASSION, are acts of God's special grace, by which not only deliverance but also ATONEMENT and REDEMPTION are accomplished. In the OT motif of creation-fall-redemption-restoration, the exodus and the plagues are an event of momentous proportions; upon them rests the faith of Israel in the covenant promises of God.

The restriction of the miraculous events of the exodus to one small area and to one short period of time demonstrates the divine character of the action. The MIRACLES of Scripture are not magical ways to accomplish difficult feats before an illiterate, credulous, and prescientific audience. They are transcendent and supernatural assurances that the word-revelation—given at the same time, in this case the ordinances of the Passover and the law—are true and of absolute divine authority. The declaration of God, "But I will harden Pharaoh's heart, and…multiply my miraculous signs and wonders in Egypt" (Exod. 7:3), reveals his purpose: "And the Egyptians will know that I am the LORD" (v. 5). Ultimately the plagues caused Egypt in its suffering to admit Yahweh's sovereignty and to glorify the God of Israel.

**III. Modern interpretations of the plagues.** In both rabbinic and Christian exegesis, a number of attempts have been made to accommodate the narrative of the plagues to their theological *'Zeitgeist.* The anti-Semitism of the medieval church caused its scholars to dwell upon the figurative relationships within the story. A favorite study was the numeristic meaning of the "ten" that was thought to be the number of perfection. With the rise of rationalism, after the Renaissance and Reformation, the theme of the plagues was felt to be a crude and barbaric legend, a vestige of the evolution of sophisticated religion.

With the coming of the higher-critical theses in the 19th cent., the exodus narratives were dismembered according to the documentary hypothesis. It may be admitted that certain portions of the PENTATEUCH do indicate the use and collation of prior documents, but Exod. 7—12 is a prime example of the subjectivity of the Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen method. The division of the text into Yahwist (J), Elohist (E), and Priestly (P) sources is proposed on the basis of "style" and the fact that the Psalmic reiterations of the plagues (Pss. 78; 105) do not include all the plagues and rearrange their order. The scheme of division is as follows:

| **"J"** | **"E"** | **"P"** |
|---|---|---|
| 1st | 1st | 1st |
| 2nd | | 2nd |
| | | 3rd |
| 4th | | |
| 5th | | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | 6th |
| 7th | 7th | |
| 8th | 8th | |
| | 9th | |
| 10th | 10th | 10th |

The sources and their literary genres are deduced. If this division is made, however, and each of the lines of evidence then followed through, the resultant stories are meaningless in themselves. It must be added, in retrospect, that many diverse opinions concerning the alignment of the above sources also exist. Another development in the exegesis of the narrative has been the attempt to locate some extrabiblical account of the plagues in the Egyptian sources available. This was attempted in the 19th cent., but gained wider recognition in the 20th, particularly through the efforts of a group of scholars advocating a neocatastrophic view of earth history. According to this presentation, extraterrestrial events such as the passage of comets and alterations in the earth's elliptic affected human history. The Jewish scholar I. Velikovsky (e.g., *Worlds in Collision* [1950]) became a storm center of controversy for proposing that a natural catastrophe of astronomical origin and cosmic proportions caused the events of the ten plagues, the parting of the Red Sea, and the fire and smoke from Sinai. These speculations, however, do not involve nor require a divine initiation for the plagues, a point on which the biblical narrative is adamant.

Recent works on comparative religions have tended to treat the story of the ten plagues simply as a Semitic myth. The events of the exodus are undeniable; no humanistic explanations yet devised will suffice. The rest of Scripture, including the gospel traditions, presupposes and comments upon the fact of the exodus, and its historicity is confirmed beyond question by the NT writers. To excise it from the OT as some mere aggregate of ancient fancy is to deprive the Christian religion of its greatest single example of God's salvation in the OT period. To do such would undercut the teaching of Jesus and the purpose of the atonement.

(See further E. W. Hengstenberg, *Egypt and the Books of Moses* [1843]; J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture,* III-IV [1940], 725-37; G. Hort in *ZAWG9* [1957]: 84-103 and 70 [1958]: 48-59; J. K. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt: The Evidence for the Authenticity of the Exodus Tradition* [1997], 144-55, which updates and expands his article

Aerial photograph of the Antalya plain in S Turkey.

in *ABD,* 2:374-78; W. A. Ford, *God, Pharaoh and Moses: Explaining the Lord's Actions in the Exodus Plague Narrative* [2007].)

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**plain.** An extensive level (or rolling) area. Various Hebrew words may be rendered "plain," but in their original context some of these referred to a specific area, that is, they possessed a topographic meaning to the users. Modern versions often pick these out and render them as place names. For example, the term *ʿărābâ H6858* in Deut. 1:7 is translated "plain" by the KJV, but most modern versions use the name ARABAH. The mountains of S PALESTINE are surrounded by plains: on the E by the valley of the JORDAN and the Arabah; on the W by the SHEPHELAH and the coastal plain; and on the N by the Plain of ESDRAELON.

The name Arabah refers to the great Rift Valley, from the point where its floor becomes dry and barren S of Lake Galilee to its exit into the Gulf of AQABAH. In this case, the feature described does not have the characteristics of a plain in the usual sense, but rather is a broad, flat valley floor. In the KJV, the term *šĕpēlâ H9169* (from a verb meaning "to be low") is rendered "valley" or "vale" or "low plains," but because the area in view forms a feature for which it is very difficult to provide a descriptive term, the NRSV and other versions prefer to use the place name Shephelah (the NIV usually renders with "western foothills," Deut. 1:7 et al.). The Shephelah consists of low hills intermediate between the mountains of JUDEA and the true coastal plain, but one must always bear in mind that the essentially Israelite viewpoint was one in the mountains looking downward, and from this angle the Shephelah appears as a fairly level and low-lying surface, if only by force of contrast (cf. G. A. Smith, *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land,* 25th ed. [1931], 144-45).

Other relevant Hebrew terms include *kikkār H3971* (lit., "circle" or "region"), which is often, although not exclusively, used for the Jordan Valley lowland in preference to the hills (e.g., Gen. 13:10-11); *biqʿâ H1326* (lit., "split"), usually referring to a broad valley (e.g., Gen. 11:2); and *mîšôr H4793* ("level ground, plateau, tableland," as in Deut. 3:10, the reference here being to the high but generally level surface E of the Jordan).

The notion held by the Arameans that Israel's God was a God of the hills and not of the plains (1

Ki. 20:23) may well serve as a commentary on the fact that, throughout the nation's history, her people seldom, and only after great efforts, secured a firm grip on the lowland areas of Palestine, although these formed part of the land of promise. Israel remained a hill people, the plains around their home more often than not occupied by their enemies.

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**plaiting.** See BRAID.

**plane.** This English term, referring to a carpenter's tool used for smoothing or carving wood, is used by the KJV and other versions to render Hebrew *maqṣuʿâ H5244,* which occurs only once (Isa. 44:13; NIV, "chisels").

**plane tree.** A deciduous tree, known as the eastern or oriental plane, *Pla(n)tanus orientalis.* It grows in Palestine and Mount Lebanon, bearing flowers in clusters of rounded balls on a common stalk. The leaves are large and resemble those of the SYCAMORE. This tree was held sacred in the E and was very much valued for its shade by the Greeks. (See further *FFB, 166-67.*) The plane is probably referred to in the OT with Hebrew *ʿermôn H6895,* though the KJV translators thought it was the chestnut (Gen. 30:37; Ezek. 31:8; cf. Sir. 24:14). In addition, the NRSV and others use "plane" to render Hebrew *tidhār H9329,* a term of uncertain meaning that may refer to a type of PINE (Isa. 41:19 and 60:13; NIV, "fir"; NJPS, "Box tree"; for other possibilities, see *HALOT,* 4:1688). See also FLORA (under *Platanaceae).*

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**plank.** This English term, referring to a thick board, is used variously in the Bible versions to render several words, such as Hebrew *śĕdērâ H8444* (1 Ki. 6:9) and Greek *sanis G4909* (Acts 27:44). It may be noted that Hebrew *ṣēlāʿ H7521,* which occurs frequently with a variety of meanings (such as "rib" and "side"), appears to mean "plank, board" in only one passage that describes the inside walls and floor of the TEMPLE (1 Ki. 6:15).

**plant.** See FLORA.

**plaster.** A mixture that hardens as it dries and is used to coat walls and ceilings. Plaster was widely used, and variously made, in the ancient world. The higher quality material was produced by heating broken limestone (see LIME) or gypsum. Simple CLAY with straw binder was also used, but was practical only where rainfall was slight. The Israelites were commanded, "When you have crossed the Jordan into the land the LORD your God is giving you, set up some large stones and coat [verb *śîd H8486]* them with plaster [noun *śîd H8487]"* (Deut. 27:2; cf. v. 4). They were also to engrave the words of the law (v. 3), a process that probably took place while the plaster was soft. Different terms are used elsewhere (Lev. 14:42-43, 48; Dan. 5:5).

B. C. STARK

**plate.** This English term is used mainly to translate the Hebrew word *qĕʿārâ H7883,* referring to the gold and silver dishes used in the TABERNACLE (Exod. 25:29; 37:16; Num. 4:7; 7:13-85). See also BOWL; DISH. The word is sometimes used also as the rendering of *ṣîṣ H7488,* which means "flower,

blossom" (used as a collective), but which in three passages refers to the golden "rosette" (NRSV) or "frontlet" (NJPS) that had the words "Holy to the Lord" inscribed on it and that was attached to AARON'S turban (Exod. 28:36; 39:30; Lev. 8:9).

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**Platonism.** See GREEK RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY.

**platter.** The KJV uses this term in two NT passages: one of them has *Greek paropsis G4243* (Matt. 23:25-26) and the other one has *pinax G4402* (Lk. 11:39). Modern versions usually render these passages with DISH or PLATE. On the other hand, modern versions typically use "platter" to render *pinax* with reference to the dish on which the head of JOHN THE BAPTIST was placed (Matt. 14:8, 11; Mk. 6:25,28; KJV, "charger").

**pleasure.** For the sense "gratification," see the article on DESIRE. The English expression *good pleasure,* however, is often used with reference to choice or PURPOSE, especially the divine "goodwill" or "favor." This expression sometimes renders the Hebrew word *rāṣôn H8356* (e.g., Ps. 51:18), which itself has a wide semantic range but is frequently used of God's gracious will. In the NT, the Greek word *eudokia G2306* occurs nine times, sometimes with reference to human desire or goodwill (Rom. 10:1; Phil. 1:15; 2 Thess. 1:11), but more often to the divine purpose (Matt. 11:26; Lk. 2:14; 10:21; Eph. 1:5, 9; Phil. 2:13). Special interest attaches to the last phrase of Lk. 2:14, which traditionally has been rendered "peace, good will toward men" (KJV). Most scholars today, however, believe that the preferred text is "peace among men of good will" and that this language reflects a common Jewish way of designating God's chosen people (e.g., *rḥmyw ʿl kwl bny rṣwnw,* "his compassion on all the sons of his will," 1QH[a] XII [Sukenik ed., col. IV], 32-33, similarly XIX [XI], 9; see further data in J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke I-IX,* AB 28 [1981], 411 – 12). Thus the TNIV, "peace to those on whom his favor rests."

**pledge.** This English term is used to translate several Hebrew words. In a few cases it renders the noun *ḥăbōl H2478,* referring to something taken as security for a debt (only Ezek. 18:12, 16; 33:15); more frequent is its use in phrases that translate the verb *ḥābal H2471,* "to take as pledge, to impound" (Exod. 22:26 et al.). These words were formerly thought to derive from a root meaning "to bind," but most scholars believe that a different root is involved (cf. *NIDOTTE,* 2:6-11). Another verb, *ʿārab H6842,* occurs seventeen times and admits of various renderings, including "to be surety for, guarantee safety of" (e.g., Gen. 43:9) and "to pawn, put up as security" (e.g., Prov. 6:1). The cognate noun *ʿērābôn H6860,* "pledge, earnest," occurs only in the story of JUDAH and TAMAR (Gen. 38:17-18, 20; cf. *NIDOTTE,* 3:512-20).

This latter word was borrowed as a commercial term by the Greek language in the form *arrabōn G775.* The apostle PAUL uses it three times, always in reference to the HOLY SPIRIT as a "deposit that guarantees" something else yet in the future (2 Cor. 1:22; 5:5; Eph. 1:14 [the NRSV renders these three passages respectively as "first installment," "guarantee," and "pledge"]; cf. *NIDNTT,* 2:39-40). The epistle to the Hebrews uses a different term, *engyos G1583* ("giving security"), when describing Jesus as having "become the guarantee of a better covenant" (Heb. 7:22). See also BORROW, LEND; DEPOSIT; EARNEST.

**Pleiades** plee'uh-deez. See ASTRONOMY III.

**pleroma** pli-roh'mah. A transliteration of the Greek word *plērōma G4445,* "fullness," which is used especially by the apostle PAUL in his descriptions of Christ and the church.

**I. Derivation and use in Greek.** The term *plērōma* is a verbal noun formed *from plēroō G4444,* which means "to fill" or "to fulfill, complete." It thus has the senses "fullness" and "fulfillment," with primarily the passive signification of "that which is filled (up)" (in some extrabiblical writers it can even take on the derived sense "ship" as something filled up by a crew or cargo). Active senses of the noun also occur, however (e.g., Ps. 24:1 [LXX 23:1], "the earth and its *plērōma [i.e.,* totality] are the LORD's," quoted in 1 Cor. 10:26). Thus it is incorrect to start in the NT with any fixed rule based on derivation: the context must determine the sense in each case. In Aelius Aristides it also means "full number" (of a nation). The word moreover has philosophical and theological connotations, as in PHILO JUDAEUS (e.g., "the fulfillment of hopes," the soul as "the sum total of virtues") and the HERMETIC WRITINGS (God as "the totality of good," "the totality of life").

In view of the Colossians passages below, evidence for the use of *plērōma* in Gnostic writings in the 1st and 2nd centuries is important. R. Bultmann says: "In Gnostic literature the term (in absolute usage) means the sphere of the Aeons, the upper pneumatic world to which the Gnostic is substantially related and into which he hopes to ascend after his death. Thus the concept 'pleroma' changed from a merely formal conception of fulness to a material conception of divine essence" (*HDB* rev., 777). The use of the word seems to have been limited. The church fathers Epiphanius, Irenaeus, and Hippolytus confirm that it was a technical term among the Valentinian heretics for the upper world; it has not, however, been traced to other Gnostics.

**II. NT usage.** It is convenient to distinguish between active and passive senses, and then consider the special passages in Colossians and Ephesians.

***A. Active sense.*** The meaning "that which fills" (aside from the quotation in 1 Cor. 10:26 already mentioned) occurs in the Synoptic Gospels, where the word is not used as a specific theological term (Matt. 9:16; Mk. 2:21; 6:43; 8:20). The meaning "that which fulfills, completes" is illustrated by two passages in Romans. The first one, "love is the fulfillment of the law" (Rom. 13:10; cf. v. 8), refers to carrying the law into effect. Here the apostle "is not instituting a new, though simplified, legalism… rather he is pointing out the ethical expression of the true meaning of the law, which when rightly understood, itself points to the way of faith" (C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans,* BNTC [1957], 251; cf. Matt. 5:17 and Rom. 10:4). The second passage, Rom. 11:12,is more controversial: it says concerning the Israelites, "But if their transgression means riches for the world, and their loss means riches for the Gentiles, how much greater riches will their fullness bring!" Some argue that the term here refers to the Israelites' act of fulfilling the law and the divine purpose, but see below.

***B. Passive sense.*** The meaning "that which is filled up" probably accounts better for Rom. 11:12, where the term contrasts with *hēttēma G2488,* "diminution, loss"; the more precise opposite meaning to the latter would be "full inclusion" (NRSV) or "full number."

Two other passages in Romans *use plērōma* in the sense of "totality." The first one is Rom. 11:25, "until the full number of the Gentiles has come in." The other one is 15:29, "when I come to

you, I will come in the full measure of the blessing of Christ." In addition, the word occurs in a temporal sense, "when the fullness of time had come" (Gal. 4:4 NRSV; NIV, "when the time had fully come"; see FULLNESS OF TIME). Often, however, the chronological moves into the teleological sense: "And he made known to us the mystery of his will according to his good pleasure, which he purposed in Christ, to be put into effect when the times will have reached their fulfillment—to bring all things in heaven and on earth together under one head, even Christ" (Eph. 1:9-10). Christ fulfills the Father's purpose for the ages in both his first and second advents.

A natural transition to the theological contexts of Colossians and Ephesians below is the one occurrence of *plērōma* in John's gospel: "From the fullness of his grace we have all received one blessing after another" (Jn. 1:16; TNIV, "Out of his fullness we have all received grace in place of grace already given"). The passive sense is here correct, as suggested by the previous phrase, "full *[plērēs G4441]* of grace and truth" (v. 14). From this "full complement" (of grace and truth) believers may draw. There is no Gnostic reference in this passage.

**III. Colossians.** The term *plērēma* occurs twice in this epistle in Christological contexts, and an important exegetical issue is whether or not Paul here uses a technical, that is, Gnostic, signification. One of the passages yields a plain sense, namely, a high doctrine of the INCARNATION: "For in Christ all the fullness of the Deity lives in bodily form" (Col. 2:9). Because the totality of the godhead has become embodied in human form, believers have therefore "been given fullness in Christ" (v. 10; here the cognate verb is used). At 1:19, after describing the present preeminence of Christ (vv. 17-18), Paul again refers to the incarnation ("For God was pleased to have all his fullness dwell in him"), by which Christ entered on the reconciling mission completed by his cross (v. 20).

Was Paul repudiating Gnostic views taught at COLOSSE, which regarded Christ as only one of the beings in the "sphere of the Aeons" who are intermediaries between God and the world? (Cf. Col. 2:8 [NRSV, "the elemental spirits of the universe"]; see ELEMENTS.) It is not possible to exclude this interpretation, but since COLOSSIANS was written so long before the earliest known Gnostic (i.e., Valentinian) uses of the word, it is at present difficult to prove it. See GNOSTICISM. At all events, Paul in the two passages (1:15-20 and 2:8-9) warns the Christians against the adulteration of their faith with the "hollow and deceptive philosophy" of human traditions, and insists on the uniqueness of Christ and the fullness of his deity.

**IV. Ephesians.** One uncomplicated use of *plērōma* in this epistle (Eph. 1:10) already has been mentioned. Elsewhere, the words "that you may be filled to the measure of all the fulness of God" (3:19) are comparable to Col. 2:10. According to C. F. D. Moule (in *IDB,* 3:827), "The thought appears to be that there is a completeness, a maturity of character, ordained by God…both for Christians individually and for the Church corporately." In particular, the love of Christ (Eph. 3:19) is that by which the fullness of God's being can be apprehended.

The context here is partly the CHURCH, and two other passages address this theme more directly. In Eph. 1:22-23 Paul rises to the height of his prayer with the vision of Christ: "And God placed all things under his feet and appointed him to be head over everything for the church, which is his body, the fullness of him who fills everything in every way." Scholars have understood this statement variously, sometimes as affected by their theological assumptions; it is therefore important to read the passage with close attention to the rest of EPHESIANS. The possible renderings are as follows: (1) The church is "the fulfillment of [that which fills up] him who all in all is being fulfilled," that is, the church in a sense completes Christ. (2) The church is "the fullness of [that which is filled up by] him

who all in all is being fulfilled" (cf. NEB). (3) The church is (a) "the fulfillment [i.e., active]" or (b) "the fullness [passive] of him who fills all in all" (cf. NRSV). (4) The head (thus Christ rather than the church) "is the fullness of him who fills all in all," that is, Christ is the full expression of God the Father. (5) The head "is the fullness of that which is being filled up," that is, Christ is the fullness either of the church or of everything—the universe.

Of these interpretations, (3) (b) and (4) seem most satisfactory. (3) (b) is in accord with other teaching in this letter (Eph. 1:10; 3:19; 4:10, 15-16) and does not magnify the church in a way foreign to the NT as a whole. Interpretation (4) is less likely syntactically ("which is his body" must be taken as a parenthesis) but does agree with the high CHRISTOLOGY of this epistle and of Colossians.

The last passage is Eph. 4:13, "attaining to the whole measure of the fullness of Christ." The context here is the unity of the church in faith and in the knowledge of Christ, with the goal being maturity (lit., "a complete man"), of which the following expression gives the standard, namely Christ in all his fullness. There is primarily an individual reference here, but in the background is the corporate aspect of the church as filled with Christ's *plērōma.*

(See further J. B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon* [1879], excursus on pp. 257-73; C. F. D. Moule, *The Epistles to St. Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and Philemon,* CGTC [1957], appendix iv; J. Ernst, *Pleroma und Pleroma Ghristi: Geschichte und Deutung eines Begriffs der paulinischen Antilegomena* [1970]; *NIDNTT,* 1:733-41.)

B.F.HARRIS

**Pliny.** plin'ee. The name of two important Latin writers. Pliny the Elder (Gaius Plinius Secundus) was born probably in A.D. 23 and died in the year 79 (killed by fumes when he visited the area destroyed by the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius). He was a prolific writer, producing several lengthy historical books, but is best known as the author of *Naturalis historia,* a 37-volume encyclopedia of general knowledge. Though not always accurate, this work preserves innumerable details about such fields as medicine, agriculture, and metallurgy. Modern scholarship depends heavily on Pliny the Elder for much important information in antiquity, some of it affecting biblical studies.

His nephew, born Publius Caecilius Secundus c. A.D. 61, inherited his property and acquired the name Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus. He has thus come to be known as Pliny the Younger. A student of the famous rhetorician Quintilian, Pliny the Younger gained fame early as a lawyer, especially in disputes concerning property. In later years he figured prominently in a number of criminal trials. He became successively tribune of the people, prefect of the treasury, consul, proconsul, and augur. Nine books of his correspondence, dealing with affairs of the years 97-109, are extant. Although heavily rewritten for publication, they give a clear picture of life among the aristocracy in imperial Rome. The author emerges as a kind and generous man who is nonetheless sometimes superstitious and cruel, especially when dealing with persons of lower status.

The tenth book of the letters was addressed to the emperor TRAJAN and concerns the administration of the province of BITHYNIA (and PONTUS). Pliny wrote a lengthy letter (10.97) in regard to the handling of Christians there, and this document gives us the earliest extrabiblical account of Christian WORSHIP. Pliny complained that the temples were empty because so many had turned to the excessive but otherwise harmless superstition of Christianity. By torture and threat he learned that they met before dawn, sang a hymn to God and one to Christ, pledged not to commit any wickedness, and then joined in a common feast. Since he could find no further wrong with the Christians, he suspended legal action until advised by the emperor. In a brief reply, Trajan commended Pliny's action and added that no specific instruction could be given. He advised him not

to search for suspected persons nor should he accept anonymous accusations. If they were accused and convicted lawfully, they should be punished unless they denied the charge of being Christians and authenticated it by calling on the gods of Rome. (See A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny: A Historical and Social Commentary* [1966]; *ABD*,5-381 –82; *OCD,* 1197-98.)

A. RUPPRECHT

**plow.** Also *plough* (British). An implement that breaks up the soil and turns it over, thus making it ready for planting. The term *plowshare,* referring specifically to the part of the plow that cuts the furrow, is used to translate Hebrew *maḥărēšâ H4739* (only 1 Sam. 13:20-21) and *)ēt H908.* The latter is used in the expression "beat swords into plowshares"

Wooden plow with metal plowshare.

(Isa. 2:4; Mic. 4:3; Joel 3:10), which conveys the advent of peace with the resumption of agricultural pursuits. This same term, however, is usually translated "mattock" in 1 Sam. 13:20-21, so it probably refers to a tool for digging or grubbing, similar to a hoe. As a verb, *plow* renders Hebrew *ḥaras H3086,* which occurs over twenty times, both literally (e.g., Deut. 22:10; 1 Ki. 19:19; Prov. 20:4) and figuratively (as of plowing evil, Job 4:8; Hos. 10:13). A further extension of meaning is the sense "to devise, plot" (Prov. 3:29 et al.). In the NT, the noun *arotron G770* occurs once in the well-known saying, "No one who puts his hand to the plow and looks back is fit for service in the kingdom of God" (Lk. 9:62, apparently referring to the whole implement). The verb *arotriaō G769 is* used in two passages (Lk. 17:7; 1 Cor. 9:10 *[opheilei ep' elpidi ho arotriōn arotrian,* "the one who plows should plow in hope"]). See also AGRICULTURE.

B. C. STARK

**plumb line.** This English term, or its synonym *plummet,* can be used to translate several Hebrew words in the Bible. All of the occurrences are symbolic, with an ordinary tool of the day representing God's true and accurate judgment. The noun *)ănāk H643,* originally meaning "lead," occurs only in Amos 7:7-8, which speaks of a plumb line being used to measure a wall in the prophet's vision; the lesson taught Amos that Israel must be measured so her iniquity and inequality could be exposed. The term *mišqelet H5487* (from a verb meaning "to weigh"; cf. *šeqel H9203)* occurs in 2 Ki. 21:13: "I will stretch out over Jerusalem the measuring line *[qāw H7742]* used against Samaria and the plumb line used against the house of Ahab. I will wipe out Jerusalem as one wipes a dish, wiping it and

turning it upside down." The same pair of terms is used by Isaiah when he speaks of justice as the measuring line and righteousness as the plumb line (Isa. 28:17). Finally, the expression *)eben bădéîl H74 + H974* (lit., "stone of tin," Zech 4:10) or the word *)eben* by itself (Isa. 34:11) can also refer to a plummet.

J. B. SCOTT

**plunder.** See BOOTY; SPOIL.

**Plutarch** pl*oo'*tahrk (Πλούταρχος, "source of riches"). Born about A.D. 49 in the historic town of Chaeronea (in Boeotia, N of ATHENS and not far from Delphi), Plutarch studied Platonic philosophy and later served both as head of an academy in his hometown and as priest of APOLLO in Delphi. Plutarch was a very learned man who traveled widely and wrote extensively, becoming one of the most popular authors of antiquity. He died some time after A.D. 120.

Plutarch is best known as the author of the *Parallel Lives,* a biographical account of twenty-three pairs of historical figures (most of which include a comparison between the two individuals), and of the *Moralia,* a large collection of essays and dialogues covering every major area of intellectual interest, including politics and religion, science and ethics, psychology and literary criticism (the approximately eighty surviving treatises take up fifteen volumes in the Loeb Classical Library edition). Plutarch's writings are a very important source for the study of literary Greek in NT times; they also shed considerable light on broad cultural issues relevant to biblical scholarship.

(See R. M. Jones, *The Platonism of Plutarch* [1916]; K. Ziegler, *Plutarchos von Chaironea* [1964]; C. P.Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* [1971]; D. A. Russell, *Plutarch* [1973]; H. D. Betz, ed., *Plutarch's Ethical Writings and Early Christian Literature* [1978], and *Plutarch's Theological Writings and Early Christian Literature* [1975]; P. A. Stadter, ed., *Plutarch and the Historical Tradition* [1992]. See also *ANRW,* 33/6 [1992].)

**Pochereth** pok'uh-rith. See POKERETH-HAZZEBAIM.

**pod.** This English term is used to render Greek *keration G3044,* referring to the food, usually fed to animals, which the prodigal son in his hunger would willingly have eaten (Lk. 15:16; KJV, "husks"). It is the pod or bean of the carob tree *(Ceratonia siliqua),* also referred to as "locust bean" or "St. John's bread" (the latter in the mistaken belief that it is the "locust" that John the Baptist ate in the wilderness [Matt. 3:4 = Mk. 1:6]). The tree is native to the whole E Mediterranean area. It bears the pod referred to in the text, 3-12 in. long, bearing from 5 to 15 seeds in a sweet pulp. It is used primarily for fodder, but is also eaten by the poor, especially in times of scarcity. When the pods are boiled, a syrupy substance is obtained. (It is possible that carob pods are also referred to in 2 Ki. 6:25; see discussion under DOVE'S DUNG.)

F. W. BUSH

**poet.** This English term is derived from Greek *poiētēs G4475,* which often has the general meaning "maker, doer" (cf. Rom. 2:13; Jas. 1:22-25; 4:11), but which can refer as well to "a maker of a writing" and more specifically to someone who composes poems (it is so used in Acts 17:28). The NIV has "poets" also as the rendering of Hebrew *mōšĕlîm* in one passage (Num. 21:27 [NRSV, "ballad singers"]; this word is the ptc. of the common verb *māšal H5439,* "to tell a parable, use a

proverb," etc.). See also HEBREW POETRY; POETRY, NEW TESTAMENT.

**poetry. Old Testament.** See HEBREW POETRY.

**poetry. New Testament.** The NT contains no single book that may be classed as poetical, with the possible and partial exception of Revelation. In this respect, the NT differs from the OT, which contains a number of poetical books (Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Lamentations) as well as many poetical passages interspersed throughout the prophetical and historical books. Nevertheless, poetry has a significant place in the NT—provided that the term is not too narrowly defined. If only writing marked by rhyme or meter is classed as poetic, it must be said that the NT contains very few fragments of poetry. But if, in accord with most literary criticism, poetry is defined as the expression of intense experience or thought in creative and connotative language (with or without rhyme or meter), then much more of the NT is poetical than most readers realize.

In accord with this broader concept of poetry, five kinds of poetical passages may be identified in the NT: (1) quotations from ancient poets; (2) quotations of unidentified poetical material, such as fragments of ancient hymns; (3) passages in the form of Hebrew OT poetry or NT quotations of OT poetry; (4) passages that are characterized by exalted and intense expression; (5) apocalyptic imagery (Matt. 24 = Mk. 13 = Lk. 21 and most of the book of Revelation).

(1) NT quotations from ancient Greek poets are confined to Acts and the Pauline epistles. In his sermon on Mars' Hill (Acts 17:22-31; see AREOPAGUS), Paul quoted from Epimenides of Crete, to whom is attributed the line, "For in him we live and move and have our being," and from Aratus of Cilicia, who wrote, "We are his offspring" (v. 28; cf. also CLEANTHES, *Hymn to Zeus,* and see F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles: The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary* [1990], 384-85). Apparently from the same passage in Epimenides, Paul quoted in Tit. 1:12: "Cretans are always liars, evil brutes, lazy gluttons." In 1 Cor. 15:33, the apostle used the aphorism of Menander, an Athenian comic poet: "Bad company corrupts good character."

(2) In addition to these quotations, the Pauline epistles contain several poetical fragments that may well have been 1st-century Christian hymns (cf. Eph. 5:19). First Timothy 3:16 seems certainly to be of such a nature, although it is unknown whether it is by Paul or some unnamed author:

He appeared in a body,
    was vindicated by the Spirit,
was seen by angels,
    was preached among the nations,
was believed on in the world,
    was taken up in glory.

The balanced character of this passage suggests antiphonal usage. Similar in nature is 2 Tim. 2:11-13, which likewise suggests hymnic use. Another possible hymn fragment is Eph. 5:14. The great Christological passage in Phil. 2:5-11 is clearly poetic in form and may reflect very early Christian hymnody.

(3) The first two chapters of the Gospel of Luke contain eight passages that are in the mold of OT poetry: Lk. 1:14-17, 32-33, 35, 46-55, 68-79; 2:14, 29-32, 34-35. Four of these—the

MAGNIFICAT (1:46-55), the BENEDICTUS (1:68-79), the Gloria in Excelsis (2:14), and the NUNC DIMITTIS (2:29-32)—are widely known for their liturgical use. Moreover, many of the more than two hundred OT quotations in the NT are poetical.

(4) The Gospels contain other passages that, because of their form or their intense or exalted expression, are poetical (e.g., Jn. 1:1—18). Among these are many of Jesus' sayings (e.g., the BEATITUDES in Matt. 5:3-12 and much else in the SERMON ON THE MOUNT, such as 6:25-34; see also 11:28-30; 23:37-39; Lk. 13:34-35; Jn. 14:1-7, 27). Sometimes Jesus' words reflect the parallelism of Hebrew poetry, and his Olivet Discourse is a vivid piece of apocalyptic expression.

Aside from quotations mentioned under (1) and (2) above, the epistles contain outstanding poetic passages. Portions of the epistle of James (the Lord's brother) resemble the Sermon on the Mount. The other epistles include passages of stirring poetical power (e.g., Rom. 8:35-38; 11:33-36; 1 Cor. 13; 15:51-57; Heb. 11:32-38 in particular; Jude 24-25). Whereas it must be admitted that the beauty and cadence of the KJV may color the reader's judgment about what is poetical, nevertheless the Greek text generally confirms the poetical nature of this kind of NT eloquence.

(5) The book of Revelation (along with Matt. 24 and the parallel passages in Mark and Luke) is written in the Hebrew form of APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE. Interspersed throughout its pages are some of the most exalted songs and hymns in Scripture—e.g., Rev. 4:8, 11; 5:9-10, 12-13; 7:15-17; 11:17-19; 15:3-4 (the Song of Moses and the Lamb); 18:2, 8, 14-24 (the threnody on Babylon the Great); 19:6-8. No one has characterized the Apocalypse more aptly than John Milton, who called it "a seven-fold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies." No other book in the NT makes a more direct appeal to the imagination through eye and ear or describes more eloquently the glories of Christ and of heaven, than Revelation.

F. E. GAEBELEIN

**poison.** A poison is any substance that, on contact with or upon being absorbed into the body, is capable of exerting a deleterious effect. Poisons chiefly enter the body through the alimentary tract or by injection into the body tissues. Scant reference is made in the Bible to poisons taken by mouth. One such instance is recorded in 2 Ki. 4:39-41, where we read that the company of prophets, after gathering and cooking wild herbs, discovered that there was "death in the pot." In this instance it appears that the poison was rendered innocuous by adding meal to precipitate the poison as an insoluble sediment that was left behind when the pottage was poured out of the pot, a well-recognized phenomenon.

A judicial use of poison by mouth was used for rendering a verdict in the case of a woman suspected of unfaithfulness (Num. 5:11-31). This appears to be almost identical with the "trial by ordeal" practiced in Africa until recently. This involved making a concoction of the poisonous Calabar bean, the active ingredient of which is the well-known drug physostigmine. The verdict, together with the punishment, was spontaneously rendered on the basis that the person who is guilty will slowly drink small sips of the poisonous concoction through fear of what it will do, so that the poison gradually seeps down into the intestines and is absorbed to produce fatal poisoning, whereas the innocent individual will fearlessly drink a large draught such as to cause prompt vomiting with complete elimination of the poison.

One OT passage alludes to poisoned arrows (Job 6:4), but most of the Scripture references to poison involve snake venom (Deut. 32:32-33 et al.; see SERPENT). The poison is injected under the skin through hollow fangs like hypodermic needles. The venom squeezed out of the venom gland passes out of the hollow fang through a hole near its tip. This process is called envenomation. It

apparently varies in its extent according to the mood of the snake, the amount of squeeze the snake makes on its venom gland, and the amount of venom present in the gland. Therefore, it sometimes happens that a poisonous snake strikes a human being without envenomation ensuing. According to some, this was the case in Acts 28:3-6, which relates that a viper, to save its life, attached to Paul without malice toward its rescuer. Pit viper venom produces searing pain, rapid swelling, and dissolution of red corpuscles with severe shock, and such were the symptoms anticipated in Paul's case, whereas coral snake and cobra venom benumbs and then progressively paralyzes with possible death ensuing from cessation of respiration. (See G. L.Jenkins and W. H. Hartung, *The Chemistry of Organic Medicinal Products* [1943], 484-85; T. R. Harrison, *Principles of Internal Medicine* [1962], 795—830; P. E. Adolph, *Missionary Health Manual* [1964], 128, 131-32.)

P.E. ADOLPH

**Pokereth-Hazzebaim** pok'uh-rith-haz-uh-bay'im (פֹּכֶרֶת הַצְּבָיִים *H7097,* possibly "hunter of gazelles"). Also Pochereth-hazzebaim; KJV Pochereth of Zebaim. A servant (official) of SOLOMON whose descendants returned from Babylon (Ezra 2:57; Neh. 7:59; 1 Esd. 5:34 [KJV, "Phacareth, the sons of Sabi," following the textual variant *Phakareth huioi Sabiē]).* The name originally may have been a title designating this man's occupation as being in charge of the king's gazelles. It has also been suggested—on the basis that the form *pōkeret* is feminine and that the second part of the name may be the plural of *ṣĕbî H7382,* "ornament"—that this person was the female founder of "a guild of temple functionaries…whose specific task centered on beautification or decoration" (T. Eskenazi in *ABD,* 5:384).

**polis.** See CITY.

**politarch.** See CITY AUTHORITIES.

**pollution.** This English term, referring to ceremonial or moral impurity, is used rarely in Bible versions. The verb *pollute* and the *adjective polluted* are more frequent. They may be used, for example, to render Hebrew *ḥānēp H2866* (hiphil, "to defile," Num. 35:33 et al.), the passive participial form of *šāḥat H8845* (e.g., Prov. 25:26), and so on. The KJV uses the verb repeatedly in Ezekiel, especially as the rendering *of ḥālal H2725* (Ezek. 7:21-22 et al.). The terms are less common in the NT, but "pollution" or "polluted thing" can be used, for example, to render Greek *alisgēma G246* (Acts 15:20). See PURITY; UNCLEANNESS.

**Pollux** pol'uhks. See DIOSCURI.

**Polycarp** pol'ee-kahrp (Πολύκαρπος "fruitful"). The bishop of SMYRNA in the first half of the 2nd cent. Polycarp welcomed IGNATIUS and encouraged him when the latter was a temporary visitor in Smyrna as a prisoner being escorted to Rome (Ign. *Eph.* 21.1; *Magn.* 15.1; cf. also Ignatius's letter *To Polycarp* 1.1 et al.). According to EUSEBIUS (*Eccl. Hist.* 5.20.6), IRENAEUS stated that Polycarp was a disciple of JOHN THE APOSTLE. Moreover, Irenaeus, in his book *Against Heresies* (3.3.4), noted that as a boy he saw Polycarp (cf. also the scribal comment in *Mart. Pol.* 22.2) and that he was appointed to his office by apostles.

Polycarp is said to have described himself as having been a servant of Christ for "eighty and six

years" *(Mart. Pol.* 9.3). Probably, therefore, he was born in a Christian family, perhaps c. A.D. 70. He was put to death by the civil authorities because he refused to recant his Christian views. The date of his death has been variously calculated. If the data of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp are* accepted, it was 23 February 155 or 22 February 156. Eusebius, on the other hand, who knew the *Martyrdom,* placed the date a decade later in the reign of MARCUS AURELIUS, when there were persecutions in Asia (Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* 4.15.1).

Polycarp was reputed to have written several epistles (Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* 5.20.8), but only one sent to the Philippians is extant. In 1936, P. N. Harrison *(Polycarp's Two Epistles to the Philippians)* proposed the thesis that this was not a single epistle, but rather two that had been joined together. The earlier letter was made up of ch. 13 and perhaps ch. 14 also. It was simply a brief covering letter to accompany the dispatch to Philippi of the copies of the letters of Ignatius that the church had requested. The date would be early September of the year that Ignatius died, perhaps 110 (others prefer 115 as the year of Ignatius's death). The first twelve chapters, on the other hand, were written perhaps twenty years later in the 130s.

Although this has been accepted by J. A. Kleist (*Ancient Christian Writers,* vol. 6 [1948]) and favored by J. Quasten *(Patrologia,* vol. 1 [1950]), it does not seem at all likely that it is correct. The fact that in ch. 9 it is assumed that Ignatius was dead and that in ch. 13 Polycarp asked for "anything definite which you have learned" about him does not require the assumption of two epistles. It is quite normal to seek information about the circumstances of the death of a friend. There were docetists before MARCION, whom Harrison would consider referred to in ch. 7. In fact, the reference to Ignatius in ch. 9 seems a bit odd after twenty or more years, unless he was elevated to the rank of Paul and the other apostles, which he was not. Eusebius evidently considered the epistle a unit as he quoted from both parts as from one continuous letter *(Eccl. Hist.* 3.36.13 –15). It thus should probably be dated c. 115.

The content of the letter is notable for its very extensive quotations from the books that make up the NT. The amount of quotation and reflection is extraordinary. The Pauline corpus was constantly called upon. R. M. Grant finds all the Pauline epistles except Philemon reflected, "including thirteen allusions to the Pastorals" *(The Apostolic Fathers,* 1 [1964], 67). Polycarp *(Phil.* 12.1) specifically quotes Eph. 4:26 as "Scripture." Matthew, Luke-Acts, Hebrews, and 1 Peter are other favorite sources. Presbyters and deacons, not bishops, are the church officers mentioned. There is a strong emphasis on the life of righteousness and good works. Jesus came truly in the flesh, died, and was raised again. Emperors, rulers, and persecutors were to be prayed for.

All of the Greek MSS descend from a defective original that ends with 9.2 and goes on into the text of *Barnabas.* The Latin version supplies the text for the remaining chapters except for most of 13, which is quoted by Eusebius. There are some quotations available in Syriac. (See further J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers. Part II: S. Ignatius, S.Polycarp,* 2nd ed., 3 vols. [1889]; Kenneth Berding, *Polycarp and Paul* [2002]; Paul Hartog, *Polycarp and the New Testament* [2002]; C. E. Hill, *From the Lost Teaching of Polycarp* [2006].) See also APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

P.WOOLLEY

**Polycarp, Martyrdom of.** A 2nd-cent. letter sent by the church at SMYRNA to the church at Philomelium recounting the martyrdom of POLYCARP, bishop of Smyrna for over fifty years until his death. Philomelium was a small center in PISIDIA, near the Phrygian border, about 250 mi. E of Smyrna. The letter is one of the first accounts of a Christian martyrdom, and its basic genuineness is apparent. The account was given by a certain Marcion (*Mart. Pol.* 20.1; this was not, of course, the

famous heretic of that name) and written down by Euaristus. See APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

The main body of the text comprises a salutation and twenty chapters. There are two supplementary chapters, the first of which states the date of Polycarp's death. The second varies in form, but indicates that Gaius (Caius) copied the MS from the files of IRENAEUS, that Socrates (Isocrates) in turn made a copy from Gaius's in Corinth, and that Pionius also produced a copy. On the basis of *Mart. Pol.* 21, C. H. Turner and E. Schwartz, using two different methods, calculated the date of death to be 22 February 156. There remains, however, the fact that EUSEBIUS placed the time as c. 166/167, but perhaps he did not know the twenty-first chapter.

The account carries even the 20th-cent. reader into active participation in the attitudes, the sufferings, the periods of suspense of these vigorous and loyal Christians of the 2nd cent. A general description of the mind of these Christians is followed by the story of the death of one of them, Germanicus. A caution against self-denunciation was illustrated by the example of Quintus, who lapsed. The arrest of Polycarp at a country farm where he had taken refuge is vividly related. He prayed aloud for two hours on behalf of individuals and the church throughout the world. At the arena the earnest attempts of the proconsul to secure a recantation were vain. "Eighty-six years I have served him and he has done me no wrong. How can I blaspheme my king?" He was, therefore, burned alive before the arena spectators.

Vivid sentences in the account reflect trinitarian assumptions (cf. ch. 14, for example). The idea that the blessed dead become angels appears in chs. 2 and 3. There are a number of Greek MSS of the text, extensive quotations in Eusebius, and a Latin version. H. von Campenhausen *(Bearbeitungen und Interpolationen des Polykarpmartyriums* [1957]) has argued that there are some interpolations by a later hand in the Greek text. This is likely true to an extent. Eusebius, for example, omits in his account the statement that a dove came from Polycarp's side when he was stabbed *(Eccl. Hist.* 4.15.39). But basically the text is sound. (See further W. R. Schoedel in *ABD,* 5:390-92; G. Buschmann, *Martyrium Polycarpi: Eine formkritische Studie* [1994]; id., *Das Martyrium des Polycarp* [1998], which consists of translation and commentary.)

P. WOOLLEY

**polygamy.** See MARRIAGE.

**polytheism.** Belief in a plurality of gods. See GOD, BIBLICAL DOCTRINE OF; THEISM.

**pomegranate.** A cultivated Asian tree *(Punica granatum,* originally called *Malum granatum).* The juice from the fruits makes a syrup called grenadine, and the fruits are used for making sherbets and wines, as well as being eaten fresh. The circular calyx at the end of the fruits looks like a little crown, and a tradition claims that SOLOMON used it as a model for the one he wore. Pomegranate trees bear scarlet, yellow, or white flowers, followed by yellowy to bright red fruits, shaped like an orange. The rind is hard, and inside is a jelly-like pulp, massed with red seeds. This is somewhat acid to the taste. Most pomegranates grow as low shrubs with spreading branches and reddish bark. The leaves are a shiny, dark green; the flowers coral and waxy. The petals have been used as medicine to cure dysentery. (See *FFB,* 168-70.)

The Hebrew term *rimmôn H8232,* which occurs some thirty times in the OT, can refer to the tree itself (e.g., 1 Sam. 14:2) or to the fruit (e.g., Num. 13:23). Many of the references, however, are to artificial pomegranates. Some were made "of blue,

A pomegranate.

purple and scarlet yarn" and used as decoration around the hem of AARON's robe (Exod. 28:33 et al.). The pillars of the TEMPLE had bronze pomegranates around the capitals (2 Ki. 25:17 et al.). See FLORA (under *Punicaceae)*.

Several places bear the name Rimmon, no doubt alluding to the fact that there were pomegranate orchards there. See RIMMON (PLACE). The "Rimmon" of 2 Ki. 5:18, however, must not be confused with the pomegranate, for the name here refers to a Semitic god. See RIMMON (DEITY).

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

**pommel.** This English term, meaning "knob," is used by the KJV to render the Hebrew word *gullâ H1657* ("basin, bowl") in one passage where the reference is to ornaments on top of the two pillars of the TEMPLE (2 Chr. 4:12-13).

**Pompey** pom'pee. A Roman general who intervened in JUDEA in 63 B.C., effectively ending the period of independence under HASMONEAN rule. Born Gnaeus Pompeius in 106 B.C., he served as a young man under the dictator Sulla, at which time he took on the cognomen Magnus in imitation of ALEXANDER THE GREAT. His career rose rapidly and, in spite of his youth, was made consul in 70 B.C. A few years later he was given the provinces of BITHYNIA, PONTUS, and CILICIA, and his military campaigns in the Middle E, particularly against the PARTHIAN king Mithridates VI, made him famous (see discussion under PONTUS). In 59 he formed a coalition with Julius CAESAR and Crassus, but when the latter died in 53, serious tensions developed between Pompey and Caesar. Five years later they met in battle in MACEDONIA and, soon after, Pompey fled to Egypt, where he was stabbed to death (September of the year 48).

In Jewish history, Pompey is remembered as the general who intervened in their civil affairs and who thus made possible Roman rule over Judea. Toward the end of his campaigns in the East, Pompey founded several colonies and also succeeded in annexing SYRIA. At the time, a civil war was raging in Judea between Hyrcanus II and his brother Aristobulus II. In 63 B.C., Pompey marched against Jerusalem and, after a three-month siege, captured the temple. Although he did not plunder the treasures, he did enter the Holy of Holies, a great sacrilege in Jewish eyes. Hyrcanus was then recognized as ruling high priest, but Judea became a tributary of Rome under the supervision of the Syrian governor, M. Aemilius Scaurus (Jos. *Ant.* 14.4.2-4 §§61-73; *HJP,* rev. ed. [1973-87], 1:236-

42; see also P. A. L. Greenhalgh, *Pompey: The Roman Alexander* [1980]; id., *Pompey: The Republican Prince* [1981]; R. Seager, *Pompey the Great: A Political Biography,* 2nd ed. [2002]).

**pond.** See POOL.

**Pontius Pilate** pon'shuhs pi'luht. See PILATE.

**Pontus** pon'tuhs (Πόντος *G4510,* "sea," so named because it lay on the shores of the Black Sea). A region in northern ASIA MINOR occupying a considerable part of the southern coast of the Euxine (Black) Sea between the Halys River on the W and the Caucasian country of Colchis on the E. Inland, its territory extended to CAPPADOCIA and Lesser ARMENIA. It is a rugged terrain formed by a series of mountain ranges parallel with the seacoast and enclosing deep valleys. The deltas of the Halys and the Idris form two coastal plains, and the two rivers drain the country and form pathways of communication to the interior. One lateral road ran from Amastris to Sebasteia. The region has a good rainfall, considerable fertility, and a fairly mild climate apart from the highlands. The olive was a staple product, as in most other Mediterranean and associated lands. There was abundant timber. Grain could be grown near the coast.

The political structure of Pontus resembled that of Cappadocia and other border lands of the old Persian empire (see PERSIA). There was a primitive village society that formed the ethnic substratum of the population and that followed a territorial pattern of organization as old as human communities in the area. There were small Greek city-states dating from the great early movement of Greek colonization in the Euxine. As usual, the Greek colonies were in the nature of coastal trading posts, with little territory and with no tendency to expand into or to dominate the hinterland. There were large temple territories staffed by multitudes of slaves and ruled by a hierarchy. A feudal Iranian nobility permeated the whole structure. One of these aristocratic houses, dominating the rest and bringing the hierarchy of priests into subjugation, gained control of the country and established a system of unified administration. One may guess that wild tribal areas remained beyond central control, but c. 337/336 B.C. a strong Pontic kingdom was emerging, and with such independence that first the Persians and then the SELEUCIDS allowed it. In a remote area, in difficult territory, walled by mountains and with difficult communications, Pontus was not open to easy subjugation, decisive invasion, or alien control.

The history of the first three centuries is fragmentary. The royal rulers of Pontus became more and more involved in the fortunes of Asia Minor as a whole. The progress of their kingdom was interwoven with the doings of neighboring BITHYNIA and the dynamic kingdom of PERGAMUM and finally with ROME, as the republic began to penetrate the E Mediterranean and the Asia Minor peninsula.

The PARTHIAN king Mithridates V followed a philo-Roman and hellenizing policy in the middle years of the 2nd cent. B.C. He aided Rome in the final war against Carthage (149 to 146 B.C.). In Pergamum, when Aristonicus rose in revolt and Attalus III bequeathed his kingdom to Rome, Mithridates aided the Romans to put down the rebellion and to establish the firm and final foothold in Asia Minor that the amazing bequest of Attalus gave. The Romans' payment to Mithridates was PHRYGIA, and since he already had gained control of the vast "heartland" of GALATIA, the ruler of Pontus was dominant in all Asia Minor and a force to be reckoned with. Mithridates V was assassinated in 120 B.C. at Sinope, and his will, undoubtedly a forgery, named Laodice his wife and his two minor children Eupator and Chrestos as his heirs and successors.

With Eupator, an unusual youth who was to be called Mithridates VI, began the most remarkable and ultimately tragic chapter in the history of Pontus. In a typical Toynbee pattern of "withdrawal and return," the boy fled from his mother's court, led a fugitive existence in the rugged interior of the land, and ultimately returned to take Sinope, dethrone his mother, kill his brother, and resume from the captured throne his royal father's program of dynamic expansion. Cannily, and with farsighted strategy, he first secured the N shore of the Euxine, thus gaining control over the coastal communities and vital lanes of communication. Revenue and manpower came from the same region. Thrusting southward into Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, Mithridates VI found himself in confrontation with Rome. The republic was feeling for a firm frontier in the area, and had not yet found one.

Rome blocked Mithridates's thrust westward into Bithynia, and the clash led to the First Mithridatic War. Rome, in the midst of her expansion, with the corruption of her governing aristocracy spreading hatred and resentment through the expanding area of her rule, was unloved in Asia Minor, and Mithridates found ready support in the population of the peninsula, where he was hailed as a deliverer. The war began in 88 B.C. Mithridates rapidly occupied Asia Minor, where there was a vast massacre of Italian and Roman immigrants. He carried the war across the AEGEAN only to meet defeat at the hands of the able and ruthless Sulla.

Asia turned against Mithridates in defeat, and in 84 B.C. at Dardanus, the king made peace on Sulla's terms, which stripped him of all his conquered territory. He was however left in control of Pontus—Sulla must have realized that there was a limit to Rome's reach and power to subdue. The king used the next ten years well. The Romans harried Mithridates's borders in the year 81 in a minor conflict, which it is the fashion to call the Second Mithridatic War, but the king had little trouble in parrying the attacks of Murena, Sulla's lieutenant. He wisely limited his activities, tightened his grip on the vital Black Sea littoral, piled up money and supplies, and made useful compacts with the pirate fleets.

In 74 B.C. Rome decided to annex Bithynia. Mithridates saw the move as an attack on his flank and occupied Bithynia, an event that began the Third Mithridatic War. Lucullus was in command of the Romans. He moved on Pontus by way of the Lycus valley, defeated the king, and drove him to seek refuge in Armenia in 71. Spending the winter in the organization and administration of Asia, Lucullus advanced into Armenia in 70 and again in 69 and 68. The slow deliberate campaigning was difficult for the morale of the troops and for the patience of those at home. The Lex Manilia in 66 transferred the command to POMPEY, Caesar's great rival, and the foremost soldier of the day.

Pompey had little difficulty in concluding the war. Mithridates had been worn down by Lucullus, and he was driven from his kingdom to find refuge in the Crimea. He sought to carry on the war from exile but his subjects in Pontus had reached the limit of endurance. Rebellion broke out and the king died by the sword of a guardsman at the age of 68. The legend was that he tried to poison himself, but in vain, for he had long immunized his body to poisons of all sorts by a diet of prophylactic doses. He had fought a valiant fight against the might of the world's emerging power. Lucullus and Pompey outgeneraled him, and he proved unable to retain the loyalty of his subjects.

In his postwar organization, Pompey broke up Pontus, giving a portion to Deiotarus of Galatia and restoring other parts to the priestly or regional control, which they had enjoyed or endured before the unification of the kingdom. Varied patterns of divided city and regional rule, difficult to describe and document, filled the next hundred years. Pompey's object of "divide and rule" seems to have been in large measure successful, for no major military threat took shape in the region after the defeat of the great Mithridates. From A.D. 64, Pontus was made part of the Galatian-Cappadocian province. Variants of no great historical significance may be noted in the political affiliation and structure of the

area from this time to the end of the empire.

The region retained throughout these periods much of its original character. It was remote, and neither Greek nor Roman culture had penetrated it deeply or decisively. City and countryside remained divided. Feudal rule retained a shadow. The Jews from Pontus mentioned in the NT (Acts 2:9; 18:2) were no doubt colonists in the Greek coastal towns. Christianity penetrated the area (1 Pet. 1:1), but there is no information about the origins or progress of the church in Pontus. (See further D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor, 2* vols. [1950], ch. 8 and index; A. H. M. Jones, *The 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

**pool.** The characteristic Hebrew term for "pool" or "pond" is *bĕrēkâ H1391,* which generally seems to refer to an artificial body of water (2 Sam. 2:13 [GIBEON];4:12 [HEBRON]; 1 Ki. 22:38 [SAMARIA]; 2 Ki. 18:17 [Upper Pool]). Of special significance is the Pool of SILOAM, built by King HEZEKIAH (2 Ki. 20:20; Neh. 3:15). The word *)āgam H106,* on the other hand, is normally used of standing water or marsh (see esp. Isa. 14:23; Jer. 51:32). In the NT, the Greek word for "pool" is *kolymbēthra G3148,* used by John with reference to the pools of BETHESDA (Jn. 5:2, 7) and Siloam (9:7).

The conservation of WATER was crucial to the people of Palestine. Rainfall in Jerusalem averages about 25 in., and it falls between fifty and sixty days per year. See PALESTINE V; RAIN. Natural terrain was utilized to store water where possible, and where nature was not so obliging, toiling hands carved out a substitute. If the sources of water happened to be outside the walls of the city, the people often would construct tunnels to bring in the precious commodity so that it would be available in time of siege. Hezekiah's tunnel is an instance of this (2 Ki. 20:20), and similar arrangements have been uncovered at GEZER and MEGIDDO. Because of the cruciality of water, disputes often broke out in the vicinity of its sources (Gen. 26:15-22). MOSES, it will be remembered, assisted the oppressed daughters of the priest of MIDIAN to secure water for their animals (Exod. 2:16-17). It is quite possible that of the various pools mentioned in the Bible some can be identified.

Special interest attaches to three pools located in the valley of ETHAM (just S of BETHLEHEM and 10 mi. from JERUSALEM) that are designated the Pools of Solomon. Even today they are an important part of the water supply for Jerusalem. The pools are fed by springs and surface water, and a twisting AQUEDUCT, at least as old as Roman times, conveyed the water ultimately to Jerusalem and to Bethlehem en route. Lacking pumping facilities, the ancients had to plan and engineer with skill to take full advantage of gravity. The pools were hewn out of rock and in part artificially constructed with masonry. They have been repaired many times through the years. The pools are arranged at successive levels with conduit connections between them. The E wall of the lowest pool forms a dam across the valley. The pools were roughly rectangular in shape and varied in depth from about 25 ft. in the upper pool to 50 ft. in the lower pool. The lower pool is the largest, being about 582 ft. long with a width varying from 148 ft. to 207 ft. See also CISTERN; FOUNTAIN; SPRING; WELL.

B. C. STARK

**poor.** The Bible uses several Hebrew and Greek terms to describe the person who has little or nothing in the way of WEALTH, goods, or means of subsistence. Sometimes the terms are used metaphorically of the humble and meek.

**I. Hebrew terms.** The OT uses about a dozen Hebrew terms for "poor," but three in particular. These

are often used synonymously, although in some instances a distinction may be intended. The most frequent of them is *ʿānî H6714* (over seventy times, esp. in Psalms and Isaiah; among several cognates, *ʿānāw H6705,* which more often can be rendered "humble" or "afflicted," occurs some twenty times, esp. in Psalms). It is used of the poor and needy, such as those who have a right to the gleanings (Lev. 19:10; 23:22). Others are called poor and weak because they have been oppressed by the rich and powerful (Prov. 30:14; Isa. 3:14). Often the term is applied to pious individuals who are afflicted by the wicked (Pss. 10:2; 12:5). But God has pity on them (Isa. 49:13), saves them (Ps. 34:6), and delivers them (Ps. 35:10). The king of Israel does the same (Ps. 72:2, 4, 12). Only rarely does the term refer to the humble (Zech. 9:9).

The noun *ʾebyôn H36* (occurring some sixty times, esp. in Psalms) is used mostly of those who have little or no material possessions. These are the poor who are subject to oppression and abuse (Amos 2:6; 5:12). They are to be the special objects of concern (Exod. 23:11; Deut. 15:11; Prov. 31:9). In Psalms and Proverbs, it is often used in parallel with *ʿānî* (Pss. 35:10; 109:16; Prov. 31:9, 20). God will deliver these poor people (Pss. 9:18; 12:5; Isa. 29:19).

A third term, *dal H1924* (almost fifty times, esp. in Proverbs), comes from a root meaning "to be low, to languish." It is used of the poor whose situation was worsened due to oppression (Job 20:19; Prov. 22:16; Amos 4:1). They are contrasted to the rich (Exod. 30:15; Lev. 14:21; Prov. 10:15; 28:11). The word is used also to refer to weakness, whether of a family (2 Sam. 3:1) or of cattle (Gen. 41:19). Sometimes it is used in parallel with *ʾebyôn* (Pss. 107:41; 132:15; Prov. 14:31). The cognate *dallâ H1930* occurs only five times and always refers to the poorest class, consisting mainly of vine dressers and plowmen, who were left in Palestine during the Babylonian captivity (2 Ki. 24:14; 25:12; Jer. 40:7; 52:15-16).

Less frequent terms include the following: The verb *rûš H8133,* "to be poor" (related to *yārdš H3769,* "to take possession of" or "to dispossess"), occurs over twenty times, especially in Proverbs, where the rich and the poor are contrasted (Prov. 14:20; 22:7; 28:6); and its cognate noun *rêš H8203,* "poverty," is used seven times, only in Proverbs (6:11 et al.). The noun *ḥeser H2895,* which has several cognates, indicates "scarcity, lack" (Job 30:3; Prov. 28:22). Another term, *miskēn H5014,* is used only in Ecclesiastes with reference to the person who, though poor, is wise (Eccl. 4:13; 9:15-16). (See further *NIDOTTE,* 1:228-32, 951-54; 3:454-64.)

**II. The poor in the OT.** The Israelites were slaves in Egypt and immediately after the exodus all were at the mercy of the desert. Under such conditions no sharp class or economic distinctions could develop. The conquest of the Promised Land brought a hereditary portion of land to every Israelite, and with it a settled life. It also brought contact with the Canaanites, who already lived in towns with class distinctions. The new life in the Promised Land produced the conditions that resulted in social differences. With a special concern to prevent permanent and hopeless poverty, Yahweh gave specific commands to his people regarding the poor. If a man's need caused him to be sold into slavery, he must be freed after six years (Exod. 21:2). What grew of itself during the fallow year belonged to the poor (23:10-11). The poor were not to be exploited (22:22-27), nor oppressed in the courts (23:3, 6). Yahweh stood as protector of the poor and by legislation sought social justice for them (the laws concerning the poor are concentrated in Exod. 22:25; 23:3; Lev. 19:10; 23:22-27; Deut. 15:4-11; 24:12).

The monarchy brought economic development and prosperity for some, but poverty for others. As

These small copper coins are “mites” such as the poor widow would have put into the temple treasury (Lk. 12:41).

the situation of the poor worsened, the prophets took up their cause, criticizing especially forced labor (Amos 5:11-12), the enslaving of fellow countrymen (Jer. 34:8-11), and the depriving of widows, orphans, and the poor of their rights (Isa. 10:1 –2). The socially strong were guilty of oppression (Amos 2:7; 4:1; 5:11) and an inordinate desire to increase wealth (Isa. 3:15; Amos 8:4). Their hunger for land was driving the poor from their inheritance (Isa. 5:8-10; Mic. 2:2). The injustice was so great that the poor are almost equated with God’s people (Isa. 3:15; 10:2; 14:32).

The situation of the poor often seemed hopeless, but God would not forget them (Pss. 9:12; 40:17; et al.). He pities them and comforts them (Ps. 34:6; Isa. 49:13; et al.). The OT king likewise had a special responsibility to the weak and poor (Ps. 72:4, 12); he could establish his throne by fair treatment of them (Prov. 29:14). Anyone who has a concern for the poor is blessed and rewarded by God (Ps. 41:1; Prov. 14:21); indeed, to honor the poor is to honor God (Prov. 14:31). (See further R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel [* 1961],68-79,164-77.)

**III. Greek terms.** In the *NT, ptōchos G4777 is* the usual term for “poor,” occurring over thirty times; it is also the term most frequently used in the SEPTUAGINT to translate the Hebrew words mentioned above. The word is used of beggars (Lk. 16:20) and those who are poor in a material sense (Matt. 19:21; Lk. 19:8; Jn. 13:29). Christ himself became poor to make others rich *(verb ptōcheuō G4776,* only in 2 Cor. 8:9, where the noun *ptōcheia G4775* is also used). Often the poor are singled out as having the good news preached to them (Matt. 11:5; Lk. 4:18; 7:22). The term can be used figuratively for the “poor in spirit” who are especially blessed (Matt. 5:3; cf.Lk. 6:20).

Three other terms are used only once each in the NT. The w*ord penēs G4288,* which is very common in the LXX, occurs in 2 Cor. 9:9 (quoting Ps. 112:9); it refers to the poor who need help. The cognate adjective *penichros* is used only in Lk. 21:2 for the poor widow (cf. the parallels in Mk. 12:42-43 and Lk. 21:3, which use *ptōchos).* Another adjective, *endeēs G1890,* occurs in Acts 4:34, where it is used of the poor or impoverished in the community of faith, whose needs were supplied as others sold their goods and distributed the proceeds. (See further *TDNT,* 6:37-40, 318-32, 865-915; *NIDNTT,* 2:820-29.)

**IV. The poor in the NT.** Jesus was a realist when he said that there would always be poor people (Matt. 26:11), but this did not diminish his concern for them and aid to them. He preached the good news to the poor (11:5). He and his disciples had a common treasury from which contributions were made to those in need (Jn. 13:29). He encouraged the rich man to distribute his wealth to the poor (Matt. 19:21) and inculcated an attitude of mercy toward debtors (cf. Lk. 7:41-48). The guests for a

banquet should be the poor, maimed, lame, and blind, because they could not repay (14:13-14). Likewise, in the parable about the heavenly banquet, God seeks the poor and needy (14:15-24).

The early church cared for its own poor (Acts 2:45; 4:34) and its widows (6:1). PAUL was eager to remember the poor (Gal. 2:10) and to promote the collection for the poor (Rom. 15:26; see CONTRIBUTION). JAMES criticized the disrespect shown to the poor by church members in contrast to their attitude to the rich (Jas. 2:2-7). Here the poor are considered to be the rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom (2:5).

Finally, the term *poor* sometimes occurs in the Bible in the combination "rich and poor," which indicates completeness. This is similar to the use of other pairs of antonyms such as "great and small" (2 Chr. 34:30; 36:18) and "good and evil" (Gen. 2:17; Prov. 15:3), to mean "all, everything, everyone." Thus "rich and poor" (Ps. 49:2) means "all the inhabitants of the world" (cf. v. 1).This usage also occurs in Prov. 22:2 and Rev. 13:16. See also POVERTY.

J.C.MOYER

**poplar.** This English term refers to a number of deciduous trees of the WILLOW family, with catkins that hang. Most versions use the term to render Hebrew *libneh H4242,* which occurs twice (Gen. 30:37; Hos. 4:13). The reference is probably to the white poplar (*Populus alba),* which can grow to a height of 60 ft. and produces very thick shade. The leaves are a pretty shiny green above, and a showywhite below (the Heb. term *lābān H4237* means "white"). The flowers are inside the catkins, which inevitably appear before the foliage unfolds. The buds as they open produce a pleasant fragrance in the spring. Because of the shade and privacy the poplars afforded, they were widely used as groves in which heathen worship took place. Some scholars, however, argue that *libneh* refers to the storax tree *(Styrax officinalis),* whose leaves are also white below; this tree bears white flowers as well (see *FFB,178* –79; *HALOT,* 2:518).

The NIV uses "poplar" also as the rendering of Hebrew *ʿărābâ H6857* (Lev. 23:40 et al.; most versions translate with "willow"). The reference could be to the Euphrates poplar *(Populus euphratica),* a large tree frequently seen on the banks of rivers in the Middle E (see *FFB,* 170, illus. on p. 169). See also FLORA (under *Salicaceae*); ARABAH, BROOK (WADI); WILLOWS, BROOK (WADI) OF THE.

W. E. SHEWELL-COOPER

**Poplars, Ravine of the.** See WILLOWS, BROOK (WADI) OF THE.

**Poratha** por-ay'thuh (פּוֹרָתָא *H7054,* meaning uncertain). One of the ten sons of HAMAN who were put to death by the Jews (Esth. 9:8).

**porch.** This English term is used frequently by the KJV to render several words, especially Hebrew *ʾêlām H395* (1 Ki. 6:3 et al.; the word has variant spellings). Modern versions prefer such renderings as "portico" (NIV) and "vestibule" (NRSV), although in one passage "hall" is more appropriate (1 Ki. 7:7-8). The most widespread form of porch was the *bît ḫilāni* of SYRIA of the 11th cent. B.C. that served as the grand entry of the palace. It was partially open on the front side and enclosed on the other three sides, the rear opening into the main hall or others beyond. The façade usually had decorative columns that were also structural to support the roof above.

In the OT *ʾêlām* almost always refer to a part of Solomon's TEMPLE, connoting the rooms at the

inner ends of separate gates and at the front, 20 cubits wide left to right, and 10 cubits deep without a door. Obviously there was some sort of roof over it and some sort of beam spanned the opening. The columns of Jakin and Boaz stood in front of the porch as free-standing memorials to God's character as Sustainer and Defender of his Word and people. See JAKIN (PILLAR). The presumed height of the porch to the ceiling is 30 cubits, the same as in the Holy Place, but 2 Chr. 3:4 states it to be 120 cubits, the height to which JOTHAM conceivably built its walls (see TEMPLE, JERUSALEM IV.E).

The porches of the gates in the temple in Ezekiel (Ezek. 40:7-49 et al.) had cedar pillars 60 cubits high and 2 cubits square, again a memorial to the God of Israel. These porches were 28 by 8 cubits and had partial walls at the outer side; traffic passed through them to the threefold guard gates, forming a suitable stopping place for religious functions before proceeding farther. The porch at the N gate to the temple had four tables for preparing sacrifices. Of special interest is the stipulation that the prince was to enter by the E gate to make his offering (44:3).

Reconstruction of the colonnaded porch in the 1st-cent. Jerusalem temple.

A different Hebrew word, *misděrôn H4997,* occurs only once (Jdg. 3:23) and its meaning is uncertain. It may refer to a colonnaded secondstory structure forming the summer quarters of EGLON's palace, perhaps even furnished with a balustrade (cf. L. Woolley, *A Forgotten Kingdom* [1953], 113).

In the NT, the KJV uses "porch" once for *pylon G4784* (Matt. 26:71; the term more commonly means "gateway"), but it also occurs in the parallel passage for *proaulion G4580,* "forecourt" (Mk. 14:68; but R. H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Handbook for a Mixed Church under Persecution,* 2nd ed. [1994], 549, thinks Matthew and Mark mean two different things). Finally, the KJV uses it four times for *stoa G5119,* which refers to a roofed colonnade (Jn. 5:2; 10:23; Acts 3:11; 5:12). See also ARCHITECTURE; HALL; HOUSE; SOLOMON'S COLONNADE.

**Porcius.** See FESTUS, PORCIUS.

**porcupine.** See HEDGEHOG.

**porphyry.** An igneous rock in which relatively large conspicuous crystals are set in a finer grained groundmass (the variation in crystal sizes often indicates magmatic crystallization at more than one crustal level during intrusion). Generally the rock occurs in sheets or dykes, such as those that cut the AQABAH granite complex in the southern desert region of the Holy Lands. Porphyry may be the

material referred to by the Hebrew word *bahaṭ H985,* which occurs only in the description of the mosaic pavement in the floor of the king's court at SUSA (Esth. 1:6; the NJPS renders it "marble").

D. R. BOWES

**porpoise.** See SEA COW.

**port.** See HARBOR. The KJV uses this term in the sense "gate" (only Neh. 2:13).

**porter.** This English term, in the sense "gatekeeper," is used often by the KJV to render Hebrew *šôʿēr H8788* (2 Sam. 18:26 et al.). It occurs twice in the NT as the translation of Greek *thyrōros G2601* (Mk. 13:34; Jn. 10:3). See DOORKEEPER; GATE.

**portico.** See PORCH.

**Posidonius** pos'i-doh'nee-uhs (Ποσιδώνιος, "belonging [*or* dedicated] to Poseidon," the Greek god of the sea). One of three envoys sent by the SELEUCID general NICANOR to Judas MACCABEE with authority to propose and accept a truce (2 Macc. 14:19).

**possession, demoniacal.** See DEMON.

**post.** This English word, in its several senses as noun or verb, is used variously in the Bible versions to render a number of Hebrew terms. For example, it occurs often in the KJV as the rendering of *mĕzûzâ H4647,* "doorpost, doorframe" (Exod. 12:22 et al.; see DOOR). The NIV uses it sometimes to translate *ʿammûd H6647,* "column, pillar" (Exod. 38:17 et al.; see PILLAR). As a verb in the sense "to station," the word can render *ʿāmad H6641* (Isa. 21:6 et al.). The KJV uses it also to translate the participle of *rûṣ H8132* ("to run") with reference to "runners," that is, "messengers" or "couriers" (2 Chr. 3:7; the Hebrew term can be applied to messengers mounted on horses, Esth. 8:10).

**postmillennialism.** A theological term derived from the reference to a thousand years in Rev. 20, and designating the view that Christ will return *after* the MILLENNIUM, that is, after an extended period of righteousness and prosperity.

**I. Theological formulation.** Postmillennialists differ on questions of detail, as do representatives of other systems, but the basic features are clear. The pivotal event of world history is the life, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ. His mediatorial accomplishment ended the administration of grace in terms of the old covenant, but the church that he established is the Israel of the new covenant (see COVENANT, THE NEW). God will continue to carry out his sovereign gracious purpose in terms of the new covenant until it is fulfilled and Christ returns as judge. The judgment will immediately issue in the eternal state.

Jesus established the KINGDOM OF GOD in a new and powerful way as he began to defeat opposition to divine rule and brought men and women into willing subjection to himself. He gave his CHURCH the task of proclaiming the gospel of sovereign grace on a worldwide scale. The church can pursue this task in the confidence that people will turn to Christ in repentance and faith because the king of the church reigns in power and adds daily to the number of the saved.

According to postmillennialism, the major factor contributing to the observed impotence of the visible church is the common assumption that the gospel proclamation will not meet with success or that conditions will deteriorate before the advent. This attitude prevents the church from laying hold sincerely upon the resources that Christ has placed at its disposal. Postmillennialists are confident, however, that God will accomplish his purpose to save the world; they therefore do not think of the world as lost and only individuals as saved, but rather of the world as saved and individuals as lost. Concretely, they expect a future period when revealed truth will be diffused throughout the world and accepted by the vast majority. The millennial era will therefore be a time of peace, material prosperity, and spiritual glory.

The millennium will be of extended duration though not necessarily a precise 1,000 years. Because it is established through means presently operative, its beginning is imperceptible. Some postmillennialists provide for a gradual establishment of the millennium; others for a more abrupt beginning. Most, but not all, allow for a brief apostasy or resurgence of evil just prior to the SECOND COMING and in preparation for the judgment. Even during the millennium, the world will not be entirely without sin, and not every person will be converted.

**II. Biblical basis.** Both postmillennialists and amillennialists argue, against premillennialists, for the unity of the eschatological complex of events on the ground that the relevant passages (Matt. 24 and parallels; Rom. 8:17-23; 1 Cor. 15:22-28, 50-58; 1 Thess. 1:4-10; 4:13-18; 2 Pet. 3:3-15) do not allow for the insertion of a millennium between Christ's second advent and the consummation. Amillennialists also espouse the postmillennial timing of the advent, but differ sharply from postmillennialists on the nature of the millennium.

Postmillennialism takes seriously the fact that the gospel is the *power* of God unto salvation (Rom. 1:16; 1 Cor. 1:18,24). Christ has promised his personal presence (Matt. 18:20; 26:64; 28:20; Acts 18:10) and the presence and power of the HOLY SPIRIT in the church (Jn. 14:16-17,26; 16:7-15). He also has promised to do what his disciples ask of him (Matt. 21:21-22; Jn. 14:12-14), and the conversion of sinners is the delight of the Father's will (Ezek. 18:23; 1 Tim. 2:4). In view of its commission and resources, there is no reason why the church should not be successful in carrying out the missionary enterprise.

The case for a future era of righteousness and prosperity rests largely on passages found in the Psalms and in the OT prophets (e.g., Num. 14:21; Pss.2:8; 22:27-29; 47; 72; 86:9; Isa.2:2-4; 11:6-9; 25:6-9; 65; 66; Jer. 31:31-34; Ezek. 34:26-27; Dan. 2:35, 44; 7:27; Mic. 4:1-4; Zech. 9:9-10; 13:1; 14:9). These passages speak of the universal and triumphant reign of the MESSIAH. Since they cannot refer to a reign of Christ subsequent to his return, and because nothing that has taken place in history does justice to the glory of the prophetic vision, the golden age must be yet future, but prior to Messiah's return.

Confirmation is found in the NT. The terms of the Great Commission imply its successful completion (Matt. 28:19-20; see COMMISSION, GREAT), and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit signalizes the beginning of that process (Acts 2:16-47).The parable of the leaven points to the universal extension of the kingdom (Matt. 13:33). PAUL holds forth the prospect of the extensive conversion of both Jews and Gentiles (Rom. 11). All of this is in keeping with the fact that the object of Christ's redemption is the world (Jn. 3:16-17; cf. Rev. 11:15).

The Olivet Discourse (Matt. 24 and parallels) can be interpreted as describing events already past or in progress; Rev. 20 describes a future binding and loosing of Satan. The Lord's question, "However, when the Son of Man comes, will he find faith on the earth?" (Lk. 18:8), does not imply

that he will not find faith but is designed to stimulate the disciples to perseverance in faith. Postmillennialists counter the objection that they "spiritualize" prophecy by charging their opponents with "literalizing" it and by arguing that we should allow the text to interpret itself without the imposition of extracanonical hermeneutical criteria.

**III. History.** Although some theologians of the post-Reformation period might be classified as postmillennialists, the viewpoint became prominent in the latter half of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Leading theologians such as Charles Hodge, W. G. T. Shedd, R. L. Dabney, and B. B. Warfield are to be reckoned as postmillennialists. Events in the 20th cent., including two world wars, contributed to the rapid decline and virtual demise of postmillennialism as a viable option, but there is some evidence of revived interest (cf. the bibliography below).

The theology of the social gospel (e.g., W. Rauschenbusch, S. J. Case) has been labeled postmillennialism but must be distinguished radically from orthodox postmillennialism. Instead of a millennium wrought by the power of God, the gospel of social betterment offered an optimism rooted in naturalistic evolution culminating in a man-made utopia. This is, in effect, a demythologized postmillennialism, no longer popular in its original form, but reasserting itself in new forms from time to time.

(See further C. Hodge, *Systematic Theology,* Part IV [1872]; D. Brown, *Christ's Second Coming* [1882]; W. Rauschenbusch, *A Theology for the Social Gospel* [1917]; B. B. Warfield, "The Millennium and the Apocalypse," *Biblical Doctrines* [1929], 643-64; J. M. Kik, *Matthew Twenty-Four* [1948]; R. Campbell, *Israel and the New Covenant* [1954]; L. Boettner, *The Millennium* [1958]; J. F. Walvoord, *The Millennial Kingdom* [1959]; R. G. Clouse, ed., *The Meaning of the Millennium: Four Views* [1977]; J.J. Davis, *Christ's Victorious Kingdom* [1986]; K. L. Gentry, Jr., *He Shall Have Dominion: A Postmillennial Eschatology* [1992].)

N. SHEPHERD

**poststructuralism.** See INTERPRETATION II.G

**pot.** See POTTERY.

**Potiphar** pot'uh-fuhr (פּוֹטִיפַר *H7035,* prob. short form of פּוֹטִי פֶרַע *H7036,* from Egyp. *pʾdy pʾrʿ,* "whom [the god] Ra has given"; see POTIPHERA). The Egyptian official who purchased JOSEPH and placed him in charge of his household (Gen. 37:36; 39:1, 4-5). Potiphar is described as "the captain of the guard," which in Middle-Egyptian would be a leader of the bodyguard (*shd-smsw,* "instructor of retainers"). J. Vergote *(Joseph en Égypte* [1957], 31ff.) prefers to render the Hebrew term as "butler" (Egyptian *wdpw),* in parallel with the baker and cup-bearer; however, the same word is used of the prison keeper (40:3), and this would favor the usual rendering "captain of the guard." (Names that begin with the form *pʾdy* or *Padi* are most common from the 21st dynasty onward, that is, after c. 1085 B.C., but examples go back into the New Kingdom of the time of Moses [cf. Vergote, 148]. In Genesis, it may well represent a "Mosaic" modernization of Middle-Egyptian *Didi-ra* with the same meaning. See also K. A. Kitchen in *JEA* 47 [1961]: 159-60; id., *Ancient Orient and Old Testament* [1966], 165-66.)

K.A. KITCHEN

**Potiphera** puh-ti'fuh-ruh (פּוֹטִי פֶרַע *H7036,* from Egyp. *pʾdy pʾrʿ,* "whom [the god] Ra has given"; see POTIPHAR).The father-in-law of JOSEPH (Gen. 41:45, 50; 46:20). He is referred to as a priest of ON (i.e., HELIOPOLIS), the center of the worship of the sun-god, Ra (RE). Because of his apparent prominence, some have thought that Potiphera may have been the high priest and thus one of the most influential figures of his time. The PHARAOH chose Potiphera's daughter, ASENATH, to be Josephs wife.

S. BARABAS

**potsherd.** A fragment of any broken pottery jar. Large ones were used to carry coals from one house to another or to dip up water from a spring or cistern (Isa. 30:14). They were also used as lids for

Pile of potsherds at Korazin.

storage jars or cooking pots. Potsherds were ground fine and added to the waterproof plaster used in lining cisterns. Finally, sherds from large storage jars were used for writing material (see OSTRACA).

J. L. KELSO

**Potsherd Gate.** A place near the Valley of Ben HINNOM where JEREMIAH was told to prophesy (Jer. 19:2; KJV renders incorrectly, "east gate"). In view of its name and location, most scholars identify it with the DUNG GATE, where refuse and broken pottery were probably discarded.

J. B. PAYNE

**pottage.** A thick broth or porridge made by boiling vegetables, sometimes with meat or suet, usually in water. This English word is used by the KJV to render Hebrew *nāzîd H5686* ("boiled food, stew"), which occurs in connection with the red lentil stew that induced ESAU to give up his birthright (Gen. 25:29, 34), and the food poisoned with wild gourds and eaten by the company of prophets (2 Ki. 4:38-40). It is also mentioned in Hag. 2:12 with bread, wine, and oil.

**potter's field.** See AKELDAMA.

**pottery.** A synthetic stone, pottery is the most significant artifact in the ANE for archaeological purposes. At JERICHO, Wadi Fallah on Mount Carmel (see CARMEL, MOUNT), Buddha near PETRA, and Byblos (GEBAL) in Syria, a well-developed industry in stone vessels has been found dating back to the period prior to 6500 B.C.

1. Historical survey

2. Pottery clays
3. Fashioning pottery
4. Firing pottery
5. Ceramic vocabulary
6. Ceramic chronology

**I. Historical survey.** Because of the small amount of prehistoric excavation carried out at the present time, there is no common consecutive pattern of the stone age shifting into the beginning of the pottery period. Sometime at the end of the 7th millennium or beginning of the 6th, the art of making pottery and baked clay figurines was introduced to Syria and Palestine. This ability seems to have come from the Anatolian Plateau (see ASIA MINOR) when groups of people brought in the new ceramic culture.

Regional peculiarities are distinguishable in the pottery from the 6th and 5th millennia. Variations in pottery may be observed such as forms, texture of the ware, and decorative technique including both burnishing and painting. Once the art of making pottery was discovered, artisans quickly developed great skill in all phases of ceramic production. There was a great demand for pottery as it was much superior to the BASKET, which could not hold liquid and was easy prey to rodents. It was much cheaper than LEATHER, which required an involved process in preparation.

By the time of ABRAHAM, the Palestinians used not only jars made of STONES and CLAY but also expensive COPPER ones and the still more expensive BRONZE artifacts that helped people cope with life. Tools, weapons, ornaments, and figurines could then be made out of a wide choice of materials. Pottery, however, because of its cheapness and versatility, remained basic in industry.

By the time of JOSEPH, Palestine was producing the finest pottery ever manufactured in that land. The strong outside influence upon this making of pottery ware was the world unrest. This brought from MESOPOTAMIA by way of SYRIA the best craftsmen into the ANE. All through history Palestinian ceramics were also influenced to a greater or lesser degree by EGYPT. The poorest period of Palestinian ceramics was in the days of the judges. The century preceding JOSHUA's invasion saw Mycenean and especially Cypriot waves of influence entering Palestine from the W. The last of these western ceramic influences was the PHILISTINE, which came in forcefully shortly after Joshua's time. From then on Palestinian pottery was essentially local until the intertestamental period. At that time Greek importations modified some Palestinian forms. By NT times imported ware was also coming from Italy.

**II. Pottery clays.** Clay is a substance from the earth that the chemist describes as a hydrated silicate of alumina mixed with a variety of impurities in varying proportions. Sometimes the essential clay factor is less than 50 percent of the earth material used by the potter. If the clay is too pure it is not very plastic. Such a material is called a primary clay, because it is found at the place of origin. It is produced by chemical action upon rocks from which come the chemical constituency of clay. Kaolin is the best known primary clay. Porcelain, the finest pottery, is produced from it.

The clays used in Palestine, however, were for the most part secondary clays, which are transported or sedimentary clays. In their travels, such clays have been ground fine by friction and have picked up numerous impurities that influence the finished ware in a variety of ways. The mixing of the clay with water, the fashioning of a piece of pottery, the drying, and the firing process are all influenced by the nature of the clay.

After the clay has been cleaned and brought to the proper plasticity, it can then be fashioned into any desired shape. The shaped vessel can be finished off with any selected surface pattern and it will

retain that pattern no matter how crude or how delicate. The vessel is then dried, after which it is fired in the kiln. The shape and the markings are then permanent. The chemical change from the heat in the kiln actually turns the clay into a new substance—a synthetic stone. Not only does the plastic clay become rock-like but the vessel will take on a color dictated by the contents of the impurities in the clay. Iron oxide will produce a vessel that has colors from red to brown. Iron hydrates give shades from yellow to cream. Iron carbonate yields shades of gray. Organic matter may produce in the clay shades of black to brown. The color of the fired vessel usually differs from that of the unfired ware.

**III. Fashioning pottery.** The most common way of making early pottery was by hand. This method usually was abandoned after the invention of the wheel. The former method commonly used coils of clay to form the shape of the vessel, which was then smoothed off into finished form. Most of the pottery used in Bible times was thrown on the wheel. Pottery could also be made in a press mold. In this process the clay is carefully pressed into the mold. After drying it shrinks from the mold. This method was used chiefly in the making of figurines. Beginning in Hellenistic times it was used also in the making of LAMPS.

Pottery could be decorated in various ways. The most common technique was that of impressing a pattern on the vessel before it was set out to dry. The patterns were numerous. They might be combings, bands and rows of incisions, chevrons, or headings. Patterns or pictures could be painted upon the unfired ware with a brush. This type of decoration was most common in the Late Bronze Age, the period preceding Joshua's conquest. The Philistine ware is the only important painted ware after the conquest.

The better vessels were finished off with a slip, which is an extra pure grade of clay that will produce the finest of colors. It was the consistency of cream and was applied to the vessel before firing. An additional technique, which produced one of the most pleasing patterns, was burnishing. This was at its best in the Middle Bronze and Iron II periods. To burnish a vessel the potter used a hard instrument, such as a piece of bone, and pressed it against the original vessel or the slipped vessel, producing the desired pattern. This method gave a play of light and shadow to the fired vessel.

There are references in the OT that describe the process of pottery manufacturing. One passage speaks of "the potters who lived at Netaim and Gederah; they stayed there and worked for the king" (1 Chr. 4:23). The term used for "potter" is *yôṣēr H3450,* literally, "one who fashions [objects]." The work may be with clay, or it may be with other materials such as wood and metal. The worker with clay is the craftsman to whom the word is most frequently applied in the OT (Ps. 2:9; Isa. 29:16; Jer. 18:2-6; Lam. 4:2; Zech. 11:13).

Reference is also made to the treading of the clay as it is prepared for the fashioning process (Nah. 3:14; Isa. 41:25). Clay was used for the making of building bricks (Nah. 3:14). Anyone can tread brick clay, but Isa. 41:25 specifically speaks of the potter treading out his own clay. This was an art and determined the condition of the vessels when they came out of the kiln. Improper treading of the clay could result in ruined vessels.

The "potter's house" (Jer. 18:2-3) refers not to the home of the potter, but to his place of manufacture. The house would be near to a field where clay could be weathered and stored and where it could be prepared for fashioning. A kiln for firing the ware and a dump for the broken and discarded vessels would be a part of the potter's complex. The house would provide cover for the wheel upon which the potter would fashion his vessels in all kinds of weather. This building would also make possible the control of the drying process before the firing. It would be necessary to closely watch the evaporation of the newly fashioned objects, since this would also influence the

results of the firing process.

Although most of the pottery in biblical times was shaped on the potter's wheel, the one specific reference to the wheel in the OT is Jer. 18:3. There were two types of wheel. The hand-turned wheel consisted of two discs. The heavier wheel below gave momentum to keep the lighter one above turning, but the vessel was shaped on the upper wheel. The foot-turned wheel consisted of a large wheel that was turned below by the potter's foot. The small wheel above, connected to the lower wheel by a shaft, was the one on which the prepared clay was thrown and fashioned by the potter (cf. the detailed account in Sir. 38:29-32).

As the ball of plastic clay spun around rapidly, the centrifugal force upon the clay was controlled by the deft fingers of the potter so that any desired vessel could be obtained as long as the quality of the clay permitted the completion of the vessel. Jeremiah witnessed that factors can be present that defeat the original intention of the potter. The clay may be the wrong kind. It may have too many impurities. The treading may not have been properly done, or the potter may have failed to place the ball of plastic clay in the exact center of the wheel. If the clay does not yield the desired product, the potter can then reshape the clay into a ball and produce another vessel. It was this process that Jeremiah noted carefully (Jer. 18:3-4).

Clay toys such as animal figures and dolls were fashioned from clay by means of freehand modeling. Jars and bowls could be formed by this method, but archaeological evidence indicates that this was the situation only in the early days of the OT. In the Bronze Age and in the time of the prophets of Israel, the bodies of the ASHTORETH figurines were formed by freehand modeling.

A third method by which clay was fashioned in biblical times was the use of the press mold. A design was prepared in a mold, which was made of metal, wood, or pottery. This design was left on the wet clay when it was pressed into the mold. Reference is made to the power of God in the words, "The earth takes shape like clay under a seal" (Job 38:14). The term "seal" is interpreted as "mold" in reference to the change produced in the clay by the pressure of the mold. The Canaanites in Palestine made plaques featuring the Ashtoreth-type figure by using the press mold. In the time of JEZEBEL, an idol figure of Ashtoreth was produced by joining the head of the figure, which was made in a press mold, to the body, which had been fashioned by the freehand method. A stamp-seal was used to imprint trademarks on jar handles in the later Israelite period. Sometimes this stamp itself was made of pottery, and when pressed on the handle of a cooking pot, it fixed its ownership or trademark.

**IV. Firing pottery.** The final product of the potter is dependent upon the firing process in the kiln. As much skill is required here as in throwing the best ware. Profit or loss depended upon the skill of the kilnman in controlling the varied temperatures of the kilns at all times. No reference is found in the OT to the technique involved, but this is not surprising since such trade secrets were not shared. The Tower of the Ovens may have been so named because of the pottery kilns (Neh. 3:11;

Iron Age II pottery from Lachish. These red burnished juglets, possibly imported from Cyprus, are representative of pottery found in Judah more generally.

12:38; see OVENS, TOWER OF THE). Since the POTSHERD GATE (Jer. 19:2) was nearby, the activity of the potter seems to be foremost in the area. Ware that was broken, cracked, misshaped, over-fired, or under-fired had to be discarded after being taken out of the kiln. The amount of the discards would be considerable and thus would give the name to the gate. With the introduction of CISTERNS into Palestine, discarded pottery could be ground up, added to plaster, and then applied as waterproofing for the floors and walls of the water storage installations.

**V. Ceramic vocabulary.** According to J. L. Kelso *(Ceramic Vocabulary of the Old Testament* [1948], 1-48), some thirty-four Hebrew and Aramaic words are used for pottery vessels. Ten different terms are used for vessels in what is generally described as the BOWL family. There are banquet bowls, or *kraters,* which would be very large. In the earlier history of Israel these bowls were frequently hand burnished and had two handles. Later they were ring burnished and four handles were attached. According to Exod. 24:6-8 the great bowl was used to hold half of the blood of the sacrificed oxen. From this supply MOSES then sprinkled the people after reading from the Book of the Covenant. It was into a similar bowl that GIDEON put the water wrung out from the fleece (Jdg. 6:38). A smaller medium-sized bowl that had no handles was used as the vessel from which the main dish of the meal was served. Considerable care was given to such a vessel so that it could remain ceremonially clean (2 Ki. 21:13). A similar bowl was used as a bread bowl into which the flour and leaven were mixed and left to rise (Exod. 12:34). Another bowl, smaller than the bread bowl, held burning charcoal and was used to start a fire (Zech. 12:6). A still smaller bowl was used to hold salt (2 Ki. 2:20). ELISHA requested that a new vessel of this type be provided. He then put salt into it and threw the salt into the spring.

Another class of ceramic vessels designated in the OT includes all the cooking pots. The most common of these, the *sîr H6105,* was a wide-mouthed cooking pot that was broad and shallow. At first this was a vessel without handles, but later two handles were attached to it. It was used both for cooking (2 Ki. 4:38-41) and as a wash basin (Ps. 60:8). Reference is made to another type of cooking pot that may have been used for deep-fat frying (2 Sam. 13:9).

There are references in the OT to many specialized ceramic vessels. One group is composed of storage jars. In this classification is the jar used for the storage of OIL (cf. the story of the prophet's widow, 2 Ki. 4:1-7; Heb. *kĕlî H3998,* "vessel"). This jar had a spout that made possible the pouring

of oil into any size container, large or small. Another jar had a hole-mouth and was designed for the storage of both dry materials, such as flour, and liquids. Frequently it served as a common water jar. REBEKAH used such a jar at the well (Gen. 24:14-20). Here the SEPTUAGINT translates the Hebrew term *(kĕlî H3998)* specifically as a water jar *(hydria G5620)*. However, in the encounter between ELIJAH and the widow of ZAREPHATH (1 Ki. 17:12-16) the hole-mouth jar contained flour. The mouth of this jar was wide enough for the owner to lift out a handful of flour easily, yet narrow enough to be covered over by a light flat stone or potsherd.

The Israelites produced and used a common ceramic pitcher that could hold either wine or water. Usually about 8-10 in. high, the earlier Iron Age pitchers generally had a pinched mouth whereas those of the Iron II period had a round mouth. According to Jer. 35:5 the Recabites (see RECAB) were offered wine in pitchers of this type (Heb. *gābîaʿ H1483;* NIV, "bowl").

The most artistic and expensive vessel among pitchers was the *baqbuq H1318* of Jeremiah's time (Jer. 19:1, 10; the term is used also in 1 Ki. 14:3). This was "the gurgling vessel"—the narrow neck of the pitcher produced a gurgling sound when the contents were poured out. When Jeremiah wanted to portray Jerusalem he used this type of water decanter as representative of the people. After water was taken from the cistern in a pitcher, it would be served in the better houses from a decanter at the table. The *baqbuq* would have the advantage of aerating the water as it came from the vessel.

For travelers and soldiers the potters produced a ceramic water canteen or pilgrim flask. This vessel appeared in the Late Bronze Age and continued in use until the middle of the Iron II period. The mouth of this canteen was shaped so as to be easily stoppered and also to make drinking from it quick and easy. It was this type of vessel that DAVID took from the sleeping King SAUL (1 Sam. 26:11-15; Heb. *ṣappaḥat H7608)*.

Two very common household ceramic objects that appear in the OT are perfume juglets and lamps. Perfumed OINTMENT was kept in a small juglet, which was 3-6 in. high. When Elisha sent a prophet to anoint Jehu, he gave him this particular type of ceramic vessel (2 Ki. 9:1-3; *Heb. pak H7095)*. The OT LAMP *(nēr H5944)* was literally "the light-giving" vessel. When the potter fashioned it, he made a small bowl, and then, while the clay was still soft, he pinched in the rim at some spot so that a wick could be placed in it. It was possible to produce seven such spouts and thus make a seven-branched lamp. Such lamps have been found by the archaeologists in both Canaanite and Israelite houses. The term CANDLESTICK is not a good translation for the luminary used in the tabernacle and the temple, for the "candles" were actually small lamps. The lamp was an essential for life (Jer. 25:10). In the intertestamental period the Greek lamp was introduced and the open-faced lamp of the OT practically disappeared.

The NT vocabulary on pottery is the same as that found in both classical and Hellenistic Greek. The water jar (*hydria G5620,* Jn. 2:6, 7; 4:28) could be a large storage-type jar from which the household would draw, or it could be the smaller container that was carried from the well or cistern to the house. The CUP *(potērion G4539)* is referred to both literally and figuratively in the NT. It was really a small bowl, something similar to the modern soup bowl. The oil juglet in the parable of the wise and foolish virgins (Matt. 25:1-13) was a container not unlike the OT perfume juglet in size, but more spherical in shape. The lamp (*lampas G3286)* is referred to in the NT (Matt. 25:1-8; Rev. 4:5; 8:10). There was a great variety in lamp styles in the NT period. In Hellenistic times the best ware was produced in Greece and exported widely. In the Roman period the Italian potteries offered the best ceramic products. Both the Greek and the Roman ceramic materials were imitated in Egypt and Phoenicia, which increased the circulation of the products.

These ceramic vessels of the OT and the NT give the major clues to an insight into the culture of

the people that used them. Other factors aiding in the interpretation of a culture are to be found in weapons, tools, jewelry, and other items made of such substances as metal, wood, bone, and glass. These cultures, of course, must always be interpreted in terms of the building and houses in which the items are found.

**VI. Ceramic chronology.** Because of the cheapness of pottery, tens of thousands of fragments of pottery have been found in all archaeological sites. From the characteristic forms of vessels, the ware, and the decoration, archaeologists have been able to make out a time table. This chronology is based on the length of time that the various forms remained in circulation. Although scholars differ regarding some details of periodization, especially the transition from Early Bronze to Middle Bronze, the

A pithos (wide-mouth earthenware storage jar) from the Chalcolithic Period (ca. 3200 B.C.) decorated with rope-like bands.

following simplified table is representative (all dates are B.C.):

| | |
|---|---|
| Pre-Pottery Neolithic | 8500-6000 |
| Pottery Neolithic | 6000-4300 |
| Chalcolithic | 4300-3300 |
| Early Bronze I | 3300-3000 |
| Early Bronze II | 3000-2600 |
| Early Bronze III | 2600-2300 |
| Early Bronze IV | 2300-2000 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Middle Bronze I | 2000-1900 |
| Middle Bronze II | 1900-1550 |
| Late Bronze I | 1550-1400 |
| Late Bronze II | 1400-1200 |
| Iran I | 1200-1000 |
| Iron II | 1000-586 |
| Exilic and Persian | 586-332 |
| Hellenistic | 332-63 |

(See further R. Amiran, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land: From Its Beginnings in the Neolithic Period to the End of the Iron Age* [1970]; A. Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible, 10,000—586 B.C.E* [1990]; E. Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible. Volume II: The Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian Periods, 732-332 BCE* [2001]; *ABD,* 5:428-44.)

H. JAMIESON

**pound.** See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES IV.

**poverty.** The condition of having insufficient money, goods, or means of subsistence, measured by the standard of a given society at a given time. It is therefore always a relative condition. In speaking of the poor, the Bible never exactly specifies the standard of living by which they were judged. By modern Western standards, most people who lived in biblical times would be classified as poor. Yet biblical standards designated only some as poor, and these are the ones we are concerned with, whether or not we can delineate their standard of living. The poor widow had nothing left after her contribution to the treasury (Mk. 12:42-44), but others who were termed poor had enough to make meager sacrifices (Lev. 14:21-22; cf. 14:10-20). (For a discussion of the biblical terminology, see POOR.)

After Israel conquered the Promised Land, everyone was given a portion of it. But time brought business deals, the sale of land, and normal economic fluctuations. Some families profited and became wealthy, but others sank into poverty. Anticipating the defenselessness of poor individuals, God provided protection by special legislation (see below). But it is not only the poor who are protected, but also all those who are economically weak or the victims of poverty. These include the widows, orphans, and resident aliens (Isa. 1:17; Jer. 7:6; Zech. 7:10; et al.).

Several causes for poverty are given in the Bible. Sometimes it is self-inflicted as the result of laziness (Prov. 6:6-11), pleasure-seeking (21:17), frivolity (23:21), and stubbornness (13:18). Often it is due to the negative actions of others: oppression (Exod. 1:13; Amos 4:1), fraud (Amos 5:11), usury (Prov. 28:8), greed (Isa. 3:14,15; 2 Sam. 12:1,2), and many other forms of injustice (Isa. 10:2; Jer. 5:28; 22:13; Amos 5:12; et al.) bring people to poverty. Disasters, such as calamity, plague, disease, and war brought poverty to their unfortunate victims through the loss of either material goods or income sources (Exod. 10:4-5; Num. 11:4-6; Jdg. 10:8; Ps. 105:34-36; Hag. 2:6-11). Only in special circumstances did God “cause” poverty (1 Sam. 2:7; Job 1:21; Hag. 2:6-11). Finally, in a few cases, poverty was a voluntary condition. Jesus became poor in order to make many rich (2 Cor. 8:9;

Phil. 2:5-7) and the apostles did the same (2 Cor. 6:10; cf. 8:9). The community of QUMRAN seems to have practiced voluntary poverty (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS). Voluntary poverty was probably rare. Other suggested examples, such as the Levites, cannot be proven.

Although it was understood that there always would be poor people (Deut. 15:11; cf. Matt. 26:11), regulations were established aimed at preventing poverty and restoring equality in ancient Israel. Anyone who had been sold into SLAVERY was to go free after six years (Deut. 15:12-18). INTEREST was not to be charged to the poor (Exod. 22:25; Lev. 25:36). The poor and resident alien were permitted to glean the fields and vineyards (Lev. 19:9-10). The fruit of the fallow ground during the SABBATICAL YEAR went to the poor (Exod. 23:11). Also in the sabbatical year debts were canceled in order to eliminate poverty (Deut. 15:1, 4). The tithe of the third year was for the various types of poor people (Deut. 14:28-29). The poor could satisfy their hunger in vineyards or grainfields (Deut. 23:25; cf. Lk. 6:1). Unfortunately, these regulations must not have been enforced, causing great suffering to the poor and increasing poverty. This is clear from the emphasis of the prophets on the social injustice committed against those who were poor and economically weak (Isa. 3:14,15; 10:2; 11:4; Amos 4:1; 5:12; et al.).

In NT times, probably many were poor as a result of the heavy taxes imposed by Rome. Jesus' family was poor (Lk. 2:24; cf. Lev. 14:21-22), but there is no indication that their poverty was crippling. Jesus and his disciples did without the comforts of life (Lk. 9:58), though material possessions were not regarded as evil. Without them, however, it was easier to depend on God. The poor were to be the special objects of hospitality (Lk. 14:12-14) and deserved alms (Lk. 18:22; Jn. 13:29). Wealth was distributed to the needy in the communal living of the early church (Acts 4:34). Later the needs of the poor were taken care of in various ways (Acts 6:1-6;Rom.12:13;15:25-29).

The terms *rich* and *poor* in themselves carry no moral or religious connotation, but they acquire moral overtones. WEALTH is considered a reward of virtue and poverty is a punishment (Pss. 1:1-3; 112:1-3; Prov. 10:15-16; 15:6). However, the whole book of JOB indicates that this cannot always be true, certainly not in Job's case. The prophets condemn the rich as being wicked and guilty of oppressing the poor (Mic. 6:12; Amos 4:1). But the poor are beloved of God (Prov. 22:22-23) and he judges them with righteousness (Isa. 11:4). Jesus came to preach the gospel to the poor (Lk. 4:18; 7:22). The poor are blessed and receive the KINGDOM OF GOD (Lk. 6:20) because they are "poor in spirit" (Matt. 5:3).

(See further W. Pilgrim, *Good News to the Poor: Wealth and Poverty in Luke-Acts* [1981]; W. Stegemann, *The Gospel and the Poor* [1984]; L. J. Hoppe, *There Shall Be No Poor among You: Poverty in the Bible* [2004]; S. R. Holman, ed., *Wealth and Poverty in Early Church and Society* [2008]; *ABD,* 5:402-24.)

J.C. MOYER

**powders.** The KJV rendering of Hebrew *)ăbāqâ H86* (from *)ābāq H85,* "dust"), which occurs only once in a description of SOLOMON's carriage (Cant. 3:6). Because the reference is obviously to a scented mixture (NRSV, "fragrant powders"), the NIV renders it "spices" ("perfumed with myrrh and incense / made from all the spices of the merchant").

**power.** "To possess power or to be powerful," wrote Stanley I. Benn, "is to have a generalized potentiality for getting one's own way or for bringing about changes (at least some of which are intended) in other people's actions or conditions" *(Encyclopedia of Philosophy,* 8 vols. [1967], 6:424-27). This useful analysis of human relationships, however, does not take into account the many

additional catalysts which, according to Scripture, may alter our lives.

**I. Power of God.** In contrast to the nature gods of the Greek and Hellenistic worlds, the God of the Bible is a person transcendent to immanent processes. As Lord of history, he has both the ability and the right to carry out his will in the world in the way he chooses. God is the ultimate source of all power, as the doxologies say. "Yours, O LORD, is the greatness and the power / and the glory and the majesty and the splendor, / for everything in heaven and earth is yours. / Yours, O LORD, is the kingdom; / you are exalted as head over all. / Wealth and honor come from you; / you are the ruler of all things. / In your hands are strength and power / to exalt and give strength to all" (1 Chr. 29:11-12). See OMNIPOTENCE.

God made the earth by his power (Jer. 51:15). He gave MOSES power to perform certain MIRACLES (Exod. 4:21) and "with great power and a mighty hand" brought Israel out of Egypt (32:11). When the three Hebrews were put into the fiery furnace, the fire had no power over their bodies (Dan. 3:27). God "rescued Daniel from the power of the lions" (6:27). He can alter conditions leading to death (Pss. 49:15; 79:11; 89:48). He will change our lowly bodies at the RESURRECTION "by the power that enables him to bring everything under his control" (Phil. 3:21).

**II. Power of angels and Satan.** Since angels are "stronger and more powerful" than human beings (2 Pet. 2:11), angels are called "powers" or "authorities" (see ANGEL). They were created by Christ (Col. 1:16), whether good or evil, and they are under the power of the risen Christ (Eph. 1:21; Col. 2:10,15; 1 Pet. 3:22). The power of SATAN himself is limited by God. In the case of JOB, God said to Satan, "all that he [Job] has is in your power" (Job 1:12 NRSV), and he is "in your power; only spare his life" (2:6 NRSV). Within limits, however, Satan has great power. When betrayed, Jesus told the priests, "this is your hour, and the power of darkness!" (Lk. 22:53 NRSV). Satan is called "the ruler of the power of the air" (Eph. 2:2 NRSV). He has the power of death (Heb. 2:14). The world is "under the power of the evil one" (1 Jn. 5:19 NRSV). The Christian's battle is not so much "against flesh and blood, but 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).

**III. Power of sin.** Fallen men and women have an evident ability to worship and serve the creature rather than the Creator. Both Jews and Greeks are "under the power of sin" (Rom. 3:9 NRSV). PAUL supports the universality of this judgment (1:18—3:20). His thought may be similar to that of Christ who said, "I tell you the truth, everyone who sins is a slave to sin" (Jn. 8:34).

**IV. Power of government.** In a fallen world, God permits the armies of one nation to bring judgment on another nation. The prophets pronounced judgment upon one corrupt government after another. Should the Israelite nation turn from the Lord, he would "break the pride of [their] power" (Lev. 26:19 KJV). Israel defected, and so Ezekiel delivered the word of the Lord: "I will profane my sanctuary, the pride of your power, the delight of your eyes, and your heart's desire; and your sons and your daughters whom you left behind shall fall by the sword" (Ezek. 24:21 NRSV). With respect to nations as well as persons, "God has power to help or to overthrow" (2 Chr. 25:8). With that confidence in his background, Paul wrote, "Let everyone be subject to the governing authorities, for there is no authority *[exousia G2026]* except that which God has established" (Rom. 13:1 TNIV). In a fallen world, governmental powers are servants of God to implement justice upon wrongdoers (v. 4).

**V. Power of prophets.** The spokesmen for God authenticated their claims by signs and wonders (Deut. 13:1-2; 18:21-22). But none equalled Moses, "who did all those miraculous signs and wonders the LORD sent him to do in Egypt—to Pharaoh and to all his officials and to his whole land. For no one has ever shown the mighty power or performed the awesome deeds that Moses did in the sight of all Israel" (34:11-12). Furthermore, the prophets with authority and power denounced sin in high places. The seers would be disgraced, said Micah, "But as for me, I am filled with power, / with the Spirit of the LORD, / and with justice and might, to declare to Jacob his transgression, / to Israel his sin" (Mic. 3:8).

**VI. Power of Christ.** Jesus drew constantly upon the power of the HOLY SPIRIT (Lk. 4:14). People exclaimed, "What is this teaching? With authority and power he gives orders to evil spirits and they come out!" (v. 36). The power of the Lord was with him to heal (5:17). That power came out of him when people were healed (6:19; 8:46). He gave the disciples power to cast out demons and heal (9:1). Many miracles (lit., "powers," from *dynamis G1539)* attested the Messiah (10:13; Acts 2:22). No one could take Jesus' life from him. He said, "I have power to lay it down, and I have power to take it again" (Jn. 10:18 NRSV). The ruler of this world was coming, but Jesus assured his disciples, "he has no power over me" (14:30 NRSV). Neither did Pilate (19:10-11). Jesus, on the other hand, had been given "power over all flesh" (17:2 KJV). He assured his disciples of the day when they would see him coming on the clouds of heaven in power and great glory (Matt. 24:30; 26:64). Triumphantly, the risen Lord charged his disciples to witness in all the world for he had been given "all authority in heaven and on earth" (28:18). In the future that power will be more adequately recognized (Rev. 5:12; 12:10).

**VII. Power of Christ's disciples.** With the coming of the HOLY SPIRIT, the disciples were to be "clothed with power from on high" (Lk. 24:49) and so have ability to witness (Acts 1:8). Soon after PENTECOST, "with great power the apostles continued to testify to the resurrection of the Lord Jesus" (4:33). Not only the apostles, but also STEPHEN was full of grace and power (6:8). So evident was PHILIP's power that SIMON MAGUS wanted to buy it (8:19).

Believers live in the world, but the weapons of their warfare are not worldly; rather, "they have divine power to demolish strongholds" (2 Cor. 10:4). That power is made perfect in weakness (12:9). Believers take their share of suffering in the power of God (2 Tim. 1:8). God "did not give us a spirit of timidity, but a spirit of power, of love and of self-discipline" (v. 7). With his power at work within us, God "is able to do immeasurably more than all we ask or imagine" (Eph. 3:20). We, like Paul, may know the power of Christ's resurrection (Phil. 3:10; Eph. 1:19). "The prayer of a righteous man is powerful and effective" (Jas. 5:16).

Believers are to use their God-given abilities for the edification of the whole body. Collectively all the saints "have power…to grasp how wide and long and high and deep is the love of Christ" (Eph. 3:18-19). When the author of Hebrews speaks of "the powers of the age to come" (Heb. 6:5), he probably means "all the supernatural gifts and spiritual forces which belong to the age or dispensation of the New Covenant, of which Jesus is the Mediator" (M. S. Terry in *HDB* rev., 785). (See also W. Wink, *Naming the Powers: The Language of Power in the New Testament* [1984]; J. P. M. Walsh, *The Mighty from Their Thrones: Power in the Biblical Tradition* [1987]; S. Sykes, *Power and Christian Theology* [2006].)

G.R.LEWIS

**praetor** pree'tuhr. Also *pretor.* A MAGISTRATE of ancient ROME. The usual Greek equivalent was *stratēgos G5130* (Acts 16:20 et al.; in a military context, the Gk. term means "commander, captain"). In the earliest Roman republic the highest magistrate was called *the praetor.* Later the name CONSUL designated the chief magistrate and the term *praetor* was used for secondary office. Beginning about the middle of the 4th cent. B.C., the praetors were associated with the administration of justices in Rome, a function which the office retained.

At the first, two praetors were elected annually, but with Rome's acquisition of overseas provinces, beginning in the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C., the duties of praetors were so increased that ultimately eight were elected. As provincial administrators they were vested with military authority and thus gradually the differences in rank and power between praetors and consuls became negligible.

In keeping with the original purpose of the office, the praetors in the 2nd cent. B.C. acted chiefly in the administration of justice. By the 1st cent. they were restricted by law to the city of Rome during their year of office, and only then could be sent to an administrative post in a province. Developments in judicial procedure under the emperors rendered the office obsolete, and it was reduced to a merely honorary appointment.

The extraordinary flexibility and vitality of Roman law was due largely to the praetors, who upon entering office issued a statement of the principles upon which their jurisdiction would be based. These "praetorian edicts" afforded precedents for successive regimes and kept Roman law abreast of current needs. (Cf. *OCD,* 1240-41.) See also PRAETORIAN; PRAETORIUM.

R. C. STONE

**praetorian** pri-tor'ee-uhn. Also *pretorian.* An adjective formed from PRAETOR (itself from *praeire,* "to go before"). *Praetor* was originally the name for Rome's highest magistrate, later called *consul.* The adjective was used in certain special contexts. The *cohors praetoria,* for example, was the general's special bodyguard. Out of this grew the praetorian guard of the ROMAN EMPIRE. Originally this force of "household troops" consisted of nine cohorts constituted by AUGUSTUS at the time of his alleged reconstitution of the republic in 27 B.C. At first, to avoid the appearance of despotism, this *corps élite* was stationed outside the city and in scattered billets and barracks. Sejanus, TIBERIUS's minister, concentrated the force in A.D. 23, when he was appointed sole PREFECT. From this time dated the political importance of the praetorians and the sinister role that they assumed in the setting up and pulling down of emperors.

The praetorians were a pampered unit, paid three times the ordinary legionary pay, and granted service and retirement conditions beyond the common army practice. The Greek term *praitōrion G4550* (see PRAETORIUM) probably refers to this force in Phil. 1:13 (KJV, "palace"), for political prisoners under house arrest would be in the control of the prefect and guarded personally by soldiers of the corps. This is surely the case if the epistle to the PHILIPPIANS was written from ROME, and the evidence seems to be in favor of that supposition.

The events of A.D. 69, the grim "year of the four emperors," demonstrate the influence and power of the praetorian guard. Vitellius, in his short-lived ascendancy at this time, cashiered the troops who had supported his equally brief rival and built six new cohorts out of German legionaries. VESPASIAN, the imperial survivor of that year of multilateral war, reverted to Augustus's number, and this remained unchanged for two centuries. Each cohort was 500 strong, apart from auxiliary troops, and after the Vitellian experiment, the recruiting ground seems to have been metropolitan Italy, until

Septimius Severus turned to Illyrian troops for his praetorians. (See further L. Homo, *Roman Political Institutions* [1929]; M. Durry, *Les cohortes praetoriennes* [1938]; G. Webster, *The Roman Imperial Army of the First and Second Centuries A.D.*, 3rd ed. [1985],96-98.)

E.M. BLAIKLOCK

**praetorium** pri-tor'ee-uhm. Also *pretorium.* This Latin term (transliterated into Gk. as *praitōrion G4550)* denoted initially the general's tent or military headquarters, reflecting the original meaning of the word PRAETOR (e.g., *fit concursus in praetorium,*


Modern reproduction of the palace complex built by Herod the Great on the NW corner of the temple mount. This structure, called the Tower of Antonia, may be what the Gospels refer to as the Praetorium.

"a crowd gathers at the general's headquarters"; Caesar, *De bello civili,* 76). In the layout of a Roman military camp, the *via praetoria* was the road that ran from the praetorium to the gate that faced the presumed enemy, on the flank opposite the *porta decumana.* The praetorium in a permanent camp (e.g., at Borovicium, or Housesteads, on Hadrian's Wall in Northumberland) was the headquarters building; like the rest of the cantonment, it was in stone, and a residence of some consequence. The term thus found ready extension in Roman usage to the residence of a provincial governor (e.g., *imperat suis ut id in praetorium involutum quam occultissime deferrent,* "he bids his men bring it to his official residence under cover as quickly as possible"; Cicero, *In Verrem* 2.4.65).

In the NT, the word occurs seven times, five of them in the PASSION narrative (Matt. 27:27; Mk. 15:16; Jn. 18:28, 33; 19:9). It apparently refers to Pilate's headquarters in Jerusalem (see PILATE, PONTIUS). But is the location in view the palace that HEROD the Great had built in the W part of the city, which may have been placed at the governor's disposal? Or the Tower of ANTONIA, contiguous to the outer court of the temple? Or some special residence or "barracks" (Matt. 27:27)? The NIV renders "Praetorium" in Matthew and Mark, but "palace of the Roman governor" (or simply "palace") in John, although it is not clear whether a distinction is intended. Most scholars incline toward the first option, Herod's palace (see *ABD,* 5:447-48).

In Acts 23:35 the word undoubtedly refers to Herod's palace at CAESAREA. What cannot be determined is whether this palace in the garrison town was properly called a praetorium because of the fact, implied in the context, that it was at the disposal of the governor of Judea, or because the word was already acquiring the meaning of "royal abode" (which is evident in the language of both the Augustan and Silver Latin periods; see Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary,* 1436).

A controversial passage remains. In Phil. 1:13, Paul states that his Christian testimony had become evident *en holō tō praitōriō* ("throughout the whole praetorium"). The most probable meaning is the PRAETORIAN corps at Rome. The usage is attested in Latin (e.g., Lewis and Short, s.v., where two or three Silver Latin instances are quoted). Some scholars, however, argue that it refers to a governor's palace in some other city, such as EPHESUS (see PHILIPPIANS, EPISTLE TO THE, IV.A). Other suggestions include "the praetorians' camp" (such a camp existed [near the Viminal Gate, cf. Tac. *Annals* 4.2], but no context survives where it is called the Praetorium), "the palace of Nero" (cf. Juvenal 10.61), and "the judicial authorities" (i.e., the two prefects of the guard and their assessors; cf. W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen,* 14th ed. [1920], 357ff.).

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

**praise.** The act of glorifying God by attributing goodness and greatness to him. Praise is among the major themes of Scripture. Surprisingly, praise in the OT arose out of a religion and a nation under almost constant stress. Praise is also prominent in the NT, in spite of frequent PERSECUTION (cf. Paul's letter to the PHILIPPIANS, which was written in prison).

Praise is difficult to define apart from the other concepts of WORSHIP, ADORATION, and thanksgiving (see GRATITUDE). Several Hebrew nouns can be rendered "praise," including *tĕhillâ H9335* (Deut. 10:21 et al.); similarly, there is a variety of verbs that can be used, such as *hālal H2146* (1 Chr. 16:4 et al.) and *yādâ H3344* (Gen. 29:35 et al.). Greek terms in the NT include *aineō G140* (orig. "to speak of, commend," Lk. 2:13 et al.), *doxazō G1519* ("to glorify," Matt. 5:16 et al.), and *eulogeō G2328* ("to speak well of, bless," Lk. 1:64 et al.). Although these terms sometimes are used of recognizing what is worthy of praise in human beings, the overwhelming use in Scripture is that of giving praise to God. There is also the occasional warning against looking for praise from others (Matt. 6:1-4; Lk. 6:26). (See further *NIDOTTE,* 1:1035-38; 2:405-8; *NIDNTT,* 1:205 –15; 3:816 –17.)

The emphasis, therefore, is human praise to God, and the frequent use of the NAME of God in this connection is instructive. In the OT, the "name" stands for the character and attributes of the person named. A change of name indicated a change in character, as illustrated by JACOB, who was renamed ISRAEL, or SIMON, who became PETER. "The Lord's name is to be praised" is a phrase repeated in Scripture, especially in the PSALMS. The glory and majesty of God and all his works are to fill our hearts and find expression in our word and witness. This becomes so overpowering to a person's mind and heart that one feels impelled to break out in some utterance.

Frequently, poetry is demanded—more frequently, song (see HEBREW POETRY; MUSIC). Thus words of praise are expressed over and over again in song. People of like mind and heart, yearning to express in some way what God is and what the name of God means, will join together in common praise, because together they can express more than what can be expressed individually. An act of common worship may be antiphonal, giving wider scope to the act of praise, as one part of the antiphonal group may continue to raise questions as to why God should be praised, thus offering opportunity for the response of praise. Others find satisfaction in having those trained in song to praise God, recognizing that art may better express what they cannot say for themselves. It is the glad expectancy for those who praise God that not only do the angels of God now praise him, as does all his creation, but in that far-off day they may give fullness to their desire to praise God by joining such heavenly choirs.

Interestingly, praise is frequently spoken of in Scripture as a duty. If someone is not moved to praise God in the normal inspiration of the hour, that person is nevertheless commanded to praise

God. Failure to do so is to withhold from God what rightfully belongs to his glory. There is nevertheless a sound psychological principle. The very act of praising God in obedience to the requirement to praise may create the emotion that befits true praise. This is akin to the commands of Scripture to LOVE. It is in the act of loving that a person "feels" more loving. A "dryness" in desire to praise God may call for obedience to the command to praise.

A. H. LEITCH

**prayer.** The theme of prayer is no appendix added on the Christian doctrines of GOD, SIN, and SALVATION. A view of prayer is implicit in one's view of God's relation to the world and our relation to God. Therefore a biblical doctrine of prayer is most meaningfully integrated with an entire theology that is scriptural. (The primary words for "prayer" are Heb. *tĕpillâ H9525* [cf. the cognate verb *pālal H7137]* and Gk. *deēsis G1255* and *proseuchē G4666* [verb *proseuchomai G4667]*. See *NIDOTTE,* 4:1060-66; *NIDNTT, 2:855* –86.)

1. As reflection and action
2. As ecstatic experience of the "ground of being"
3. As communion with the God revealed in Christ
4. As response and request to the Lord of all
    1. Response
    2. Request

**I. As reflection and action.** In *Honest to God* (1963), Bishop John A. T. Robinson dismissed belief in a personal God who was "up there" or "out there" as Lord of history. God, for Robinson and many contemporaries, is not another being distinct from the world. Rather, God is the infinite, inexhaustible ground of all that is, and all that happens in history. Robinson's *Exploration into God* (1967) ends with a quest for an indescribable God beyond the personal God of theism. This God who was *in* Christ is similarly said to be *in* all things. Like Hegel long ago, Robinson says God is incarnate not at one point in time and space, but everywhere. Peter Munz, for his part, contrasted this with belief in a distinct, personal God who answers prayer: "In the theology of dualism a prayer is a form of talk to the Being on the other side; an act of faith—a belief that certain statements about the character and nature of the other side are true….Faith, on the other hand, is a form of trust. It is not a kind of belief, for there are, in the theology of transfiguration, no propositions about the other world or about Being or beings. Faith is trust, directly generated by the moment of self-surrender" *(Problems of Religious Knowledge* [1959], 215).

Belief in an invisible, personal Deity who hears and answers prayer is considered meaningless by these writers. Paul M. Van Buren applies the test of meaning in radical empiricism to theology. Accordingly, "unless or until a theological statement can be submitted in some way to verification, it cannot be said to have a meaning" *(The Secular Meaning of the Gospel* [1963], 105). Unable to observe with the physical senses an invisible Lord of history, Van Buren cannot meaningfully assert his existence. He cannot address prayer to "someone" in control. The causal efficacy of prayer, Paul F. Schmidt maintains, is formulated in such a way that "positive falsification is not possible and positive confirmation is indistinguishable from alternative accounts of the same events" *(Religious Knowledge* [1961], 109). Since he thinks the causal efficacy of prayer can be neither proved nor disproved, Schmidt considers it simply a way of reinforcing certain attitudes toward the world.

Attitudes occasioned by prayer are traced by James A. Kirk in an article on "Prayer and

Personality." Thinking of God as indistinguishable from a "process-relationship," the devout in prayer sense their identification with the process that determines destiny, unifies their motives, develops confidence, contentment, and wisdom, and invests their energies in that which is greater and more lasting than themselves *(Iliff Review* 19, no. 2 [Spring 1962]: 23-27). Paul M. Van Buren adds thankfulness for what the world is, and that we are, and that by the historical perspective we gain understanding of ourselves and the world. But primarily, prayer is reflection upon a given situation in a "Christian" perspective leading to appropriate action.

In prayer we do not withdraw from the world to commune with a personal God, Robinson says, but open ourselves to the claim of the unconditional as it meets us in, through, and under the finite relationships of life. Prayer is a way of life characterizing Bonhoeffer's "man for others." Lesslie Newbigin suggests that prayer is faithfulness before God in life. All our acts are to be acted prayers. We look for answers, not in miracles, not when we come to the end of ourselves, but in the affairs of the secular world *(Honest Religion for Secular Man* [1966], 98). Prayer does not draw us away from the world, but characterizes the whole business of living. We know God, not through scripturally revealed information, but in what he does. The life of prayer is one of "total commitment to the will of God disclosed in circumstances." So for many, prayer is simply an attitude toward events and a dedicated participation in them.

The view of prayer as dedicated reflection and action surely has captured something of the practical significance of Christian prayer. But it can hardly be considered a full-orbed Christian doctrine of prayer. Surely the world stands in dire need of reflective commitment, but activism needs to be guided by revealed truth. Truth from beyond the world is the key to authentic experience and meaningful action in the world. Important as the insights of these men are, we must look further for a distinctively Christian view of prayer.

**II. As ecstatic experience of the "ground of being."** From Paul Tillich, many of the above writers derived major theological points of view. Before them Tillich had taught that God was Being itself, not a personal Being distinct from the world. There could be no personal communion with God in prayer, and intercession did not alter any existential situation. Revelation gave no doctrinal or moral structure. For Tillich, prayer was more than reflection upon the situation and consecrated action, and more than an attitude of thanks.

Within the realm of human experience, Tillich recognized a power of self-transcendence, an ability to participate directly in the Reality permeating every particular being. In the consummation of prayer, he said, we do not stand as distinct persons over against a personal God. Then God and the human being would remain as distinct as the subject and object on either side of a verb in a sentence. Spirit, he thinks, transcends personal distinctions. "Spirit is ecstatic, and so are contemplation, prayer and worship in general. The response to the impact of the Spirit must itself be spiritual, and that means transcending in ecstasy the subject-object scheme of ordinary experience" *(Systematic Theology,* 3 vols. [1951-63], 3:192). "Prayer is a possibility only insofar as the subject-object structure is overcome; hence it is an ecstatic possibility" (p. 120). "Every successful prayer, i.e., every prayer which reunites with God, has ecstatic character" (p. 116).

The experience of oneness with God is impossible to human beings alone. God "Himself" *(sic)* prays through us, bridging the gap between us (finite beings) and God (infinite Being itself). So God "intercedes" for us before "Himself." Tillich refers to Rom. 8:26-27, "Likewise the Spirit helps us in our weakness; for we do not know how to pray as we ought, but the Spirit himself intercedes for us with sighs too deep for words. And he who searches the hearts of men knows what is in the mind of

the Spirit, because the Spirit intercedes for the saints according to the will of God" (RSV).This passage is used sometimes to support the personality of the Holy Spirit and ecstatic tongue-speaking. "But this is absurd if taken literally," Tillich says. "Symbolically it means that God knows more about us than that of which we are conscious." It also means that spiritual prayer is "elevation to God in the power of God" *(The New Being* [1956], 135-38). As he puts it elsewhere, "A power works through us which is not of us" *(The Eternal Now* [1963], 82).

The divine power can never be identified in human words or concepts. Only in an experience of ecstasy beyond all human conception can we find God. In all our ordinary consciousness God is absent. What is the cause of his absence? "We may answer—our resistance, our indifference, our lack of seriousness, our honest or dishonest questioning, our genuine or cynical doubt. All these answers have some truth, but they are not final. The final answer to the question as to who makes God absent is God himself!" *(The Eternal Now,* 87-88). Nels Ferré, in a very irenic article about Tillich, nevertheless says, "No wonder that Professors Altizer and Hamilton dedicated *Radical Theology and the Death of God* to him!" *(Religion in Life* 35 [1965-66]: 665).

Whoever would make the essence of prayer an ecstatic experience paves the way for the nonecstatic to declare the death of God. With mystics, Tillich negated every theological proposition one could assert of God. The God who cannot disclose himself in truths meaningful to human beings created in his image and renewed in knowledge after that image (Col. 4:24) is not the Christian God.

Whoever, furthermore, would make Christian prayer the equivalent of mystical "trips" away from the world of urgent need and the biblically revealed truths has abandoned Christian prayer. God is not fully comprehended by our minds, but our minds do contribute to Christian prayer as it ought to be. The Spirit would have us pray with the spirit, yes, "but with the mind also." "Brethren, do not be children in your thinking; be babes in evil, but in thinking be mature" (1 Cor. 14:15, 20 RSV).

Tillich's view leaves no place for intercessory prayer. John Burnaby, writing on "Christian Prayer," said: "The argument for the truth of religion so often drawn from the close similarity of mystical experience in widely differing religious traditions cannot take us far towards faith in the God and Father of Jesus Christ. If we are to pray as Christians, we must be able to pray for others, and to believe that our prayer can help them" (in *Soundings: Essays Concerning Christian Understanding,* ed. A. R. Vidler [1966], 227).

**III. As communion with the God revealed in Christ.** The God of Christianity, Emil Brunner explains, is portrayed in vividly personal and anthropomorphic terms. At the same time, however, God is always clearly differentiated from his creatures. He is no part of the changing historical process, nor its underlying, abstract ground of being. In Christian prayer, Brunner insists, "we turn to the God who has communicated himself to us, and thereby we withdraw from the world" *(The Christian Doctrine of the Church, Faith, and Consummation* [1960], 324).

Christian prayer is not "silent reverence before the Ineffable" (ibid., 326). Neither is Christian prayer an ecstatic experience of the unknowable depths of human experience. Even in its simplest and most direct forms, the most immediately personal response of prayer has its conceptual content: "Our Father who art in heaven." In prayer we do not completely transcend the subject, verb, object distinctions in our minds. Such doctrinal statements may be "related instrumentally to the Word of God as token and framework" (E. Brunner, *Truth As Encounter* [1964], 133).

We may communicate with the living God, finite and sinful though we are, because he has reached out through Jesus Christ to redeem us. "To answer to the creative and loving call of God with responsive love; this is the destiny for which man was created, and this call is the foundation of his

being." The words "in the name of Jesus" are therefore no mere formula. "They are, on the contrary, the recapitulation of the whole of saving history" *(The Christian Doctrine of the Church, Faith, and Consummation,* 328). Prayer, then, "is the expression of the complete fellowship between Him [God] and man 'in Christ.'"

Prayer discloses our faith in the greatness of the God revealed in him. "God is so great that He is even able and willing to hear the prayers of His children." His omnipotence, furthermore, enables him to answer those prayers. Wisely he does not answer every prayer in the way it is spoken. He answers every prayer genuinely spoken in the name of Jesus. "Indeed, the belief in the answering of prayer is victory over the abstract impersonal concept of God even within Christian theology" (ibid., 335).

All this does not mean, however, that Brunner thinks our prayer influences the will of God. Such talk, he argues, turns God, who always acts as subject of human knowledge, into a passive, impersonal object of our bidding. The prayers of the NT,Brunner thinks, lie in a totally different dimension from that in which cause and effect are to be found. The prayer of faith is simply the expression of the complete fellowship between him and human beings "in Christ."

Brunner may be commended for doing greater justice to the biblical God as a person, and to prayer as person-to-person fellowship with God. But his view fails to account for the biblical teaching and experiential data in support of intercessory prayer. Professor Burnaby brings out the importance of petition in answer to the hypothesis of some attributing it to mental telepathy: "But even if it should prove that the faculty for 'para-normal communication' between persons is after all a common capacity of the human mind, the Christian intercessor will insist that he is not trying to 'get in touch' with the person for whom he intercedes, but asking God to act for that person's good. We cannot 'explain' intercession by telepathy, any more than we can 'explain' prayer for ourselves by autosuggestion; for the heart of all Christian prayer is faith in *God' (Soundings,* 227).

The unique stress upon prayer through Karl Barth's *Church Dogmatics* (hereafter referred to as *CD)* arises from his view of the living Word as the expression of sovereign grace. Although sinners deserve divine judgment, God has graciously chosen them in Christ to the unheard-of dignity of communion with him. Barth explains, "constant allusion to prayer" is "necessary because the freedom of the Word of God can be present only with thanksgiving and petition…our own share of the freedom, our own willingness and preparedness for its possible understanding, can be only the object of our thankful prayer. As freedom under the Word, it is not a secure possession, or a merit, but a gift from the divine mercy, continually to be received as such, and only as such" *(CD,* 1/2:697). Prayer, then, is "the distinctive mark of the order of grace" (*CD*, 2/1:512).

Prayer is the initial expression of loving obedience when one experientially knows the God of grace. To know God as the One who acts through Christ in the world "means to become obedient to him." Prayerful response to the God who acts involves commitment of the whole person. Barth prays: "Lead us not into the temptation of the false opinion that Thou art an object like other objects which we can undertake to know or not just as we wish…Lead us not into the temptation of wanting to know Thee in Thy objectivity as if we were spectators, as if we could know, speak or hear about Thee in the slightest degree without at once taking part, without at once making that correspondence actual, without at once beginning with obedience" *(CD,* 2/1:26). The establishment of divine sovereignty over our wills means a fundamentally new direction for us. Now we pray, "Thy will be done."

If God has elected us, why pray? From the experience of Christ, Barth argues there is no synergism, no human cooperation, no reciprocal action of any kind. Prayer does not cause God to elect us; prayer is the "confirmation of his election." People have not ordained themselves to

communion with God, he foreordained it *(CD,* 2/2:194). Not even the person who prays faithfully has any basis for self-justification.

Whenever we become conscious of God's grace to us, we pray. Finding our justification not in ourselves, but in God, we realize we are only at the beginning. Although called to unconditional certainty, we have an unconditional humility and penitence. So the justified pray, "Forgive us our trespasses," and "God be merciful to me a sinner" *(CD,* 4/1:576-77). Our doctrine of reconciliation must keep continually before us that the hearing, receiving, and understanding of the verdict pronounced by God comes in answer to prayer *(CD,* 4/1:355).

The church, made up of those who have asked forgiveness, is called "a fellowship of prayer" *(CD,* 4/2:643). The church has no reason for security. It is "always compromising, and obscuring and denying its spiritual nature. It acts like the sleeping disciples in the Garden of Gethsemane. It is like Peter who at first was so self-confident, and then struck so recklessly, and finally denied so blatantly. It is even like Judas Iscariot." In all its service and theological work the church must be guided, not alone by watching, nor alone by praying, but by "a prayerful watching" *(CD,* 4/1:711). Public prayer in the church is as important as public confes disciples in the Garden of Gethsemane. It is like Peter who at first was so self-confident, and then struck so recklessly, and finally denied so blatantly. It is even like Judas Iscariot." In all its service and theological work the church must be guided, not alone by watching, nor alone by praying, but by "a prayerful watching" (CD, 4/1:711). Public prayer in the church is as important as public confession


These olive trees at the traditional site of the Garden of Gethsemane are about 1,500 years old. Near this spot, Jesus wrestled in prayer.

of faith, baptism, and the Lord's Supper *(CD,* 4/2:704-5). As brothers and sisters, Christians call upon their Father. Such prayer is "a spreading out of the totality of man's true need, and a reaching out for the totality of what God will be and give" *(CD,* 1/2:697).

Even the committed student of Scripture must study Christian doctrine "with the teaching church in the fellowship of prayers, out of the past, through the present and into the future." He must thank and praise God for the benefits of his revelation and atonement and do penance before God for all the failings of which the whole church is constantly guilty in face of these benefits. He will pray as well for a new and more decisive hearing and consequent proclamation of the Word *(CD,* 1/2:22). Prayer takes precedence over exegesis as the decisive activity each new day *(CD,* 1/2:695).

> Theology is no substitute for prayer. However earnestly theology may struggle to achieve breadth and profundity, it is always impotent until it transcends itself, until it becomes the theology of the resurrection, which means concretely, until it becomes prayer. In prayer the work of the Holy Spirit, who is the secret of Easter Day, is done in those who pray. In prayer this secret is disclosed to them. In prayer they live as those who are risen with Jesus Christ. One cannot expect the actual disclosure of the secret of the risen Christ, or the effective dissolution of resistance to the doctrine of justification of the sinner, or the removal of the possibility of misunderstanding it, merely from a broadening or deepening—however serious—in the understanding of doctrine as such. To the impure all things are impure. These things can be expected only when the doctrine itself is made a matter for prayer…In prayer no one has ever found any contradiction in the justification of the sinner, or its presuppositions with regard to God and man. As we really pray we are freed from all contradiction and live in the truth that sinful man may stand before his Father as God's dear child, and may have familiar intercourse with him…When we pray, we are engaged in a decision for the truth, not of a doctrine of justification, but of justification itself. *(CD* 2/2:763)

Commendably, Barth considers prayer in relation to other Christian doctrines. Throughout his theology discussions of prayer appear. Commendable also is his emphasis upon grace as the ground of our communion with God. This emphasis, in addition to Brunner's stress on prayer as personal fellowship, incorporates more of the relevant biblical data. Other significant biblical teachings, unfortunately, do not receive sufficient attention in Barth's teaching on prayer. Barth rightly opposes all creaturely self-justification, but he seriously undermines at the same time divine justification. The believer need not begin each new day fearing condemnation and seeking justification again. The insecurity characteristic of Barthian and existentialist teaching is a valuable corrective against placing ultimate trust in human beings. But it fails to do justice to the biblical promises assuring the faithful that they have passed from death into life and shall never come into condemnation. Each new day begins with prayer enriched as well by confidence in God's written Word and a commitment to live like an authentic son of God. Like Brunner, Barth also fails to endorse an intercessory prayer that can make a difference in the observable world of human experience.

**IV. As response and request to the Lord of all, revealed primarily in the Christ of history and the truths of Scripture.** Having seen the relevance that God's grace disclosed in Christ has for prayer, it remains to formulate a full-orbed perspective of prayer as response to God's written word and, in obedience to it, prayer as request to the Lord of all.

***A. Response.*** The believer's prayerful response to the living God includes: faith (in his deed/word revelation), worship, confession, adoration, praise, thanksgiving, and dedicated action.

**1. Faith.** All the views summarized above, in spite of their differences, agree that in the Bible are no true propositions about "the other side." Prayer, if not considered as mere human reflection and action, is thought to be an ecstatic experience of the ineffable, or a personal communion with a dumb God. In contrast, the biblical view affirms that God not only acted awesomely in history, but also spoke truthfully through prophets and apostles. God inspired the inscripturation of their words to inform us about himself, his redemptive plans, and the place of prayer in them. The Bible is not merely the testimony of prayerful individuals to God, but God's gracious disclosure of himself to

them. The most meaningful prayer comes from a heart of trust in the God who has spoken.

Since Barth and Brunner, it has been common to say that God reveals *himself*—not information *about* himself. This artificial bifurcation overlooks the intimate relationship between a person's words and himself. As Andrew Murray explained, "In a man's words he *reveals himself.* In his promises *he gives himself away,* he binds himself to the one who receives his promise. In his commands he sets forth his will, seeks to make himself master of him whose obedience he claims, to guide and use him as if he were a part of himself. It is through our words that spirit holds fellowship with spirit, and the spirit of one man passes over and transfers itself to another" *(With Christ in the School of Prayer* [1885], 171-72). Our words in prayer commit us personally to God.

Analogously, Murray held: "…when God speaks forth himself in his words, he does indeed give himself, his Love and his Life, his Will and his Power, to those who receive these words, in a reality passing comprehension. In every promise he puts *himself* in our power to lay hold of and possess; in every command he puts *himself* in our power for us to share with him his Will, his Holiness, his Perfection. In God's Word is nothing less than the Eternal Son, Christ Jesus. And so all Christ's words are God's words, full of a Divine quickening life and power. 'The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life.'"

God's words through his spokesmen indicate his innermost nature. One who trusts Scripture has true information that God is love (1 Jn. 4:8), that God is holy (1 Pet. 1:15-16; 1 Jn. 1:5), and that God never lies (Tit. 1:2). Believers know that God is loving, holy, and faithful in himself. With the psalmist they can confidently address the Lord, "O you who hear prayer!" (Ps. 65:2).

The Bible, therefore, is the major stimulus to Christian prayer. Through it God himself speaks to us; in turn we speak to him in prayer. Jean Daujat in the volume on *Prayer* (1964) in the *Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Catholicism* says, "The best spiritual reading, which takes prime place over all others, is holy Scripture: because it is the very word of God, no other reading can compare with it in its power to inspire prayer, firstly because it operates directly within our souls, moving them interiorly by the action of grace, and secondly because, since it is God himself who speaks in its pages, it unites us to him in a true dialogue, a dialogue in which our souls respond in faith, hope, love, adoration, praise, thanksgiving and petition to what God himself is telling us in the sacred text" (p. 136).

The HOLY SPIRIT inspired the Bible to be received with FAITH in it as the word of a personal God to us as persons. Genuine encounter with God does not exalt some interpretation of religious experience above God's own written word. Prayer is response to the God who has acted in history and who has spoken truth. Since the completion of the CANON, the Bible has been the primary bearer of divine REVELATION.

The Holy Spirit also illumines those who believingly read the Scripture. Of course, there can be a mechanical use of the Bible that kills the life of prayer. Andrew Murray said: "But there is also a reading of the Word, in the very presence of the Father, and under the leading of the Spirit, in which the Word comes to us in living power from God himself; it is to us the very voice of the Father, a real personal fellowship with himself. It is the living voice of God that enters the heart, that brings blessing and strength, and awakens the response of a living faith that reaches the heart of God again" (*With Christ in the School of Prayer,* 173).

Because the Holy Spirit has chosen to work in conjunction with the living and written word, prayer is often associated with the word in the NT. The apostles devoted themselves to prayer and the ministry of the word (Acts 6:4). Doors would open to the ministry of the word as Christians prayed (Col. 4:3; 2 Thess. 3:1). Everything in God's creation received with thanksgiving can be

"consecrated by the word of God and prayer" (1 Tim. 4:5). Those who would secularize everything sacred might listen to E. M. Bounds's comment, "Prayer joined to the Word of God, hallows and makes sacred all God's gifts…Prayer makes common things holy and secular things sacred" *(The Necessity of Prayer* [1929], 127).

Very pointedly, the Holy Spirit has chosen to evoke the response of faith in God through the message of Scripture. The prayer uttered during Christ's ministry, "I do believe; help me overcome my unbelief!" (Mk. 9:24), has been in great measure answered through the writing of the NT. The Gospel of John, for example, employs the verb "to believe" over ninety times. The book was written "that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing you may have life in his name" (Jn. 20:31). Without offense to the context one may say that this biblical book was *written* that we may have a life of prayerful fellowship with the Father through faith in the Son.

So long as Christians are double-minded about the response to God's revelation, they will be unstable in all their ways of prayer. If they would have wisdom, for instance, they must ask in faith with no doubting (Jas. 1:5-8). Jesus explained, "If you remain in me and my words remain in you, ask whatever you wish, and it will be given you…If you obey my commands, you will remain in my love, just as I have obeyed my Father's commands and remain in his love. I have told you this so that my joy may be in you and that your joy may be complete" (Jn. 15:7, 10-11). A confident prayer life is built upon the chief cornerstone of Christ's work and words as attested by prophets and apostles in the Spirit-inspired and Spirit-illumined writings.

**2. Worship.** Spirit-born response to the God of the Bible issues not only in faith, but also in authentic WORSHIP. In worship, narrowly conceived, men and women recognize that God himself is of highest worth. They give to him their highest respect. With the teaching of Scripture as a guide, they set their scale of values in accord with reality. The biblically revealed God is the Almighty Creator of everything that is. He is so exalted that the heaven of heavens cannot contain him. Yet he is not far from any one of us. In him we live and move and have our being. Although incomprehensible, God is distinguishable from all his creatures. In his presence the angels hide their faces and cry, "Holy, holy, holy, is the LORD Almighty" (Isa. 6:1-3). Before God, believers must recognize the comparative insignificance of all other persons and things. Because others are creatures of God, they are due respect, but

Jewish men praying at the Western Wall in Jerusalem.

not the highest respect that only God deserves. Our ultimate affection is focused on God himself.

**3. Confession.** Awareness of God's HOLINESS leads to a consciousness of sinfulness. After seeing God high and lifted up in the temple Isaiah said, "Woe to me!…I am ruined! For I am a man of unclean lips, and I live among a people of unclean lips, and my eyes have seen the King, the LORD Almighty" (Isa. 6:5). As DAVID felt after he committed adultery and murder, all sin is ultimately against God. Through Christ the believer has an advocate to plead his case on the ground of Christ's own death in his place (1 Jn. 2:1). CONFESSION is made directly to the great high priest who freely forgives those who trust him (1:9).

**4. Adoration.** The biblical disclosure of God does not stop with his power and holiness, but adds his unmerited LOVE. God is love and he has demonstrated his love in the gift of his Son. "Adoration of God may include, or even begin with reverence and awe and humility before him, and with an undefined longing, but it must include or grow into love for him. Adoration without love would be fear" (Constance Garrett, *Growth in Prayer* [1950], 39). A supreme requirement from God is that each of his own love him with his whole being (Matt. 22:37). Our love should find expression, as God's love has done, in both acts and words. Words in prayer without deeds are hollow; deeds without words in prayer are discrepant. Prayer is an occasion for expressing genuine love for God. Prayer is more than reflection and action in time and space; it is communion with God. "Without adoration, thanksgiving may become miserliness, petition a selfish clamor, intercession a currying of special favors for our friends, and even contemplation may turn into refined indulgence" (George A. Buttrick, *Prayer* [1942], 224).

**5. Praise.** The natural outgrowth of worship, confession, and adoration is PRAISE. People naturally speak well of someone they highly esteem and love. The one respected and loved above all others naturally receives the highest acclaim. Enthusiastic word and song expresses admiration for God. He is praised "for his mighty deeds," according to his exceeding greatness (Ps. 150:2), and he is praised for his "righteous laws" (119:164). For God himself, and for his works and words, his people give authentic praise.

**6. Thanksgiving.** Praise to God leads directly to thanksgiving for his goodness to man (see GRATITUDE). Previously, his children had no spiritual identity as his people. Now through Christ believers are the people of the living God himself. Christ came into the world in order that the Gentiles might glorify God for his mercy. "Rejoice, O Gentiles, with his people" (Rom. 15:10, citing Deut. 32:43). The joy of sonship in God's moral and spiritual family helps overcome self-centeredness, immaturity, covetousness, cynicism, and self-justification. Are any unthankful because they do not think they have received what they deserve? In God's justice all people merit condemnation. None has claim upon God's GRACE. Nevertheless, in MERCY he forgives iniquities, and in grace bestows temporal and eternal blessings. Ingratitude marks the ungodly (Rom. 1:21). Believers, on the other hand, live doxologically. God has been at work in their behalf. They also live hopefully, confident of God's scripturally revealed triumph over all evil. In everything they give thanks (Col. 3:17; 1 Thess. 5:18).

**7. Dedicated action.** When the above attitudes are present, they find expression not only in words but also in deeds. Prayer is withdrawal from the world as Jesus did, but prayer results in renewed

strength to minister in the world. There was never more dedicated activity that counted for good than that of Jesus' life on earth. Yet he had times of renewal away from the crowds with their excruciating needs. Christ's example clearly does not motivate monastic withdrawal from society, but rather service to the needy in a spirit of prayer. He who wept in compassionate prayer for Jerusalem went into the city to give his life a ransom for many. Those who minister to the cities today could well follow Christ's example of prayer. Authentic prayer in the presence of the transcendent God of the prophets and apostles does not lead to inactivity but is the springboard for involvement. It is the source of courage and productivity. Paul sought with everything within him to preach the gospel of deliverance to the 1st-cent. world, but his activism was directed by fervent prayer.

Response to the God of the Bible involves the whole person—mind and heart. It is not an ecstatic rapture that leaves the mind empty. Neither is it a personal encounter without content. It requires the alert attention of the mind. According to Douglas Horton, attention is "a rhythmic activity of the mind. It is not the ability 'to look at the point of a cambric needle for one-half hour without winking.' Such a feat would show a remarkable power of concentration but would not be attention. It would not produce the enlightenment which is the end of attention but would only bring about a state of hypnosis. Single-eyed attention can be sustained for only a few moments at a time and therefore keeps returning rhythmically to its object" *(The Meaning of Worship* [1959], 39).

I attend to my hand best, using Horton's illustration, not when I repeat "Hand…hand…hand," but when I relate the hand to my wrist and arm, as well as to its varied characteristics and functions. Worship of God is paying attention to God. The best worship is response to God that does not focus alone upon his incomprehensibility, nor the fact that he is personal, but in addition moves from faith to confession, adoration, praise, thanksgiving, and commitment. All these responses are aided by reflection upon varied passages of Scripture.

***B. Request.*** Just as prayers of response spring from love for God, prayers of request arise from love for others.

**1. Motivation.** Prayer not motivated by love is "a resounding gong or a clanging cymbal" (1 Cor. 13:1). John Henry Jowett said, "The gospel of a broken heart demands the ministry of bleeding hearts…As soon as we cease to bleed we cease to bless. When our sympathy loses its pang we can no longer be the servants of the passion" *(The Passion for Souls* [1905], 22-23). Without love, prayer is empty; without prayer, love is unfulfilled.

**2. Content.** In love Christians should pray for the most urgent needs of peoples and nations. Compassion for the lost led Paul to write, "my heart's desire and prayer to God for the Israelites is that they may be saved" (Rom. 10:1). A similar compassion leads believers to plead with the Lord of the harvest to send out laborers into his harvest (Matt. 9:36-37). In love, prayer is offered, as Jesus did, for children (19:13). Even in the midst of social injustice, these are the Savior's words, "Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you, bless those who curse you, pray for those who mistreat you" (Lk. 6:27-28). Alert to the need for people in all nations to live "peaceful and quiet lives in all godliness and holiness," Christians pray for all who are in high positions (1 Tim.2:1 –2).

Rather than tearing down the reputation of a brother thought to be behind in knowledge, fruitbearing, or strength, Christians pray as Paul did for the Colossians, "asking God to fill you with the knowledge of his will through all spiritual wisdom and understanding. And we pray this in order that you may live a life worthy of the Lord and may please him in every way: bearing fruit in every

good work, growing in the knowledge of God, being strengthened with all power according to his glorious might so that you may have great endurance and patience" (Col. 1:9—11).

Jesus interceded for his friends, his enemies, his disciples, and for those who would become disciples through them. He prayed that those who had received his words would be sanctified by the truth, kept from the evil one in the world, consecrated in truth, be at one with each other, love one another, that the world might know that God sent Christ and loved them as he loved the disciples (Jn. 17). The Lord taught his followers to pray for the fulfillment of the heavenly Father's will on earth as it is in heaven, for the establishment of his kingdom, the supply of necessary daily food, the forgiveness of sins that stand in the way of realization of his purposes, deliverance from further temptations, and the final triumph of God over all evil (Matt. 6:7-15).

**3. Confidence.** At times Christians hesitate to bring requests to God because they think he is preoccupied with greater concerns. This difficulty, however, comes from a confusion in the human mind between size and significance. Although God sustains the galaxies, he considers each person of great value. The commander of a huge aircraft carrier is not less concerned about his infant son because his child is smaller than his ship. God who sees the sparrow fall hears the requests of his children. He neither slumbers nor sleeps. Jesus said, "Which of you, if his son asks for bread, will give him a stone? Or if he asks for a fish, will give him a snake? If you, then, though you are evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more will your Father in heaven give good gifts to those who ask him!" (Matt. 7:9-11).

**4. Confirmation.** Prayer is not a means of compelling greater powers to do our bidding. It does not have invariable "success" in the observable world. Attempts to discover a causal relationship between words uttered in prayer and immediate, verifiable results misinterpret the nature of prayer. Prayer is communication between persons, involving all the variables of personal wishes, commitments, integrity, understanding, and will. Prayer is not a relationship between impersonal objects such as heat and steel. Because prayer is addressed to God, it is not subject to scientific prediction and control. Neither magician nor scientist can manipulate the powers of the Almighty by virtue of a command.

To say that prayer may not be verified in the impersonal causal order is not to say that it makes no difference in the observable world. That would be to infer that all uniquely personal acts, because unpredictable, are nonexistent. Causes in the world are often personal rather than automatic. Requests of persons may or may not be granted. The failure to receive the desired answer at the desired time is no argument against the meaningfulness of the personal relationship. People, like God, often say "No" or "Not yet" as well as "Yes." What sort of evidence can verify the efficacy of requests? Certainly not an invariable causal efficacy.

C. S. Lewis has suggested some helpful illustrations. Ask a neighbor to feed the cat while you are away, an employer for a raise, or a woman to marry you. What is the connection between the asking and the receiving? "Your neighbor may be a humane person who would not have let your cat starve even if you had forgotten to make arrangements. Your employer is never so likely to grant your request for a raise as when he is aware that you could get better money from a rival firm, and he is quite possibly intending to secure you by a raise in any case. As for the lady who consents to marry you—are you sure she had not decided to do so already? Your proposal, you know, might have been the result, not the cause, of her decision. A certain important conversation might never have taken place unless she had intended that it should" (C. S. Lewis, "The Efficacy of Prayer," in *His* [May,

1959], 7).

What confirmation have Christians that their requests have been significant? Assurance arises, not from the manipulation of circumstances, but from *knowing* the *persons* involved. Those who best know an individual know whether their request to that person was answered by coincidence or because they asked. Those who best know the God of the Bible can assess the efficacy of prayer as request to him.

**5. Foreknowledge.** Jesus said, "your Father knows what you need before you ask him" (Matt. 6:8). If God knows all about these needs, then why pray? Clearly the purpose of prayer is not to inform God of things he has not known. Unlike others to whom you bring requests, God is omniscient. See OMNISCIENCE. Beyond that, God desires to give good gifts. Then why must a Christian earnestly plead with him? "However willing God is to give his best gifts, it is simply true to say that they cannot be given to the unwilling and unreceptive. The rain and the sunshine are indeed sent upon the righteous and unrighteous alike, in the bounty of God; but the higher gifts of grace are never forced upon a reluctant or indifferent soul. There is always a deep sense of need and a strong desire lying at the heart of real supplication, and it is these which make it possible for God to bestow his best gifts upon us, and for us to receive them" (Henry Bett, *The Reality of the Religious Life[* 1949], 158 –59).

An omnipotent God can do whatever he wills in the way he chooses. He has chosen to do certain things irrespective of human conditions. Other things, however, he has determined to bestow only in answer to sincere and sometimes importunate requests. In these cases, his purpose remains unchanged, but a person's relationship to that purpose changes. God's action seems to change because a person who previously was impenitent and self-sufficient has become repentant and full of faith.

In numerous biblical cases intercessory prayer made a significant difference. The faithless Israelites were to be disinherited, but MOSES prayed, "In accordance with your great love, forgive the sin of these people, just as you have pardoned them from the time they left Egypt until now." Then the Lord said, "I have forgiven them, as you asked" (Num. 14:19-20). Although the adults did not enter the Promised Land, the nation was not put aside for another. Later, the wayward Israelites suffered at the hands of the PHILISTINES, and SAMUEL summoned them to repent and put away foreign gods. When they destroyed their idols, Samuel prayed for them (1 Sam. 7:3-6). The Philistines again started to attack, and the prophet offered a sacrifice and "cried out to the LORD on Israel's behalf, and the LORD answered him" (v. 9). Then "the LORD thundered with loud thunder against the Philistines and threw them into such a panic that they were routed before the Israelites" (v. 10). Clearly God chose to work in these cases, not apart from prayer, but in answer to prayer. Later, he was displeased because there was no one to intervene or intercede (Isa. 59:16).

Does the fact that God knew from before the foundation of the world when people would pray render prayer meaningless? The husband's foreknowledge that upon returning home from military service overseas he will be kissed by his devoted wife in no way detracts from the excitement of the occasion or renders it unnecessary. The God who took the sins of his people into account before creation and planned the cross also took the requests of his people into account and prepared the answers.

J. Oliver Buswell (*A Systematic Theology of the Christian Religion,* 2 vols. [1962-63], 1:60) helpfully illustrates the relation between God's foreknowledge and the spontaneity of our praying:

> We parents know how to answer the petitions of our children in anticipation. With our limited knowledge we can know something of the future. Take the instance of a mother caring for

the fevered body of a sick child. Before the sun goes down the mother provides the medicine, the drink of water, and other comforts, knowing that there will be a cry in the night. When the little one cries the mother does not change her mind. She has already planned the answer. Similarly, God has anticipated our prayers before the foundation of the world. He has built the answer to our prayers into the very structure of the universe. He knows that we will pray and that we will pray in a spontaneous manner as a child cries to his father. God has put the universe together on a principle of personal relationships in which he answers prayer, and we can in a measure understand his loving provision only on the basis of his omniscience.

**6. Unanswered requests.** For sound reasons in accord with his holy, loving, and wise purposes God cannot grant every request as asked. Several hindrances to answered prayer are mentioned in Scripture: iniquity in the heart (Ps. 66:18), refusal to hear God's law (Prov. 28:9), an estranged heart (Isa. 29:13), sinful separation from God (Isa. 59:2), waywardness (Jer. 14:10-12), offering unworthy sacrifices (Mal. 1:7-9), praying to be seen of others (Matt. 6:5-6), pride in fasting and tithing (Lk. 18:11-14), lack of faith (Heb. 11:6), doubting or double-mindedness (Jas. 1:6-7), asking wrongly to spend it on selfish passions (Jas. 4:3), and inconsideration of husband or wife (1 Pet. 3:7).

Affirmatively, God has promised to answer requests when his children, having ceased speaking wickedness and accusing others, start pouring themselves out for the hungry and afflicted (Isa. 58:9-10) and believe that they will receive what they ask (Mk. 11:22-24), forgive others (Mk. 11:25-26), ask in Christ's name (Jn. 14:13-14), abide in Christ and his words (Jn. 15:7), pray in the Spirit (Eph. 6:18), obey the Lord's commandments (1 Jn. 3:22), and ask according to his will (5:14-15). Until we have properly responded to God we cannot properly make request of God.

Although to their own knowledge some have met the conditions of answered prayer, they ought never seek to compel God to act in a certain way. Surely Jesus met every condition of answered prayer, but in GETHSEMANE he concluded, "not as I will, but as you will" (Matt. 26:36-44). If any Christian was qualified to pray expecting his request to be answered, it was Paul. But God did not remove his "thorn in the flesh." Paul's greatest desire was answered, although his request was not. He was given the grace to live with his "thorn" and minister effectively (2 Cor. 12:7-9). When the unworthy Israelites insisted upon their way, finally God gave what they asked, but also "sent a wasting disease upon them" (Ps. 106:15). Prayer ought never to be turned into magical compulsion, but must always remain request to a wiser, personal God.

**7. Effectiveness.** Some think prayer can affect only the one who prays, as a kind of psychological therapeutic. Others consider it merely communion with God. Another position finds prayer of significance not only to the person who prays, but also through spiritual influences in the lives of others. The biblical data shows that prayer is considered effective for the one who prays and others for whom he prays, as well as for the general world. Prayer has power in all that is within God's power. God may, in answer to prayer, direct any circumstance in the world, which he controls and sustains.

What can prayer do for the one who prays? It can supply some of the most urgent needs of life. The petitioner may receive freedom from fear (Ps. 118:5-6), strength of soul (138:3), guidance and satisfaction (Isa. 58:9-11), wisdom and understanding (Dan. 9:20-27), deliverance from harm (Joel 2:32), reward (Matt. 6:6), good gifts (Lk. 11:13), fullness of joy (Jn. 16:23-24), peace (Phil. 4:6-7), and freedom from anxiety (1 Pet. 5:7).

Does intercessory prayer make a difference in others? The biblical writers believed it did. It could result in greater wisdom and power (Eph. 1:15,19); strength in the inner man, knowledge of the love of Christ, and being filled with the fullness of God (3:16-19); discernment, approval of what is excellent, fruits of righteousness (Phil. 1:9-11); knowledge of God's will, spiritual understanding, a life pleasing to God, fruitfulness, endurance, patience, and joy (Col. 1:9-12); a quiet peaceable life, godly and respectful in every way (1 Tim. 2:1-2); love for one another, holiness before God (1 Thess. 3:10-13); worthiness of God's call, fulfillment of every good resolve and work of faith (2 Thess. 1:11 –12); comfort and establishment in every good word and work (2:16-17); love of God and steadfastness of Christ (3:5); the sharing of faith, the promotion of knowledge of all that is good (Phlm. 6); equipment for doing every good thing, and the work of God within—enabling us to do that which is pleasing in his sight (Heb. 13:20-21).

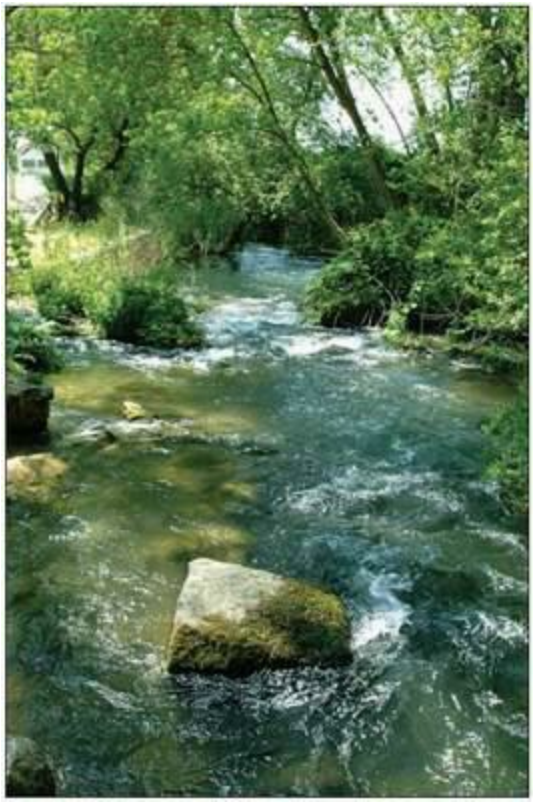
Is prayer effective in the physical world as well? The outworking of answers to the above requests could have effects in the physical world. The biblical requests also included specific things concerning nature and the human body. JABEZ prayed for enlarged borders and protection from harm (1 Chr. 4:10); others asked for deliverance from trouble (Ps. 34:15-22); a life of neither poverty nor riches (Prov. 30:7-9); deliverance from the belly of a great fish (Jon. 2:7-10); daily bread (Matt. 6:11); the sound and blameless keeping of spirit, soul, and body (1 Thess. 5:23); the healing of the sick (Jas. 5:14-15); and the cessation of rain and its beginning again (5:17-18). When the disciples prayed, the building around them shook (Acts 4:31), and an earthquake occurred, opening the doors of a prison (16:25-26). Indeed, "the prayer of a righteous person is powerful and effective" (Jas. 5:16 TNIV).

In evangelical perspective, then, prayer is response and request to the Lord of all, who is revealed primarily in the Christ of history and the truths of Scripture. In our troubled world, men and women need to make this response to God; believers need to make request as never before. See also LORD'S PRAYER.

(In addition to the titles mentioned in the body of this article, see R. E. O.White, *They Teach Us to Pray* [1957]; C. S. Lewis, *Letters to Malcolm: Chiefly on Prayer* [1964]; W. Spear, *The Theology of Prayer* [1979]; W. B. Hunter, *The God Who Hears* [1986]; D. A. Carson, ed., *Teach Us to Pray: Prayer in the Bible and the World* [1990]; W. Grudem, *Systematic Theology: An Introduction to Christian Doctrine* [1994], ch. 18; P. D. Miller, *They Cried to the Lord: The Form and Theology of Biblical Prayer* [1994]; O. Cullmann, *Prayer in the New Testament* [1995]; M. E. W. Thompson, *I Have Heard Your Prayer: The Old Testament and Prayer* [1996]; R. J. Karris, *Prayer and the New Testament* [2000]; V. Auvinen, *Jesus' Teaching on Prayer* [2003]; D. Crump, *Knocking on Heaven's Door: A New Testament Theology of Petitionary Prayer* [2006]. See also bibliography under WORSHIP.)

G.R.LEWIS

**Prayer, Lord's.** See LORD'S PRAYER.



Paul met Lydia and other Jewish women while they were praying by the river outside of Philippi.

**prayer, place of.** This phrase is used in Acts 16:13 and 16 to translate the Greek noun *proseuchē G4666* (the word properly means "prayer," but can be used by metonymy for *topos proseuchēs;* cf. 1 Macc. 3:46). When used with reference to a place, this term in Jewish contexts normally refers to a SYNAGOGUE, but probably not in the present passage, for a synagogue required as a congregation a minimum of ten Jewish men, and at PHILIPPI only women are mentioned as gathering for WORSHIP at the river bank. PAUL and his companions used this occasion to proclaim the gospel to the women who were there.

S. BARABAS

**Prayer of Azariah.** See AZARIAH, PRAYER OF.

**preaching.** The proclamation of the word of God as found in the Bible and centered in the redemptive work of Jesus Christ, summoning sinners to repentance, faith, and obedience. It is God's appointed means for communicating the GOSPEL of salvation to the unbelieving world and for strengthening the spiritual life of his people.

**I. Biblical terms.** Of the various NT terms for preaching, the most characteristic is the Greek verb *kēryssō G3062* ("to proclaim as a HERALD *[kēryx G3061]"),* which occurs about sixty times (e.g., Matt. 3:1; Mk. 1:14; Acts 10:42; 1 Cor. 1:23; 2 Tim. 4:2). Also common is *euangelizō G2294* (middle voice, "to announce the GOSPEL *[euangelion G2295,* 'good news'], to evangelize"), which accents the glorious nature of the message proclaimed (it is used over fifty times, e.g., Lk. 3:18; 4:18; Acts 5:42; Rom. 10:15; 1 Cor. 1:17). The combination *kēryssein to euangelion* ("to proclaim the gospel") is also found (e.g., Matt. 4:23; Gal. 2:2).

In the OT, the comparable function of the PROPHETS is usually described with the verb *prophesy*

(Heb. *nābā H5547,* niph. and hithp.), but other terms can be used (e.g., *qārā H7924,* "to call out, proclaim," which the SEPTUAGINT renders with *kēryssō* in Isa. 61:1b; Jon. 1:2 et al.). The Hebrew verb *bāśar H1413* (piel) means "to bear good tidings" and thus is properly rendered with Greek *euangelizomai* (e.g. Isa. 40:9; 61:1a). Reference is made also to false prophets who "proclaim" peace to those who reward them with something to eat (Mic. 3:5). Allowing for the differences between prophetic proclamation (which generally, at least, involved direct divine revelation) and Christian preaching, the prophets of Israel, proclaiming divine judgment and salvation and calling people to repentance, are properly regarded as the preachers of their day, the predecessors of the NT heralds of the gospel. After the EXILE, preaching in the form of biblical exposition emerged as an important and regular feature of synagogue worship.

**II. The basic content of preaching.** The Synoptic Gospels summarize Jesus' public ministry as one of preaching, teaching, and healing (Matt. 4:23; Mk. 1:39; Lk. 4:44). His message was the good news of the KINGDOM OF GOD, with its imperious demand that the hearers repent and believe in the gospel (Matt. 9:35; Mk. 1:14,15; Lk. 4:43). By this proclamation, Jesus signified that in his ministry the sovereign power of God invaded history to establish a new reign of righteousness in the salvation of his people. Jesus conceived of his preaching ministry as a divine commission (Mk. 1:38), in fulfillment of messianic prophecy (Lk. 4:18-21).

The preaching of the apostles reported in Acts and gleaned from scattered fragments in the Pauline epistles seems at first glance to strike a somewhat different note. Although the apostles are still said to preach the kingdom of God (Acts 28:31), the genius of their message is Christ himself as divine Lord and Redeemer (2:22-36; 5:42; 11:20; 17:3; 1 Cor. 1:23-24; 2 Cor. 1:19; 4:5). This difference, however, represents not a contradiction, but a progression. The kingdom of God that Jesus proclaimed achieved its triumph over the forces of evil and unleashed its creative power in the world through his own death and resurrection. In Christ, God's sovereign power acted decisively and continues to act eternally for the salvation of his people, so that beginning with the resurrection, to preach the kingdom is to preach Christ (cf. Acts 8:12). Jesus himself both anticipated and authorized this shift of emphasis when he commanded his disciples to be his witnesses to the ends of the earth (1:8).

The apostolic message, in its essential substance and general outline, can be reconstructed in these terms. In fulfillment of OT prophecy, the new age of salvation has dawned through the ministry, death, and resurrection of Jesus, now exalted as Lord and Messiah. The presence of the HOLY SPIRIT in the church testifies to Christ's present power and glory. The messianic age will reach its consummation at the return of Christ in judgment. God's action in Christ promises forgiveness of sins, the gift of the Holy Spirit, and eternal salvation to all who repent and believe in Jesus (cf. C. H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments* [1936], 3—73).

On the basis of this reconstruction, the following observations can be made about the Christian message: (1) it consists of a definite body of facts; (2) it is essentially neither a doctrinal nor philosophical system, still less an ethic, but a proclamation of those mighty acts in history whereby God has accomplished the salvation of his people; (3) it is centered in the person and work of Christ, especially his cross and resurrection; (4) it is organically related to the OT; (5) it imposes a stern ethical demand on the hearers; and (6) it has an eschatological dimension, looking forward to a final fulfillment yet to be. Only the preaching that strikes all of these chords stands in the apostolic tradition.

**III. Preaching and teaching.** Throughout the history of the church, preaching often has assumed the form of extended exposition of biblical passages, doctrinal instruction, ethical exhortation, or discussion of various aspects of Christian life and experience directed to largely Christian audiences. With the publication of Dodd's *Apostolic Preaching,* however, it has become fashionable to differentiate sharply between *kērygma G3060* ("preaching, proclamation") and *didachē G1439* ("teaching") by restricting the former to evangelistic proclamation to the unconverted. Alan Richardson alleges, "In the NT, preaching has nothing to do with the delivery of sermons to the converted…but always concerns the proclamation of the 'good tidings of God' to the non-Christian world" (*A Theological Word Book of the Bible [*1950], 171 –72).

The NT does distinguish between preaching and teaching (e.g., Matt. 4:23; 11:1; Eph. 4:11; 1 Tim. 2:7; 2 Tim. 1:11; 4:2-4). The distinction, however, is by no means rigid and absolute. Whereas Matthew reports that Jesus went about Galilee "teaching…and preaching" (Matt. 4:23), the parallel passages employ only the word "preaching" to describe this ministry (Mk. 1:39; Lk. 4:44). Where Matthew and Mark represent Jesus as preaching the gospel of the kingdom (Matt. 4:17; Mk. 1:14-15), Luke says, "He taught in their synagogues" (Lk. 4:15). More significant still, Mark uses these two terms interchangeably (cf. Mk. 1:14-15, 21, 38-39). Elsewhere in the NT, the apostolic testimony to Jesus is likewise described in the same reference as both "preaching" and "teaching" (Acts 5:42; 28:31; Col. 1:28).

Although it would not be accurate to argue that in the NT sense preaching and teaching are identical, the two are nevertheless so intimately related that to draw a hard-and-fast line between them is equally untenable. In both cases, the basic content is the same: the gospel of eternal salvation through the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ the Son of God. Teaching is simply the extension of preaching into the regions of doctrine, apologetics, ethics, and Christian experience. Preaching includes all of these elements. What difference

An early photo of Charles Haddon Spurgeon, the famous 19th-cent. preacher of the Metropolitan Tabernacle in London.

there is lies in emphasis and objective. Whereas the primary thrust of preaching is evangelistic, looking to the conversion of unbelievers, teaching unfolds and applies the fullness of the gospel to the total sweep of life, challenging and enabling believers to become more mature followers of Christ. Neither preaching nor teaching can be conceived without the other, while in actual practice they are

so finely interwoven that their separation is largely academic. To preach in the NT sense is not only to herald the saving evangel, but also to proclaim "the whole counsel of God" (Acts 20:27 **KJV;** cf. v. 20 and 2 Tim. 4:2).

**IV. The divine character of preaching.** The main words for preaching in the NT ring with authority. This authority lies not in the person of the preacher, but in the message entrusted to him. True preaching does not consist in human ideas about God, or in sanctified religious ponderings and reflections, but in the divine word of revelation that sets forth God's saving grace in Jesus Christ and the full purpose of his will for men and women.

The preacher's message is also charged with divine power. After expressing his eagerness to preach the gospel at Rome, Paul added that this gospel is "the power of God for the salvation of everyone who believes" (Rom. 1:16). To those blinded by sin, the message of Christ crucified may seem sheer folly. When it is faithfully proclaimed, the sovereign Spirit by a miracle of grace generates FAITH where he wills, so that the blind see and the dead are raised to newness of life (1 Cor. 1:18-25; cf. Eph. 2:1-10). The divine power of preaching remains for all time the most convincing evidence of its timeless relevance.

Preaching in the NT further is marked by a sense of divine compulsion. Authentic Christian preachers proclaim the gospel not merely by personal choice or preference, but by the irresistible call and appointment of God (Lk. 4:43; Acts 4:20). They preach out of an overwhelming inner necessity, their heart ablaze with a holy fire, which neither competing attractions nor any natural reluctance in the face of staggering hostility to the message can ever extinguish. With PAUL they cry, "Woe to me if I do not preach the gospel!" (1 Cor. 9:16). For this task they are equipped with a special gift of the Holy Spirit (cf. 12:4-11,28-29; Eph. 4:11), and the task itself is their sufficient and satisfying reward.

(See further P. Brooks, *Lectures on Preaching* [1877]; E. C. Dargan, *A History of Preaching, 2* vols. [1905-12]; P. T. Forsyth, *Positive Preaching and the Modern Mind* [1907]; J. Denney in *DCG,* 2:393-403; A.J. Gossip, *In Christ's Stead* [1925]; G. A. Buttrick, *Jesus Came Preaching* [1932]; C. H. Dodd, *The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments* [1936]; H. H. Farmer, *The Servant of the Word* [1941]; J. S. Stewart, *Heralds of God* [1946]; F. R. Webber, *A History of Preaching in Britain and America,* 3 vols. [1952-57]; J. S. Stewart, *A Faith to Proclaim* [1953]; J. B. Weatherspoon, *Sent Forth to Preach* [1954]; J. Knox, *The Integrity of Preaching* [1957]; R. H. Mounce, *The Essential Nature of New Testament Preaching* [1960]; D. Ritschl, *A Theology of Proclamation* [1960]; E. P. Clowney, *Preaching and Biblical Theology* [1961]; J. R. W. Stott, *The Preacher's Portrait* [1961]; C. H. Thompson, *Theology of the Kerygma* [1962]; P. C. Marcel, *The Relevance of Preaching* [1963]; R. C. Worley, *Preaching and Teaching in the Earliest Church* [1967]; E. Achtemeier and M. Aycock, *Bibliography on Preaching, 1975-1985* [1986]; J. W. Beaudean, Jr., *Paul's Theology of Preaching* [1988]; P. S. Wilson, *A Concise History of Preaching* [1992]; W. H. Willimon and R. Lischer, ed*s.,A Concise Encyclopedia of Preaching* [1995]; P. Adams, *Speaking God's Words: A Practical Theology of Preaching* [1996]; H. W. Robinson, *Biblical Preaching: The Development and Delivery of Expository Messages,* 2nd ed. [2001]; C. R. Wells and A. B. Luter, *Inspired Preaching: A Survey of Preaching Found in the New Testament* [2002]; D. E.Johnson, *Him We Proclaim: Preaching Christ from All the Scriptures* [2007]*;ABD,* 5:451-54.)

R.A.BODEY

**predestination.** See ELECTION.

**preexistence of Christ.** See CHRISTOLOGY; DEITY OF CHRIST.

**prefect.** This term (from Lat. *praefectus,* "placed at the head of") refers primarily to a high official or magistrate of ancient Rome. Officials with various functions and ranks could bear this title. It was often applied to commanders of cavalry and infantry (see COHORT), as well as to the head of the PRAETORIAN guard. Prior to the emperorship of CLAUDIUS, governors of imperial provinces were called *prefects* (see PILATE, PONTIUS). The Greek equivalent was *eparchos,* a term that does not occur in the NT (however, cf. *eparcheia G2065,* "prefecture, province," Acts 23:34; 25:1). In a more general sense, English Bible versions use "prefect" as the rendering of the Aramaic word *sĕgan H10505,* "governor" (Dan. 2:48; 3:2-3, 27; 6:7; cf. Heb. *segen H6036,* "official," Ezra 9:2 et al.).

**premillennialism.** Also called *millennialism* and *chiliasm.* The view that the SECOND COMING of Christ will occur before his literal reign of one thousand years on earth (the MILLENNIUM).

**I. Contrasting views.** Premillennialism is contrasted to AMILLENNIALISM (or nonmillennialism), which considers prophecies of the millennial kingdom as being fulfilled between the first and second advents of Christ, that is, a spiritual reign of Christ in the heart of believers in the present age (some amillennialists consider the millennium fulfilled in the INTERMEDIATE STATE in heaven between death and resurrection). Premillennialism also is contrasted to POSTMILLENNIALISM, which regards the last one thousand years of the present age as a triumph of the gospel, fulfilling the millennial promises of a kingdom on earth, with the second coming of Christ occurring after the thousand-year reign.

**II. Literal interpretation of Scripture.** Premillennialism depends upon a literal INTERPRETATION of prophecy, taking the words in their ordinary meaning. This was the prevailing opinion in the 1st and 2nd centuries of the Christian era. The first significant challenge to premillennialism was by the school of theology associated with CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA and ORIGEN. They advanced the interpretation that the millennium should be considered as a symbol and that it would be fulfilled in a spiritual sense in the present age between the two advents of Christ.

Although early considered a heresy not acceptable to orthodox interpreters, amillennialism gradually replaced premillennialism because of the influence of AUGUSTINE in the 4th and 5th centuries. Augustine rejected the premillennial view of a millennial reign as too carnal and literal. He introduced a dual system of interpretation, recognizing literal interpretation as normal for most Scriptures, but following the principle of figurative or spiritual fulfillment for prophecy. Following Augustine, amillennialism became the dominant doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church and was generally adopted by the Protestant reformers. Premillennialism has been a minority position ever since Augustine, but in modern times this position has attracted conservative interpreters of the Bible who consider prophecy as subject to the same rules of interpretation as other forms of divine revelation. The decision between the two major interpretations—premillennialism vs. amillennialism—is almost entirely determined by principles of interpretation.

**III. OT doctrine of the kingdom.** Although only Rev. 20 specifically mentions a thousand-year period, many passages in the OT anticipate a kingdom on earth and prophesy a period of righteousness and peace with Christ reigning in Zion and the nations completely under his control.

The second psalm, which prophesies the rejection of Christ, portrays God as holding the nations in derision, speaking to them in his wrath, stating, "I have installed my King / on Zion, my holy hill" (Ps. 2:6). Yahweh declares, "Ask of me, / and I will make the nations your inheritance, / the ends of the earth your possession. / You will rule them with an iron scepter; / you will dash them to pieces like pottery" (vv. 8-9). Another psalm, in the form of a prayer of DAVID, describes the reign of Christ as having dominion "from sea to sea, and from the River to the ends of the earth" (72:8). The whole earth is described as filled with his glory (v. 19).

Isaiah 2 parallels Mic. 4:1-5 in describing the rule of Christ, with his capitol in Jerusalem, in a period of universal peace. The prophecy relates to Judah and Jerusalem (Isa. 2:1) and describes the nations as coming "to the house of the God of Jacob," with "the law" going out "from Zion" and "the word of the LORD from Jerusalem" (v. 3). Universal peace is described: "They will beat their swords into plowshares / and their spears into pruning hooks. / Nation will not take up sword against nation, / nor will they train for war anymore." Such a period obviously is not being fulfilled in the present age and requires a future presence of the King of kings on earth in Jerusalem.

Jeremiah speaks frequently of this glorious kingdom, as in Jer. 23:5-8, where a descendant of David is declared to reign as a king. He will "do what is just and right in the land" at a time when "Judah will be saved and Israel will dwell in safety" (vv. 5-6). The name of the king is "The LORD Our Righteousness" (v. 6). This kingdom period is preceded by the regathering of Israel "out of all the countries where he had banished them" (v. 8). Many similar passages can be found of a kingdom reign of Christ following his second advent.

Premillennialism is related to the major biblical COVENANTS of the OT. The covenant of ABRAHAM, introduced in Gen. 12:1-3, promises the perpetuity of title to the land to his physical seed, a promise subsequently ratified by hundreds of OT prophecies. Because of their number and detail, most premillennial interpreters consider the prophecies of Israel as necessarily being fulfilled to the literal seed of JACOB, and the prophecies of the land as literally referring to the geographic area described in detail in Gen. 15:18-21. Only by spiritualizing and denying the natural and literal interpretation of such passages can views other than premillennialism be supported.

The covenant with DAVID (2 Sam. 7), which assures David's seed that his throne will be perpetuated forever, requires fulfillment on earth in keeping with the earthly character of the Davidic kingdom. A Davidic throne was never spiritual nor heavenly. David understood the covenant as being literal, and this interpretation is confirmed in the NT (Lk. 1:32-33).

Many OT passages predict the revival of the rule of David, as does Amos 9:11 –15, with a glorious period of a kingdom on earth being fulfilled. The new covenant promised Israel in Jer. 31:31-34 (cf. also Isa. 61:8-9; Ezek. 37:21-28) predicts a future time of spiritual blessing in Israel when all will know the Lord and missionary effort will be unnecessary, a purpose of God supported by the prediction that God will never cast off Israel (Jer. 31:35-37). Although the NT also outlines a new covenant for Christians in the present age, no claim is made that the new covenant in the present age fulfills the particulars of the covenant with Israel. A literal interpretation of these covenant promises, accordingly, requires a future kingdom on earth with fulfillment to the descendants of Jacob. See COVENANT, THE NEW.

**IV. NT doctrine of the millennium.** In the NT, numerous confirmations of the OT doctrine are found. The angel GABRIEL told the Virgin Mary concerning her Son, "The Lord God will give him the throne of his father David, and he will reign over the house of Jacob for ever; his kingdom will never end" (Lk. 1:32-33). If the intent of the OT promise was to be a spiritual role of God in the heart of

believers, it is inconceivable that the common anticipation of Israel of an earthly kingdom should be confirmed to Mary on this occasion. Mary obviously understood the prediction literally.

In like manner, the mother of the sons of ZEBEDEE (Matt. 20:20-23) anticipated an earthly kingdom in which her two sons might reign with Christ, indicating the general belief in such an earthly kingdom. Christ did not contradict her view, but he did rebuke her ambition for her sons. Christ also predicted that in his kingdom the apostles would "eat and drink at my table in my kingdom and sit on thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (Lk. 22:30). The kingdom in view seems to be a future earthly kingdom. In the Olivet Discourse, Christ outlined a sequence of events beginning with the future great tribulation (Matt. 24:15 –22), his glorious second coming to the earth (24:27-30), and the establishment of his throne on earth (25:31). Here the earthly throne follows the great tribulation and the second coming in chronological sequence, which by any normal interpretation harmonizes only with a premillennial view.

On the occasion of the ASCENSION OF CHRIST, the disciples asked the question, "Lord, are you at this time going to restore the kingdom to Israel?" (Acts 1:6). Christ did not rebuke them for misapprehension that such a restoration was in prospect, but stated only that it was impossible for them to know when it would occur.

Undoubtedly, the classic passage on millennialism is in Rev. 20, where a reign of a thousand years is mentioned six times. Although amillennialists interpret this passage as a recapitulation of the preceding chapters with considerable spiritualization in the fulfillment of the prophecy, the text itself reveals ch. 20 as a subsequent action to ch. 19. John sees in a vision the binding of SATAN, the thrones of judgment, and the RESURRECTION of those martyred in the persecution preceding the second coming. This vision is then given interpretation relative to its duration—a thousand years in length—and to its purpose. The first resurrection, which includes specifically the resurrection of those martyred in the preceding great tribulation, is declared to begin the thousand-year reign. The purpose of the binding of Satan is declared to be that he will not be able to deceive the nations during the thousand-year reign.

The loosing of Satan at the end of the thousand years builds upon the normal and literal interpretation of the preceding prophecies. Whereas a vision could be subject to various interpretations, the text interprets the vision, and such interpretation should be regarded as giving the real meaning in nonsymbolic language. The amillennial interpretation is in obvious difficulty in this passage because there is no possibility of any reasonably literal fulfillment of these predictions in the present age when the nations are being deceived and Satan obviously is not bound (the usual response is that Satan is bound in the sense of not being able to prevent the light of the gospel from going to the nations). The martyred dead of the tribulation period do not suffer their fate until just before the second coming.

The details of the prophecy also specify that the wicked dead are not raised until after the thousand years and after the final loosing of Satan (Rev. 20:2-3, 7, 12-14). If the resurrection of the wicked dead in the chapter is literal, so also is the resurrection of the martyred dead before the second coming, and the two events are separated by the thousand-year reign of Christ.

The majority of contemporary premillennialists contrast dispensationally the age of Israel under the law of Moses, the present age since PENTECOST, and the future age of the millennium following the second coming. Coupled with this is the contrast between Israel and the CHURCH, the future fulfillment of prophecies relating to Israel's regathering into the Holy Land, and Israel's spiritual renewal and reconstitution as a political kingdom under Christ, following Christ's return. The millennial kingdom, while possessing many qualities of high spiritual life and universal knowledge of the Lord, can be

fulfilled only when Christ is actually reigning as universal King on earth.

Some contemporary premillenarians, such as George E. Ladd, consider the millennial kingdom essentially soteriological and spiritual rather than political, and tend to interpret prophecies relating to Israel in a spiritualized sense rather than racially, politically, or nationally. In his interpretation, the kingdom is primarily spiritual and soteriological, and an extension of the spiritual kingdom concept found in the OT and NT. This form of premillennialism builds upon the Augustinian view of a special principle of interpretation regarding prophecy as spiritually fulfilled, and often is indistinguishable from the nonliteral interpretation characteristic of amillennialism.

**V. Summary.** All forms of premillennialism regard the millennial kingdom as subsequent to the second coming, and to various degrees find literal fulfillment of prophecies relating to this period of the earthly rule of Christ. Amillennialism and postmillennialism require extensive nonliteral interpretation of prophecies of the OT and NT as being fulfilled either in earth or in heaven, contemporaneously to the present age.

(See further L. S. Chafer, *Systematic Theology,* 8 vols. [1947-48], 4:255-439; J. Bright, *The Kingdom of God* [1953]; J. F. Walvoord, *The Millennial Kingdom* [1959]; J. D. Pentecost, *Things to Come* [1958]; A.J. McClain, *The Greatness of the Kingdom* [1968]; R. G. Clouse, ed., *The Meaning of the Millennium: Four Views* [1977]; C. L. Feinberg, *Millennialism: The Two Major Views: The Premillennial and Amillennial Systems of Biblical Interpretation Analyzed and Compared,* 3rd ed. [1980]; D. K. Campbell and J. L.Townsend, A *Case for Premillennialism: A New Consensus* [1992].)

J.F.WALVOORD

**Preparation Day.** Also, "the day of Preparation." This phrase is used to translate the single Greek word for "preparation," *paraskeuē G4187* (Matt. 27:62 [in this passage with the definite article]; Mk. 15:42; Jn. 19:31) and the fuller expression *hēmera…paraskeuēs* (Lk. 23:54). John also uses the phrases *tēn paraskeuēn tōn Ioudaiōn,* "the Preparation [Day] of the Jews" (Jn. 19:42) and *paraskeuē tou pascha,* "[day of] Preparation of the Passover" (v. 14). As observed in JUDAISM, the day in question was Friday, when everything had to be made ready to observe the day on which no work was permitted, the SABBATH. That Preparation was a reference to the sixth day is a point made explicitly by Mark ("that is, the day before the Sabbath") and less directly by Luke ("and the Sabbath was about to begin"). Similarly, JOSEPHUS speaks about the Sabbath and "the day in preparation for it" *(tē pro autēs paraskeuē, Ant.* 16.6.2 §163; cf. also *Did.* 8.1). All of the biblical references mentioned above have to do with the last week of Jesus' life, during PASSOVER Week, and the question arises whether John's expression, *paraskeuē tou pascha* (Jn. 19:14), might be a reference not to Friday but to the eve of Passover Day (this is strongly asserted by C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel according to John,* 2nd ed. [1978], 545, but he offers no evidence that the Gk. term was used in this sense). In view of the parallel passages in the synoptics, it has been argued that John's phrase means "the Friday during the week of Passover" (cf. NIV and see the discussion in D. A. Carson, *The Gospel according to John* [1991], 603—4). The question is complicated by what appear to be chronological differences between John and the synoptics. See CHRONOLOGY (NT) I.B.5; LORD'S SUPPER LA.

**presbyter.** See ELDER (NT).

**Presence, bread of.** See SHOWBREAD.

**president.** This English term is used by the KJV and other versions to render the Aramaic word *sārak H10518,* denoting a high official and referring specifically to three "administrators" (NIV) or "ministers" (NJPS) appointed by the king of PERSIA to be rulers over the 150 SATRAPS of the empire (Dan. 6:2-7). DANIEL was one of these officials, but the other two, as well as the satraps, conspired to condemn him.

**press.** A vat in which grapes were trodden to extract their juice. See WINE.

Wooden screw press used to extract oil from olives.

**prevent.** This English term, which now means "to hinder, to keep from happening," is used by the KJV in the archaic sense "to come or go before, to anticipate," and this use can be confusing in a number of passages (e.g., Ps. 119:147; Matt. 17:25; 1 Thess.4:15).

**prey.** See BIRDS OF PREY.

**prick.** See GOAD.

**pride.** Pride is more easily recognized than defined and is more easily detected in others than in oneself. The concept embraces many synonyms that reflect attitudes as well as acts—such as arrogance, presumption, conceit, and especially vanity and self-satisfaction. Pride is incessantly selfish, and a proud person thus loses any balance that might grow out of a recognition of one's true position as over against God or over against the ability and worth of others. Since human nature is understood primarily in its dependence upon God and finds further fulfillment in its relationships with others, it follows that pride is a self-isolating and independent attitude that cuts a person off from necessary relationships and perverts true humanity; thus pride is sin.

Although pride usually is thought of as a character trait by which persons, for their own

satisfaction, are constantly contrasting themselves to others, it is not really understood unless we realize that its very scorn of all others allows for no comparison or competition. It is a perversity of nature that is profoundly indifferent to the opinions and favors as well as the virtues of others. In this cold and hateful indifference it is most deadly. All satisfaction from pride is self-satisfaction, and it is endless: pride of evil, pride of goodness, pride of birth and position, even pride of humility. No moral suasion or guidance can break in because self-satisfaction always feels complete in itself. Augustine, Aquinas, and others make pride (as against selfishness, for example, or sensuality) the very essence of SIN.

The various Hebrew terms that can be rendered "pride," such as *ga)ăwâ H1452* (Ps. 73:6 et al.), are derived from roots meaning "to lift up, to be high" (see *NIDOTTE,* 1:786-88, and the synonyms listed at the end of the article). The NT includes a wide range of Greek terms, such as *alazoneia G224,* "pretension" (Jas.4:16; 1 Jn.2:16), *kauchēma G3017,* "boasting" (1 Cor. 5:6 et al.), *hyperēphania G5661,* "haughtiness" (Mk. 7:22), and others (see *NIDNTT,* 3:27-32, and the synonyms in LN §88.A). As J. A. Thayer suggests *(Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* [1889], 25), the pride condemned in the Bible is "an insolent and empty assurance which trusts in its own power and resources and shamefully despises and violates divine laws and human laws." When pride was approved, as for example in PAUL (1 Cor. 1:29-31; Gal. 6:14; Phil. 3:3 et al.), it rested on the sufficiency of Christ and not of Paul. See BOAST; HUMILITY.

A. H. LEITCH

**Priestly Code (Source).** See PENTATEUCH III; PRIESTS AND LEVITES.

**priests and Levites.** These terms occur hundreds of times in the OT and the NT, and much divergence of opinion exists among scholars as to the identity, function, and development of the individuals so designated. Ultimately, the matter has far-reaching ramifications for the history, worship, and religion of Israel.

1. Terminology
2. Origins and significance
3. History and development
    1. Traditional view
    2. Critical position
    3. Alternate views
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5. Priests in the NT
    1. The priestly caste
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    3. The priesthood of the church

**I. Terminology.** The customary Hebrew word for "priest," occurring about 650 times in the OT, is *kōhēn H3913* (Aram, *kāhēn H10347).* The cognate term in Phoenician is found in inscriptions as the proper name of the priest. W. Baudissin (*HDB,* 4:67-97) thinks it is quite possible that the priests of the OT were at first soothsayers (the meaning of Arabic *kâhin),* but he admits there is no evidence in the OT of ecstatic conditions on the part of the priests (though an important part of their ministry was the giving of oracles by means of URIM AND THUMMIM). The etymology of the word is quite uncertain;

some derive the word from the verb *kûn H3922* ("to establish"), suggesting that the priest is "one who stands" before God (cf. Deut. 10:8 and 2 Chr. 29:1, where however a different verb is used). A different term, *kōmer H4024* (possibly meaning "excited one"), occurs infrequently and is used in the OT exclusively of pagan priests (2 Ki. 23:5; Hos. 10:5; Zeph. 1:4); however, *kōhēn* can also be used in this way (2 Ki. 10:19 et al.).

The term for "Levite" is *lēwî H4291* (a gentilic of *lēwî H4290,* "Levi"), indicating a descendant of LEVI, son of JACOB and LEAH. Some have argued that it was first an official name for a priest and then later came to be attached to a tribe. The difficulty is that the history gives no sure support to this view, and, furthermore, it is hard to conceive of a supposed tribal name having come from an official name. The earliest description of the tribe of Levi (Gen. 49:5-7) gives no hint of its being priestly in character. According to Baudissin, the more probable conclusion is that Levi was at first a tribal name and afterward gained a secondary connotation as the official name of the priests who were chosen from this tribe. Others have claimed that the Levites were either foreigners who joined Israel in the time of the exodus or Hebrew attendants escorting the ARK OF THE COVENANT or assigned to a local sanctuary. These views do not sufficiently credit the biblical evidence that Levi was one of the original tribes, which appears repeatedly in the records (Gen. 34:25-30; 49:5; Deut. 33:8-11).

In general, it may be said that Levi was the priestly tribe, but that only the descendants of AARON functioned as priests in a strict sense. The other "Levites" (i.e., descendants of Levi) had a variety of religious duties, and thus the term *Levite* came to signify something like "priestly attendant." The distinctions are not always clear, however, and they probably evolved throughout the history of the nation. In fact, the combination *hakkōhănîm halĕwiyyim,* "the Levite-priests," occurs in a number of passages (Deut. 17:9 et al.; the two terms are reversed only in Jer. 33:21). Henry P. Smith (*ERE,* 10:308) maintains that the Levite was a priest considered as part of the personnel of a sanctuary, whereas the priest was the same individual when ministering as the interpreter of an oracle. But such distinctions are difficult to substantiate (see further below).

In the NT, the relevant Greek terms are *hiereus G2636* and *Leuitēs G3324.* See below, section V.

**II. Origins and significance.** In the pagan countries surrounding Israel, such as EGYPT and BABYLON, priesthood was closely connected with MAGIC and superstition. Numerous examples are available to illustrate the firm tie between the priesthood and the occult in ancient religions. With regard to Semitic priesthood in particular, students of the subject have drawn heavily on parallels from the Arab religion in its pagan forms. This procedure is legitimate (so the work of W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites,* rev. ed. [1907]), but care must be exercised in drawing one-for-one parallels with conditions in Israel. The priesthood in Israel takes into account another dimension in the religious world, that of supernatural REVELATION.

The prevalent mood in OT criticism assigns the most priestly portions of the OT to the latest dates. Priests are not mentioned at all in Exod. 20-23, where the Mosaic legislation is being set forth for the first time. It has been suggested that a priest is implied even from earliest times in matters not related to sacrifice, such as the administration of justice (22:7-9). Such a function of the priesthood, however, is not made explicit until a later time. The

The Levitical cities scattered among the twelve tribes, including six cities of refuge.

historical account places the origin of Israel's priesthood in Mosaic times in connection with ministry in the TABERNACLE (where the ark was kept), relates the priesthood to the kin of Moses, and specifically connects the sacerdotal office with Aaron and his family (Exod. 25-40).

The office of priesthood was vested in the tribe of Levi. The Bible indicates broadly that the priests were to minister at the altar, burn the sacrifices, and teach the law (Deut. 33:8-10). Although the Levites have been defined as the descendants of Levi (Gen. 29:34), some consider that Levi was an ideal personality (eponym theory). Levi was the third son of Jacob by Leah, and the ancestor of the tribe of Levites.The curse of Jacob on Levi (49:5-7; cf. 34:25-31) was turned into a blessing by Moses (Exod. 32:29; Deut. 33:8-9). The tribe of Levi was given no tribal inheritance in Canaan, for God said to Aaron: "I am your share and your inheritance among the Israelites" (Num. 18:20).

From the sons of Levi—GERSHON, KOHATH, and MERARI—three Levitical families developed. It was Kohath who (through his grandson Aaron) supplied the actual priests. Other Levites helped as their assistants around the sanctuary (Num. 3:5-10). When HEZEKIAH and JOSIAH instituted their reforms (2 Ki. 18:4; 23:8-9), the Levites who were ministering at other sanctuaries in the land lost their positions. Priesthood was restricted to descendants of Aaron. Some non-Levites, however, performed priestly functions on occasion: GIDEON (Jdg. 6:26); MANOAH of Dan (13:19); the son of MICAH, an Ephraimite (17:5); DAVID's sons (2 Sam. 8:18).

In Israel, the priesthood represented the nation's relationship with God. The COVENANT of God was mediated through the priests. In biblical theology the concepts of priesthood and covenant are closely related. The original intention in the Mosaic covenant was for the entire nation to be a kingdom of priests and a holy nation (Exod. 19:5-6; cf. Lev. 11:44-45; Num. 15:40; Isa. 61:6). The fact that God vested priestly functions in one tribe did not release the rest of the nation from their

original obligation.

The Levites served in a representative character for the whole nation in the matter of the honor, privilege, and obligation of priesthood. When the priests ministered, they did so as the representatives of the people. It was a practical necessity that the corporate obligation of the covenant people should be carried out by priestly representatives. Furthermore, the priests in their separated condition symbolized the purity and HOLINESS God required. They were a visible reminder of God's righteous requirements. Moreover, as substitutes for the people they maintained the nation's covenant relationship with God intact. The primary function of the Levitical priesthood, therefore, was to maintain and assure, as well as reestablish, the holiness of the chosen people of God (Exod. 28:38; Lev. 10:7; Num. 18:1). The priesthood mediated the covenant of God with Israel (Mal. 2:4-6; cf. Num. 18:19; Jer.33:20-26).

In early Israel, an important function of the priests was to discover the will of God by means of the EPHOD (1 Sam. 23:6-12). They were constantly occupied with instruction in the law (Mal. 2). Of course, their duties always included offering of SACRIFICES. Early priests were guardians of the sanctuary and interpreters of the oracle (1 Sam. 14:18). Instructions in the law belonged to the priests (Hos. 4:1-10). The priest acted as judge, a consequence of his imparting answers to legal questions (Exod.33:7-11).

The priesthood was divided into three groups: (1) the high priest, (2) ordinary priests, and (3) Levites. All three descended from Levi. All priests were Levites, but it is by no means the case that all Levites were priests. The lowest order of priesthood was the Levites who cared for the service of the sanctuary. They took the place of the FIRSTBORN who belonged by right to God (Exod. 13:2,12-13; 22:29; 34:19-20; Lev. 27:26; Num. 3:12-13, 41, 45; 8:14-17; 18:15; Deut. 15:19). The sons of Aaron, who were set apart for the special office of priest, were above the Levites. Only they could minister at the SACRIFICES of the altar. The highest level of the priesthood was the high priest. He represented bodily the height of the purity of the priesthood. He bore the names of all the tribes of Israel on his BREASTPIECE into the sanctuary, thus representing all the people before God (Exod. 28:29). Only he could enter the holiest of all, and only on one day a year, to make expiation for the sins of the entire nation.

The ceremonies connected with the consecration of the priests are described in Exod. 29 and Lev. 8. They included a ritual bathing, anointing, clothing, and sacrifices. The washing was intended to symbolize cleansing of heart for the duties that were so intimately related to the purity of the nation before God.The anointing (Lev. 8:10-11) involved pouring of oil on the head of the high priest and the sprinkling of oil on the garments of the other priests (vv. 22-24). See ANOINT. The vestments of the priests, and especially of the high priest, were both costly and beautiful (Exod. 28:3-5; Lev. 8:7-9). The consecration sacrifices included a sin offering (8:14-17), burnt offering (vv. 18-21), and a special consecration offering (vv. 22-32). Ram's blood was applied to the right ear, thumb, and toe of Aaron and his sons to symbolize complete bodily consecration to the Lord.

## III. History and development

### *A. Traditional view*

**1. General observation.** In probably no other field of OT research are the conclusions of modern critical investigation in such marked opposition to the traditional view as in the matter of priests and Levites. The approach of J. Wellhausen to OT religion brought about a radical reconstruction of the

history of priesthood in Israel and the relationship of priests and Levites. Critical scholars, however, are far from reaching agreement. Modifications of a thoroughgoing character in the critical appraisal

The Levitical priests would blow the trumpet from this platform inscribed "place of trumpeting," originally located on the SW corner of the temple.

are called for. Before the beginning of the historical criticism of the OT, the account of the priesthood in the PENTATEUCH was accepted as valid history.

The record indicates that the priesthood began with Moses, who was of the tribe of Levi. By divine authority, Moses consecrated his brother Aaron and Aaron's sons to be priests (Exod. 28:1). The consecration rituals lasted for a week (29:35-36; Lev. 8:15-29, 35). After that, Aaron and his sons undertook the sacrificial duties (Lev. 9). The priesthood was restricted to the family of Aaron and his descendants (Exod. 28:1, 43; Num. 3:10). Aaron's position was unique as the anointed priest (Exod. 29:7), with special robes of office (28:4, 6-39; Lev. 8:7-9). At his death, the office passed to his son ELEAZAR (Num. 20:25-28). The high priest was in the first rank among the priests, and his death marked the end of a theocratic era or cycle (Lev. 21:10; Num. 35:28).

Because Aaron was a Levite (i.e., a descendant of Levi), the Hebrew priesthood resided in the Levites exclusively. After the induction of Aaron and his sons into the priesthood, the whole tribe of Levi was set apart, as substitutes for the firstborn, to minister in the service of the sanctuary (Num. 3:5-51). The Levites consisted of three groups: Gershonites, Kohathites, and Merarites, with specific duties for each group (3:14-18; see GERSHON, KOHATH, MERARI). When KORAH and his followers rebelled against the authority of Aaron (ch. 16), they were destroyed and the priesthood of Aaron was signally confirmed.

The traditional position of the priesthood is uncomplicated. In this view, the three ranks of the hierarchy are high priest, priests, and Levites; they originate with Moses in the wilderness, and the system is operative through the postexilic period, thus spanning the whole history of Israel. In short, (a) all the Pentateuchal laws came from God through Moses; (b) the record of the later history given in Chronicles was accurate; (c) the vision of Ezekiel, if interpreted literally, could not be reconciled with known facts, hence needed further explanation, and in cases of discrepancies in the records, harmonizations were to be accepted.

**2. Priesthood in pre-Mosaic times.** In early Hebrew times, as in the time before ABRAHAM, there was no special priestly class. The Pentateuch explicitly relates the sanctuary, the sacrificial system, and the priestly class with divine revelation through Moses. In patriarchal times, the head of each household exercised the priestly function of sacrifice. In fact, it may be said that God himself initiated the concept of priesthood at the time of the fall of ADAM (cf. Gen. 3:21). It has been suggested that

inquiry at an oracle (25:22) and giving of tithes (28:22) imply a sanctuary with an officiating priest, but this may be overloading the facts with an unwarranted conclusion.

**3. Mosaic** age. As previously stated, the full-fledged priestly system in Israel began with Moses. This does not mean that priestly functions of sacrifices and gifts to God were lacking, because, as shown above, heads of households cared for these important matters. In light of this, it is unnecessary to be embarrassed by the mention of "priests" prior to the giving of the law (Exod. 19:22; the reading "elders" in the Gk. version by Aquila is uncalled for). Wellhausen claimed on the basis of Exod. 33:7-11 that Joshua had charge of the ark. A careful examination of the passage reveals Joshua was an attendant at the special tent of meeting that Moses pitched outside the camp, a temporary arrangement. Joshua was an Ephraimite and was never considered a priest (from whom he is distinguished, cf. Josh. 3:6), nor did he ever perform priestly duties. The Pentateuchal books firmly lodge the priesthood in the tribe of Levi, and in the house of Aaron, by direction of God through Moses.

Aaron and his sons were consecrated for their duties; Exod. 28—29 relates the details of their consecration (cf. Lev. 8—9). The priests ministered about the altar (Lev. 1; 4). They taught the people the law of the Lord (Lev. 10:11; Deut. 24:8; 33:10; Hos. 4:1-6). There were special laws for the maintenance of their purity (Lev. 21; 22). The provisions were principally concerned with prevention of defilement, which rendered them unfit for service.

A portion of the sacrifice was given the priest as revenue by the offering Israelites, and the skin of the slain animal was his. In Deuteronomy it is stated that at the sanctuary the priest shared in the FIRSTFRUITS and the TITHE. Every third year the tithe was to be distributed to the poor, among whom the Levites were listed (Deut. 12:17-19; 14:22, 29; 26:12). It is laid down that a tenth of the produce of the land was to go to the Levites for their support (Num. 18:21-24). The sin offerings and trespass offerings belonged to the priests along with an annual tax of half a shekel for each male Israelite for the support of the sanctuary. A tenth of the tithes collected by the Levites went to the priests. Cities with pasturelands were assigned to the Levites, with a designated number of these cities for the priests.

The Levites were given additional duties in place of their transport obligations, and they were the necessary personnel to implement the legislation when Israel was scattered over the land of Canaan (Deut. 18:6-8; 21:5; 24:8; 33:8). All the writers of the second division of the Hebrew CANON (the Prophets, which also includes Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings) had this understanding of the matter. All knew of the validity of a Levitical priesthood; nowhere do they mention exclusive Aaronic rights.

The traditional position has held to a Mosaic division of the priesthood into priests and Levites. It cannot find in the Pentateuch evidence of a reading back of later conditions into the wilderness age. Further, it can find no ground for the contention that, if the hierarchical system was actually ancient and Mosaic, it is incomprehensible that traces of it would be completely absent in the days of the monarchy. Some claim that Ezekiel's demotion of the non-Zadokite Levites was indicated as a new provision, that such an arrangement is strange if the priestly ranks were a matter of ancient days, and that there is no indisputable evidence available for the presence of a distinction between priests and Levites in the Hebrew literature of the preexilic period.

By way of refutation, conservative scholars point out that there is a list of Levitical cities in Josh. 21, and that the account of the rebellion of Korah shows that the provisions of the postexilic law were already recognized. The critical rebuttal is that at the time of Israel's settlement in the land Josh.

21 could not have been implemented, because the majority of cities listed were not occupied by Israel until long afterward, or, if occupied, were not inhabited by Levites. The evidence of the rebellion of Korah is discounted on the basis that the record of the incident is of composite origin. Subjective reasoning does not yield readily at any time to objective evidence.

**4. Moses to Malachi.** From this discussion, the evidence of Ezekiel will be withheld for a later time. The priesthood is designated the inheritance of the Levites (Josh. 18:7). In some biblical books, "the priests and the Levites" and more simply "the priests" are expressions that occur alternately. It is clear that the sacred character of the tribe of Levi was recognized in early post-Mosaic times. ELI was threatened with loss of the high priesthood (1 Sam. 2:27-36), and this word was fulfilled when SOLOMON replaced ABIATHAR with ZADOK (1 Ki. 2:27). Zadok (1 Chr. 6:8, 53; 24:3; 27:17) was a descendant of Aaron through Eleazar. Others do not take the Chronicler literally and hold that Zadok was not of Aaron, and thus that the Aaronic succession was terminated and transferred to a family of non-Aaronic Levites. Information on the organization of the priesthood is furnished by 1 Sam. 2:27-36, showing that the high priest had authority over a number of priestly offices with remuneration and other privileges. This calls for a more advanced hierarchy than envisioned in the so-called Priestly Code. Passages in the books of Kings reveal development in hierarchical organization (2 Ki. 12:10; 19:2; 25:18; cf. also Jer. 20:1-2; 29:26).

**5. From David to the exile.** When David made the Jebusite stronghold his capital, he transferred the ark of the covenant there, making it a royal sanctuary. He performed certain priestly functions (2 Sam. 6:17-18) and wore on occasion the priestly linen ephod (v. 14). Solomon offered sacrifices at the dedication of the temple (1 Ki. 8:5, 62-63) and certain offerings three times a year (9:25). Although priests are not mentioned at these times, their presence appears to be self-evident. The relation of the kings of the northern kingdom to the sanctuary at BETHEL was analogous to that of the kings of Judah to the temple in Jerusalem. At Jerusalem, where there was a large complement of priests, one of them was considered the head (e.g., Jehoiada, 2 Ki. 11:9; Uriah, 16:10-11; Hilkiah, 22:10; and Seraiah, 25:18), although the title "chief priest" *(kōhēn hārōʾš)* is found in few passages (2 Ki. 25:18; several times in 2 Chronicles; Ezra 7:5; and Jer. 52:24); the title "high priest" *(hakkōhēn haggādôt)* occurs about twenty times (Lev. 21:10 et al.). The influence of this leader at Jerusalem was considerable (cf. JEHOIADA versus Queen ATHALIAH, 2 Ki. 8:26; 11:4-20; 12:2; 2 Chr. 22:2).

Reference is made to priests of "the second" (*hammišneh, 2* Ki. 23:4; 25:18), probably referring to those who belonged to a secondary rank. Next in rank were "the guardians of the threshold" (šō*mĕrê hassap,* 25:18 et al.), who must have been higher than regular doorkeepers. In the time of JOASH (12:10), these priests are seen as guards of the entrance to the inner court of the altar of burnt offering. They also collected the people's gifts to the temple (22:4). Theirs must have been a preexilic priestly office; it is not mentioned in later times.

The critical claim is made that the presence of a class of sanctuary personnel, different from the priests or lower in rank, called Levites, cannot be proved for the period of the monarchy, and this in spite of several passages (e.g., 2 Sam. 15:24; 1 Ki. 8:3-4; 12:31), which are summarily dismissed as later interpolations.

After the EXILE, references are made to temple servants (see NETHINIM), who were given by David and the princes for the ministry of the Levites or the temple (Ezra 8:20). Postexilic temple singers and doorkeepers were evidently descendants of those who had served in the same capacity in preexilic times (Ezra 2:41-42; Neh. 7:44-45).

The Deuteronomic regulations in behalf of the Levites were not completely implemented in Josiah's reform. There is no indication of a wholesale influx of non-Jerusalemite Levites into Jerusalem and their participation in the ministry there. According to 2 Ki. 23, there appears to have been a threefold distinction among the priests outside Jerusalem: those who served pagan gods and were deposed (v. 5); priests from cities of Judah who were gathered by Josiah (v. 8); and priests of the high places, who were not permitted to approach the altar in Jerusalem, but were allowed to remain where they resided and find their sustenance there (v. 9).

Jeremiah called his relatives at ANATHOTH priests (Jer. 1:1). The book of Jeremiah gives no proof for the existence of a class of Levites distinct from the priests. Some organization of the priests evidently existed, for there is reference to elders of the priests (19:1), to the chief officer in the temple (20:1; 29:25-26), and to a keeper of the threshold (35:4). Priests seem to be considered court officials (21:1; 29:25-26,29; 37:3).

**6. In Ezekiel.** Ezekiel set forth a body of laws during the exile for the future theocracy. Because of the prominence he gave to the Zadokites, it is held that he was also of this family (Ezek. 1:3). In his temple of the future, only the Levite priests, the sons of Zadok, are to enjoy priestly privileges (43:19): to offer sacrifices and approach the table of showbread, because in Israel's time of apostasy these did not go into idolatry. Those priests who took part in Israel's departure into idolatry would not be allowed to minister in the office of priest or approach the holy things, but would be occupied with less sacred duties (44:6-14; 46:24). Ezekiel speaks neither of a priest nor a king in the future commonwealth, but of a prince with certain priestly privileges. In Ezekiel's temple there is no sacred ark to which a priest might draw near, for God inhabits the temple.

Ezekiel gives certain rules for the priests relative to their clothing (Ezek. 44:17-18), the manner of boiling the sacrifices, baking the meal offering (46:19-20), the care of their hair, the drinking of wine (44:20-21), their marriage (v. 22), defilement from dead bodies (vv. 26-27), eating habits (v. 31), and judicial decisions (vv. 23-24). The priests are not to have an inheritance in the land (44:28); however, a portion of land immediately about the temple is assigned to them, and a district bordering on the priests' land to the Levites (45:1 –5; 48:10-14). Portions of sacrifices as well as sacred gifts are to be given them.

It is undeniable that Ezekiel inaugurated certain reforms in his portrayal of the future, as he was instructed by divine revelation. He shows acquaintance with Lev. 10 and other passages in the Priestly Code (Ezek. 22:26). How is Ezekiel's vision of the future in chs. 40-48 to be understood? One view has held that it is impossible to reconcile Ezekiel with the Priestly Code ("P" or the priestly source of the Pentateuch). Wellhausen dated Ezekiel before P and claimed Ezekiel introduced the distinction between priests and Levites for the first time. The third position is that Ezekiel knew P and built from it a new division among the Levites, in which the sons of Zadok held a position similar to that of the sons of Aaron in the wilderness (44:6-16). This view appears to have the most to commend it.

### *B. Critical position*

**1. General observation.** OT scholars claim that the history of the priesthood in Israel is highly complex. It is asserted that in spite of the unanimous Hebrew tradition concerning the Mosaic origin of the Levitical priesthood, evidence appears in even the older records that the priesthood was not exclusively Levitical in the early period. It came to be so restricted only by the close of the 7th cent.

B.C. with a further narrowing during the subsequent two centuries to a special group within the Levites. However, the Priestly Code includes a distinction between priests and Levites from the beginning.

Each tenet of the traditional position has been opposed. The Pentateuch is denied to Moses, the Chronicler is said to be unreliable, harmonizations are regarded as useless, and Ezekiel is accorded a prominent place in the development of Israel's religious history. The view is developed after this manner: *Levite* was originally a word to indicate professional skill; thus the first Levites were not of the tribe of Levi, but were professional priests. The entire Levitical law was unknown, and there was no distinction between priests and Levites. Throughout the preexilic literature, the terms *Levite* and *priest* were used synonymously (cf. Deut. 17:9, 18; 18:1; 21:8; 27:9; Josh. 3:3; Jer. 33:18, 21); the only exception is said to be 1 Ki. 8:4, where, however, as the parallel passage in 2 Chr. 5:5 allegedly shows, the presence of the Hebrew "and" (in "and the Levites") is a later insertion.

A few great sanctuaries, it is said, existed with one prominent priesthood at SHILOH and later at NOB. The priesthood became more influential with the monarchy, the royal priests at Jerusalem in time overshadowing all others. Deuteronomy gave equal priestly privilege to all Levites. Josiah's reform put the sons of Zadok—who were priests at Jerusalem and, according to Wellhausen, not descendants of Aaron—in a superior position. Later, Ezekiel made a new distinction between the priests, the Levites, the sons of Zadok in charge of the altar, and other Levites who were assigned as keepers of the charge of the house, because they had officiated at idolatrous high places. The Priestly Code (so continues the theory) accepted this distinction and claimed for it Mosaic origin, representing the sons of Zadok as sons of Aaron. This situation became normative, and the formula "the priests and the Levites," especially in Chronicles, was customary. From that time priests and Levites were two well-defined classes.

**2. Priesthood in the earliest period.** The only priests mentioned in Genesis and Exodus before the giving of the law of Moses were foreign priests: MELCHIZEDEK (Gen. 14:18), Egyptian priests (41:45), and JETHRO the Midianite priest (Exod. 2:16; 3:1; 18:1). General references to priests before the law are found in Exod. 19:22,24, which seem to imply a Hebrew priesthood before Moses. Moreover, Exod. 32:25-29 (which literary critics assign to P) indicates the Levites were given the priesthood for their faithfulness in carrying out the wrath of God after the sin of the golden calf.

At first the priest was concerned both with sacrifice and with direction in the affairs of life. In Deut. 33 (dated by higher criticism to late 10th or early 8th cent. B.C.), the teaching function of the priest is prominent (v. 10). It was done through the URIM AND THUMMIM (v. 8) and by reference to the legal code. He was teacher and administrator of legal precedent and justice (Deut. 17:8-9; 21:5).

In earliest times sacrifice was not the sole province of a priest, as indicated by the actions of Cain and Abel (Gen. 4:4), Noah (8:20), Abraham (12:7-8), Isaac (26:25), and Jacob (35:3, 7). Heads of families performed priestly functions before the building of the temple (Jdg. 13:19; cf. Job 1:5). It was true of a judge (Jdg. 6:19), a prophet (1 Ki. 18:30-38), and a king (2 Sam. 6:17; 1 Ki. 8:22, 62). It appears that priests were connected with specific shrines where they transmitted the will of God by oracle and offered sacrifices (Jdg. 20:18,27; 1 Sam. 1:3). At this time (premonarchical), the priesthood was not exclusively Levitical (Jdg. 17:5, 7-13). In the early monarchy, references show non-Levitical priests were present alongside the Levitical order. Two Levitical families existed in the judges' period: that of Dan set up by Jonathan, grandson of Moses (18:1-4, 14-20, 30), and that of Shiloh, occupied by Eli and his sons, descendants of Aaron (1 Sam. 1 –4; 22:20; 1 Ki. 2:27). Probably some not of Levitical descent were joined to the tribe of Levi (Deut. 33:8-9). It was true of

Samuel. He was an Ephraimite by birth (1 Sam. 1:1), but ministered as priest in the sanctuary (1:27, 28; 2:11, 18; 3:1); so the Chronicler considered him as a Levite (1 Chr. 6:16-28).

**3. Under the monarchy.** During this time, the priesthood was found in families. The priesthood of Dan lasted to the end of the northern kingdom in 721 B.C. When the Philistines captured the ark (1 Sam. 4:10-11), the house of Eli probably moved from Shiloh to Nob, where Saul had them slain (21:1-9; 22:9-19). Abiathar escaped (22:20) and officiated in David's reign at Jerusalem with Zadok (2 Sam. 8:17; 15:24-29). He was removed from office by Solomon for his support of Adonijah (1 Ki. 1:5-8; 2:26-27), and Zadok took his place (2:35). The Zadokite house of priests remained at Jerusalem until the destruction of the temple in 586 (1 Chr. 6:8). Zadok's descent is traced to Aaron's son Eleazar (6:3-12, 50-53; 24:3). During the monarchy, the non-Levitical priesthood was established by Jeroboam the son of Nebat in the northern kingdom (1 Ki. 12:31; 12:33).

Three other references to priests apart from the Levitical order are: (1) David's sons (2 Sam.

Reproduction of the table of showbread, one of the furnishings of the tabernacle.

8:18); (2) Ira the Jairite as a priest to David (20:26); (3) Zabud son of Nathan as priest of Solomon (1 Ki. 4:5). The difficulty is that Zadok and Abiathar, regular priests, were ministering as well during the reigns of David and Solomon. A solution has been suggested by understanding these men to be friends of the king with the courtesy title of priest.

During the early monarchy the king performed priestly duties. Saul offered a burnt offering and peace offerings in Gilgal during the absence of Samuel, and received the latter's rebuke (1 Sam. 13:8-13). David oversaw the removal of the ark to Jerusalem (2 Sam. 6:12-19), wore the priestly ephod (v. 14), offered sacrifices (vv. 13, 17), and blessed the people in God's name (v. 18). At the dedication of the temple, Solomon stood before the altar to offer the prayer of dedication, presented the offerings (animal and cereal), and blessed the people (1 Ki. 8:22-53, 62-64), while the priests and Levites brought the ark and holy vessels into the holy place (vv. 4, 6). Solomon offered burnt offerings, peace offerings, and incense three times a year (9:25). Jeroboam son of Nebat offered sacrifices and burned incense (12:32-33). Ahaz, in the 8th cent. B.C., instructed Uriah the priest to build at Jerusalem a copy of the altar at Damascus, but he himself offered sacrifices on it (2 Ki. 16:10-13). Evidently the king was a priest-king, mediating between God and Israel. The Chronicler, however, viewed Uzziah's attempt to burn incense in the temple as a violation of the priests' rights, for which the king was stricken with leprosy for life (2 Chr. 26:16-20).

A general observation for this period would be that with the multiplication of sanctuaries and the forming of the priests throughout the land into one well-defined class, priests and Levites became equivalent terms. Their common traditions of law and ritual were then traced to Moses (Deut. 33:11).

Though dependent on the monarchy, they enjoyed an increasing influence (cf. Jehoiada, 2 Ki. 11).

**4. Under Josiah (Deuteronomy).** The reform of Josiah in 621 B.C. determined to put an end to the high places and centralize worship at Jerusalem (2 Ki. 23:1 –24). The book of the law found in the temple (22:8-13; 23:1-3) is generally considered to be the book of Deuteronomy. Sacrifice now belonged to the priesthood and could be offered only at the temple in Jerusalem (Deut. 12:5-7, 11, 13-14). Priests were all sons of Levi (10:8; 18:1; 21:5; 33:8). It has been suggested that every priest did not have to be a lineal descendant of Levi; the Levites may have adopted into the Levitical priesthood those who were not related to Levi. The consensus of most OT scholars is that in Deuteronomy, "priest" and "Levite" are synonymous, that is, all priests are Levites and all Levites are priests without distinction (10:8; 18:1; 21:5; 33:8-11). The case is not incontrovertible.

Before Josiah's reform, the priesthood was distributed widely throughout the land. Nob was the city of the priests in the early monarchy (1 Sam. 22:18-19); in Josiah's reign there was a priestly group at Anathoth (Jer. 1:1). Every town seemed to have had its local sanctuary with at least one Levitical priest (Deut. 18:6). This priesthood had no territorial inheritance (18:1). There is no mention of a Levitical tithe, but the Levite was to share with the sojourner, fatherless, and widow the bounty of the community where he resided (14:27-29; 16:11, 14; 26:12). The removal of the local sanctuaries meant the loss of sustenance for those who became unemployed through this decree. Josiah had them all come to Jerusalem to share in the duties of the priesthood at the temple (2 Ki. 23:8; cf. Deut. 18:6-8, assuming Levite means priest). In actual practice, the priests of the high places did not minister at the Jerusalem altar, but received their share of the support (2 Ki. 23:9). There is the possibility that 2 Ki. 23:8 has reference to others beside the idolatrous priests of the high places (v. 5). In that case, Josiah may have made a distinction, deposing those who had apostatized and allowing the others full equality in the Jerusalem priesthood. It is clear that Ezekiel made such a distinction (Ezek. 44:10).

Whereas Ezekiel restricts certain priestly duties to the house of Zadok (cf. Ezek. 44:13-15 with 1 Chr. 6:3-8), Deuteronomy shows that all Levites were considered priests (cf. "the Levite priests," Deut. 18:1). The conditions of the priesthood at the end of the monarchy are said to be "unquestionably portrayed" in Deuteronomy. Since Deuteronomy does not aim particularly to present the divine service, its author does not give a complete picture of the existent priestly relations, the gaps of which cannot be filled in with certainty.

As already stated, priests are referred to in Deuteronomy as "the Levitical priests" (Deut. 17:9,18; 18:1). Special descent is indicated (cf. also 21:5; 31:9). Deuteronomy does not distinguish between "Levitical priests" and "Levites" (18:1). Levites who lived elsewhere in the land apart from Jerusalem could claim the same privileges as the Levite priests settled in Jerusalem if they came to reside at the capital (18:6-8). Throughout Deuteronomy, then, Levites were those called to the priesthood proper. "Chief priest" is meant in 10:6 (where we are told that Eleazar succeeded Aaron), and probably this is the sense in 26:3.

The tribe of Levi had no inheritance in the land according to Deuteronomy, for the Lord was their portion, that is, they were to be supported by their service (Deut. 10:9; 18:1). Deuteronomy stresses kindness to the Levites who were not ministering at the central sanctuary (12:12, 18). Specific provisions were made for them: invitations to meals made from tithes (14:27, 29), to sacrificial meals (12:12, 18-19; 26:11), and to celebrations of the festivals (16:11, 14), as well as the receipt of the third year's tithe with other needy ones (26:12).

W. Robertson Smith and A. Bertholet (in *EncBib,* 3:2770-76) hold that in Deut. 33 Levi appears

as the collective name for the priesthood. The priesthood referred to is said to be that of the northern kingdom under the dynasty of Jehu (their origin supposedly indicated, Jdg. 17:9; 18:30). Judean priests in later times came also to be known as Levites (Deut. 10:8-9; 18:1-2). It is revealed that the Judean Levites were not limited to temple service, but also included the priests of the high places removed by Josiah (Ezek. 44:10-13). In Judah and in the N, the priestly rights of Levi were traced to Mosaic times (Deut. 10:8; 33:8). However, the Judean priests did not recognize the Levitical position of their northern counterparts (1 Ki. 12:31).

**5. In Ezekiel.** In no area of the subject of priests and Levites do the traditional and critical positions diverge more than at this point. It is undeniable that the exile marked for Israel a great dividing boundary between two eras. In the latter part of the 7th cent. B.C., the priesthood was limited to the Levites. By then all priests were Levites. With postexilic times there came a restriction of the priesthood to a special part of the Levites, that is, those of Aaronic descent. Ezekiel is transitional between preexilic and postexilic conditions, supplying, it is commonly claimed, the bridge between the organization of the worship of the 7th cent. and that of the second temple.

Ezekiel's vision of the new temple (Ezek. 40-44) pictures God as dwelling in the midst of his people in holiness, a basic concept in the prophet's view of the future theocracy. See TEMPLE, JERUSALEM, V. He sees holiness through separation. To achieve this objective, there must be a radical change in the priesthood (44:5-16). The Nethinim and sons of Solomon's servants, who did menial tasks about the temple, were probably war captives given to the Levites as temple slaves (Num. 31:28-30, 40-41, 47; Josh. 9:23,27); their place was now to be taken over by the Levites who had gone into idolatry (Ezek. 44:9 –14). These Levites would no longer be permitted ministry at the altar (vv. 12-13), a service now limited to the Zadokites of Jerusalem who had been faithful in times of apostasy (vv. 15-16).

Some scholars identify the non-Zadokite Levites with the priests of the high places which Josiah had proscribed. It is held that the priests of the surrounding country, although admitted to the temple personnel by Josiah, were nevertheless barred by the Jerusalem priests from access to the altar. On the other hand, it could be that Josiah did not demote all the priests of the provinces but only those who had committed idolatry at the high places; it is of these that Ezekiel spoke in his new regulations for the future. The prophet never intimated wholesale degradation of the Levites, but only those who were guilty of participation in idolatry.

It is not conclusive that Ezekiel had in mind Levites (apart from those of the Judean local sanctuaries) other than those who were faithful and unfaithful in times of Israel's national apostasy, a condition by no means restricted to Josiah's reign (Ezek. 44:10, 15-23). However, R. Abba (in *IDB,* 3:883) feels that Ezekiel is referring to one specific act of national (?) apostasy of which no Zadokite priests of Jerusalem were guilty, namely, the idolatry inaugurated by Jeroboam I of the northern kingdom (1 Ki. 12:28-32). One might ask whether all non-Zadokite Levites were involved in this apostasy. The data are not at hand to answer the question definitely.

It is clear that Ezekiel laid down two regulations: (1) only consecrated persons could enter the temple; and (2) the family of Zadok was to enjoy special privileges among the consecrated persons (Ezek. 44:6-16). The discussion later will deal with the subject of the priesthood in P, but here it may be well to state some considerations relative to Ezekiel and P. Ezekiel 44:9-14 required the following of Levites: services as gatekeepers, slaying of burnt offerings and sacrifices for the people, and the performance of certain duties in the house of God. P says nothing of gatekeeping or slaying of burnt offering and sacrifice (the duty of the offerer himself, Lev. 1:3). A Levite would have courted

death if he had entered the places where Ezekiel expected him to serve. Notice also the Chronicler's position (1 Chr. 23:28, 31). According to P, an approach to the altar by a Levite would have meant death to themselves and the priests (Num. 18:3). The conclusion is inescapable that the Levites in P are not a projection of the Levites of the second temple or any age after Moses back into the wilderness age. Levites are sacred porters in P. The views of Ezekiel (and of the Chronicler) do not coincide with those of P.

In short, the most advanced stage of the priestly system saw the division of the sanctuary personnel into two ranks. All were viewed as Levites by descent (Exod. 6:25), but the majority of the Levites were subordinate ministers who were not permitted access to the altar or the performance of any priestly ministry. The priesthood resided in the descendants of Aaron. In preexilic documents, it is claimed, no such condition existed as between priests and Levites. Ezekiel was unaware of the distinction; in 40:45 he called priests those whom he elsewhere designated Levites (44:10-11,14; 45:5). He held every Levite was a priest or was qualified to be one (Deut. 10:8; 18:7). The Zadokite priests of the temple were not willing to concede to the provincial priests all the privileges outlined in Deut. 18 at the time the latter lost their local ministry. Ezekiel in his new scheme of the future temple solidified this exclusion from the altar (Ezek. 44:7-13). Postexilic times saw the implementation of this arrangement: priests and Levites are distinguished in Ezra 2 and Neh. 7. Other classes of temple staff are differentiated from the Levites, but the distinctions were not so important when *Levite* meant "subordinate minister."

**6. Priesthood in the Priestly Code.** It may be well at the outset of the discussion to fix the date of the Priestly Code (P). There are those, such as Baudissin, who feel that there is more than one date for P, because there are different strata in the material. It is suggested that there is so great an affinity between Ezekiel's data and P that one must be dependent on the other. Ezekiel is said to be prior, for he was the first to introduce the distinction between priests and Levites. Baudissin feels there are enough regulations distinctive to P so that he favors the priority of P. In the final analysis, it is conceded there is hardly a possibility of a certain date for the various strata of P and hence for the document as a whole. Contrary to the view of the majority of modern critics, he chooses the position that P is prior to Ezekiel and probably even antedates Josiah's reform.

Actually, the scope of the book of the law that was recognized under Ezra is not known with certainty, but it probably should be understood as the whole Pentateuch. In these books, P has more to say about laws relating to the priesthood than any of the sources. Its collection of laws deals mainly with ritual. It is claimed that only the work of a redactor has molded P into a harmonious whole. The Law of Holiness (Lev. 17-26), the oldest part of P, speaks only of the priests or the priest with no attempt to define their descent, and no mention of Levites or other sanctuary personnel. To arrive at this position one must emend texts like Lev. 6:7; 25:32-34. The Law of Holiness had minute laws regarding the purity of the priests (21:1-9) and the highpriest(21:10-15).

According to P, priesthood originated in Israel in Moses' time, when the authorized place of sacrifice was set up in the tent of meeting by divine command. Only Aaron and his sons were installed as priests (Exod. 28:11; 40:12-15). Of Aaron's sons, Eleazar is given the covenant of an eternal priesthood because of the godly zeal of PHINEHAS, son of Eleazar (Num. 25:12-13). For the execution of the duties of their office, a special priestly attire was prescribed (Exod. 28:40-43).

In P, the ritual duties of the priests were manifold. Sacrifices and offering incense were their exclusive prerogatives (Lev. 1:5, 11, 15; Num. 16:40) along with care of the showbread (Lev. 24:8) and lampstand (Exod. 27:20-21). Their charge was to preserve the distinction between clean and

unclean, sacred and profane, and to teach Israel the statutes of the Lord (Lev. 10:10-11). Aaron and his sons were consecrated to office by special ceremonies (Exod. 29; Lev. 8). Ministering Aaronites had to be free of physical defects (Lev. 21:16-23). The priests were to be zealous to maintain personal Levitical cleanness (22:2-8).

At the head of the priests in the time of Moses was Aaron, and later always one of his descendants (Exod. 29:29-30). His usual title was "the priest" (29:30; 31:10); he is designated also as "the anointed priest" (Lev. 4:3, 5, 16) and as "high priest" (Lev. 21:10; Num. 35:25, 28). The high priestly office was for life. The chief priest was always distinguished by official costumes (Exod. 28; Lev. 8). No one but the high priest could enter the Holy of Holies, and that on the Day of Atonement when he made atonement for himself, his family, the priests, the congregation, and the sanctuary (Lev. 16). The high priest held no position of secular authority. The laws of purity for him were more stringent than those for the priests generally.

In P, the Aaronite priests are a particular family of the tribe of Levi. Only in isolated cases is the term *Levites* applied to all of that tribe including the Aaronites (Exod. 6:25; Lev. 25:32-33; Num. 35:1-8); the usual reference is to non-Aaronite Levites alone. The tribe as a whole is viewed as consecrated to God as a compensation for the firstborn male in Israel who belonged to God (Num. 3:12-13). The Levites ministered to the priests. The Kohathites in particular were in charge of the transportation and setting up of the tabernacle on the march (1:51; 18:4,22). It is not stated what the Levites were to do after the sanctuary was set up, nor what their service was to be once Israel came into settled life in the land of promise. It may be that they performed certain services between the congregation and the priests.

The ceremony for the installation of the priests is given (Num. 8:5 –14). They were exempt from military service (1:49; 2:33). They were responsible for sins connected with their services, and had to expiate them (18:23).The narrative of ch. 16 is said to reveal the opposition encountered by making a distinction between priests and Levites. The only reference to serving women in P is in Exod. 38:8, but nothing is indicated of the nature of their service.

The priests had certain fixed revenues accorded them for their services. They received dues from the offerings (Num. 18:8,19), could eat the showbread in the holy place (Lev. 24:9), were given firstling dues of clean animals (Num. 18:15-19), firstfruits of produce of the land, certain fines for trespass (5:8), the tithes (18:21, 24-29), a fixed proportion of spoils of war (31:28-30), and cities with their surrounding pasture lands (35:1-8).

Some scholars find the first reference to the Levites in Num. 1:50. The question is whether this legislation is to be understood in a general or restricted sense. According to 18:3, the conclusion is for the narrow sense. When 1:50 is read in the light of 4:15, the sense is clear that the service intended was that of carrying the sacred articles after they had been wrapped by Aaron and his sons. The Levites were assigned to take down and set up the tabernacle and camp around it, a function that involved only services in the desert. Other passages in Numbers simply enlarge on the provisions of ch. 1(4:20,25,26; 7:5-10; 8:26).

P speaks of Aaron the priest and his sons; unlike the Levites, Aaron and his sons were consecrated to office, not merely cleansed. Two items of the legislation demand attention: the inadequacy of the personnel for postconquest conditions, and the indications of date. Laws like those in Lev. 13 and 14 demand desert conditions, not those of Canaan. Indications of date constantly point to the Mosaic age and fit no other. On the other hand, P is decidedly anomalous. It calls for a large number of Levites who would be inactive after entrance into Canaan, and a body of laws that could not be applied in settled conditions by the descendants of Aaron alone.

**7. In the restoration period.** In the second temple there were three orders in the hierarchy—the high priest, priest, and Levite. Each order had its own privileges and responsibilities. The precise relationship of priests and Levites, as well as their origin and development, is the core of the problem with which this section deals. The traditional position is that the priestly system was inaugurated by Moses in the wilderness under divine authority and continued essentially unaltered throughout Israel's history. The Graf-Wellhausen view is that all is clearly a postexilic institution, whose origin is uncertain but its development is discernible in several well-defined steps. This approach is now admitted to be an oversimplification of the difficulty. Numerous attacks have been directed against it, but no alternative view has gained a wide following.

In the postexilic books of the OT, a clear picture is said to be given of the priesthood of the restoration temple. There is the same threefold hierarchy with distinct ranks, duties, and privileges. The position of the high priest is one of great power. The nation that lost its monarchy became a hierocracy. Much of the honor that had belonged formerly to the king now was accorded the priest. The material influence of the priesthood was greater than ever before. The temple was the visible center of national life with the passing of the monarchy. The priests were the only national leaders. When the high priest stood at the altar in his sumptuous apparel, pouring out the libation accompanied by the blowing of the trumpets, with the singers lifting their voices and the people falling prostrate in prayer until he came down and lifted his hands in blessing, the Jews under the foreign yoke forgot momentarily their oppression and had their hopes of deliverance rekindled (Sir. 50).

In 520 B.C., Joshua (JESHUA) the high priest and ZERUBBABEL, the Davidic descendant, were regarded as equals (Hag. 1:1, 12, 14; 2:2, 4). They were the two anointed ones of Zech. 4:14. When the house of David was no longer at the head of the nation, the high priest became the uncontested leader of the Jewish commonwealth in both civil and religious areas. The best known of these was Simon the Just (Sir. 50:1-21; see SIMON #10). The high priest in the 2nd cent. B.C. headed the *gerousia G1172* ("assembly, senate") of priests, scribes, and heads of families (1 Macc. 12:6; 2 Macc. 4:44; 11:27; cf. Acts 5:21). The power of the high priesthood was so great that it became the object of unprincipled men in the Greek period (2 Macc. 4:7-10, 18-20, 23-26, 33-35). After the Maccabean revolt (see MACCABEE), the high priesthood recovered its former prestige under the brief rule of the HASMONEAN dynasty.

The high priest could trace his descent from Eleazar, the son of Aaron. His position was hereditary and for life (Num. 3:32; 25:11-13; 35:25, 28; Neh. 12:10-11). He was inaugurated to office with elaborate rites of bathing, clothing, anointing, offering of sacrifice, and sprinkling. The ceremonies covered seven days (Exod. 29:1-37; Lev. 8:5-35). The high priest's garments were distinctive: blue robe with bells and pomegranates, ephod, a square breastplate with twelve precious stones inscribed with the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, and with Urim and Thummim; he also wore a linen turban with a golden plate that had the inscription, "HOLY TO THE LORD" (Exod. 28:4-39; 39:1-31; Lev. 8:7-9).

On the Day of Atonement, these beautiful garments were put aside for simple linen clothing (Lev. 16:4,23, 32). That annual celebration saw the high priest's most important duties. On this day he entered the holy of holies, sprinkled the blood of the sin offering for himself, his family, and the nation (16:1-25). It appears that he was to share in the general responsibilities of the priesthood (Exod. 27:21) and to offer a daily meal offering (Lev. 6:19 –22). See ATONEMENT, DAY OF.

As the spiritual leader of Israel, great ceremonial purity was expected of the high priest. He could have no contact with the dead, no long hair, no mourning, no marriage with other than a virgin

of Israel (Lev. 21:10-15). Any sin by him brought guilt on the people, requiring a special sin offering (4:3-12). His importance to the nation may well be gauged by the fact that his death marked the conclusion of a theocratic era, and the manslayer was then freed from the city of refuge (Num. 35:25, 28, 32).

The priests were the associates of the high priest who served at the worship of the nation. They were confined to the Levitical house of Aaron (Exod. 28:1, 41; 29:9; Lev. 1:5, 7-8, 11; Num. 3:10; 18:7), and had to be without physical defects (Lev. 21:16-23). The priesthood was organized with twenty-four courses or divisions which served the sanctuary in rotation. Each of the courses ministered for a week beginning on the Sabbath, apart from the main annual FEASTS, when they all served together. Sixteen divisions (families) were descended from Eleazar through Zadok, and eight from Ithamar, the other son of Aaron (1 Chr. 24:1-19). Ceremonies for the consecration of the priests were similar to those for the high priest, but not so elaborate (Exod. 29:1 –37; Lev. 8:5-35). Only the high priest received the anointing (Lev. 21:10). The clothing of the priests included a tunic, breeches, and turban (all of white linen), as well as a white linen girdle embroidered with blue, purple, and scarlet (Exod. 28:40,42; 29:8, 9; 39:27-29; Lev. 8:13).

The chief duties of the priests were the care of the sanctuary vessels and the sacrifices at the altar (Num. 18:5, 7). The priest was also to instruct in the law of God (Mal. 2:6, 7). He was the final authority in all matters of the law. In postexilic times this function of ethical teaching came into the hands of the scribes, whereas ministry at the religious ceremonies was in the sphere of priestly instruction (Hag. 2:10-13).

The priests watched over the physical health of the nation (Lev. 13-15). They administered justice (Deut. 17:8-9; 21:5; 2 Chr. 19:8-11; cf. Ezek. 44:25) in cases of trial by ordeal (Num. 5:11-31), reconsecration of a defiled Nazirite (6:1-21), and matters of vows (Lev. 27:8-25). After the exile, it appears fiscal matters in Judah were handled by temple personnel (Ezra 8:33, 34). It was the duty of the priests to blow the trumpets for war or for assembly to celebrate a feast (Num. 10:1-10); only they could bless the people in God's name (6:22-27).

Because the tribe of Levi had no tribal territory allotted to them, the priests were given portions of the offerings brought to God (Num. 18:20; Deut. 10:9; 18:1-2). Individuals were apparently allowed to own land (1 Ki. 2:26; Jer. 32:6-12; Amos 7:17), and provision of homes was made for priests in Jerusalem and its environs (Neh. 11:3, 21). Thirteen of the forty-eight Levitical cities were given to them (Josh. 21:4, 13-19). Their main support, however, was the offerings of the people. This income was from three sources: (1) the firstfruits of produce and the firstborn of animals, as well as the redemption money paid for firstborn sons and for the firstborn of unclean beasts (Exod. 13:12-13; Num. 18:12-19); (2) certain sacrificial dues, such as the showbread (Lev. 24:5-9), virtually all the cereal offerings (2:3, 10; 6:16; 10:12-13; Num. 18:9), and sin offerings (Lev. 5:13; 6:26), the best parts of the peace offerings (Exod. 29:26-28; Lev. 7:30-34; Num. 18:11), and the skin of the holocausts (Lev. 7:8); (3) a tenth of the nation's tithes given by the Levites (Num. 18:26-28).

Levites were subordinate sanctuary officials who had supervision of the minor duties of the sacred place (Num. 1:50; 3:28, 32; 8:15; 31:30, 47; 1 Chr. 23:25-32). They were inaugurated into office by ceremonies of bathing, shaving the body, sacrifice, imposition of hands, and solemn dedication to God (Num. 8:5-13). Their duty was to help the priests and serve the congregation (Num. 1:50; 3:6, 8; 16:9; 18:2; 1 Chr. 23:28, 32; Ezra 3:8-9). They cared for the courts and chambers of the sanctuary, the cleansing of the vessels, the preparation of the cereal offerings, and the praise service (1 Chr. 23:28-32). Some were designated as porters or gatekeepers (9:19; 26:1, 19; 2 Chr. 8:14), some as treasurers (1 Chr. 26:20), and some as musicians (Ezra 3:10; Neh. 12:27). Sometimes

musicians and porters are referred to as distinct from the Levites (Ezra 2:40-42; Neh. 12:47). The Levites instructed in the law (Neh. 8:7, 9), a function later taken over by scribes. Levites also aided priests in administering justice (1 Chr. 23:4; 26:29; 2 Chr. 19:8-11) and in treasury matters (Ezra 8:33, 34; cf. 1 Chr. 26:20-28).

The Levites seem to have been fewer in number than the priests in the restoration temple (Ezra 2:36-40, 41, 42; Neh. 7:39-43, 44, 45). The Nethinim, who were temple servants, assisted the Levites (Ezra 8:20), just as the latter aided the priests (Num. 3:9; 8:19). The length of Levitical service varied: one passage (4:3) indicates thirty to fifty years old; another one (8:23-26) states twenty-five years and upward with the added regulation that from fifty years of age they were only to assist their Levite colleagues. In 1 Chr. 23:24, the commencement age is said to be twenty years and upward with no specified age of retirement. The Levites were provided for by the tithe, which was their due (Lev. 27:32-33; Num. 18:21, 24), but a tenth of it had to be given to the priests (Num. 18:26-28).

Since the tribe of Levi had no assigned territory of its own, forty-eight cities with their environs were allotted to the Levites (Num. 35:1-8; cf.

View looking E onto the ruins of Heshbon, one of the Levitical cities.

Josh. 21:1-41). Thirteen of this number belonged to the Aaronic priests (Josh. 21:4, 13-19). There is nothing in the record of these LEVITICAL CITIES that would lead one to consider them as ideal rather than real, as some of the critical school have maintained. These cities were located on both sides of the Jordan in the very areas where Israel had actually settled. Like the priests, the Levites in the time of the second temple ministered in courses at their appointed times (1 Chr. 24:31; 28:13, 21; 2 Chr. 8:14; Neh. 13:30). They were inducted into office by purifying rites (Num. 8:5-13). The Bible mentions no special robes of office for the Levites. Like the priests, Levites had to make atonement for any transgression of their purity (18:23).

The decree of CYRUS (c. 538 B.C., Ezra 1:1-4) signaled the start of the restoration of the Jewish commonwealth. The returned exiles at once began the reinstitution of the traditional worship (3:1-6), which directly involved the restoration of the priesthood. On what basis could the priests serve? The

limitation of priestly ministry to the Zadokites was not applied. A distinction was made between priests and Levites in the lists of returned exiles (Ezra 2:36-42; Neh. 7:39-43; 12:1-26) and of the associates of Nehemiah (Neh. 10:28; 11:3, 10-18) and Ezra (Ezra 7:7, 13; 8:15-20, 30; 9:1). Aaronic descent was the mark of eligibility in the restored Jewish priesthood. In postexilic literature, priests always are referred to as the house of Aaron or the sons of Aaron (1 Chr. 15:4; 23:28, 32; Ps. 115:10, 12; 118:3; cf. also 1 Macc. 7:14). This is said to be in agreement with P, which gives the most complete information about the priesthood and usually is assigned in the critical view to the 6th or 5th cent. B.C. There the distinction is rigid between priests and Levites (Num. 18:2-7; Lev. 8). Priesthood is designated as vested by divine authority in the house of Aaron (Exod. 28:1,43; Num. 3:10; 8:2, 17). The rebellion of Korah is recorded to warn non-Aaronic Levites not to seek to arrogate privileges of Aaronic priests (Num. 16:8-10,40). P, then, and not Ezekiel, is the model of the restored Jerusalem priesthood. All of Aaronic descent were admitted to service, and only they (Ezra 2:61-63; Neh. 7:63-65).

In reconstructing the conditions of that time, these elements have been presented as certain: (1) There were priests ministering in the ruined temple at Jerusalem during the exile. This is implied from the record of eighty men of Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria who brought offerings to the temple (Jer. 41:4-5), as well as the priests referred to in Lam. 1:4. (2) Aaronic priests from Abiathar, removed from office by Solomon, lived at Anathoth about 2 mi. N of Jerusalem, and Jeremiah lived in Judah (Jer. 39:11-14; 40:2-6). (3) Aaronic priests from Ithamar, of whom Abiathar came, are spoken of along with the Zadokites in the lists of the returned exiles (Ezra 8:2). (4) As already stated, in postexilic literature the priests were referred to as the house or the sons of Aaron.

It appears quite probable that the postexilic priesthood was expanded to include all Aaronites, because (1) the worship at Jerusalem during the exile was maintained by non-Zadokite priests; and (2) conditions at Jerusalem were known to the exiles in Babylon, since the reference in Ezra 8:2 of non-Zadokite and Zadokite priests would appear to evidence some accord arrived at among the exiles before their return to Palestine. Under the decree of Cyrus IV, 289 priests returned with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2:36-39; Neh. 7:39-42), and it is unlikely that they all descended from exiled Zadokites. A few returning Levites (only seventy-four) could point to the fact that all of Aaronite descent had been admitted to the priesthood.

There is a definite change in emphasis in the duties of the priesthood in the restored Jewish society. One of the priest's chief duties is no longer considered to be moral teaching; he is now almost entirely occupied with ceremonial matters (Lev. 10:10-11; Hag. 2:10-13). Malachi complained that the priests were remiss in giving moral instruction (Mal. 2:7-8). The Urim and Thummim were no longer available (Ezra 2:63). When Ezra presented the law, the Levites instructed the people (Neh. 8:7), and the teaching prerogative appears to have been carried on more by the Levites than by the priests in the second temple.

The Wellhausen school considered the high priest to have been a solely postexilic personality. Since Ezekiel makes no reference to a high priest, the conclusion has been advanced that he knew of no such office and that the position was absent before the exile. Haggai 1:1 is taken generally as the first mention of a high priest, and Joshua as the first incumbent of the office, all previous references to this position being considered later interpolations. The detailed material on Aaron in P is said to be a projection backward by the priestly author of a high priesthood known in postexilic times. The inclination now among scholars is to regard this view as an inadequate and oversimplified treatment of the biblical material. A reconsideration of the evidence has been long overdue.

**8. From Ezra to Malachi.** With the political leader removed from the leadership of the nation, the chief priest became the dominant personality among the people in the Persian era. In Ezra's day, one in seven of the restored exiles was a priest. Ezra and Nehemiah everywhere distinguished between Levites and priests, the former to be understood as the descendants of non-Jerusalemite priests of the high places. The new priestly system is said to have had its basis in the priestly legislation recognized as part of the law under Ezra and Nehemiah. Here is found the exclusion of the Levites from all part in the proper priesthood of the sons of Aaron (Num. 3). They were actually the servants of the priests (3:9), but on a higher plane than the rest of the people. The position has been taken that the provision of the cities for the Levites never took place after the exile (Lev. 25:34; Num. 35), because it was irreconcilable with the prohibition against the Levites' holding property (Num. 18:20; 26:62).

It is claimed that after the recognition of the Pentateuch under Ezra, the sanctuary personnel were regulated according to the Priestly Code. The Chronicler allegedly read back the conditions of his own time into earlier periods, as though these conditions had existed from David's age on. The Chronicler is denied to have had sources at his disposal when he dealt with the condition of the priesthood in preexilic times. He tended to exalt the Levites even more than the priests. It has been suggested that he may have belonged to the Levites himself. He wrote of twenty-four divisions of priests, which he carried back to David's days (1 Chr. 24:7-18). According to rabbinic tradition, the twenty-four divisions (known to JOSEPHUS in his time) existed from the time of the exile. Baudissin denied the correctness of this position, because he did not find the enumeration of all twenty-four in one list (Ezra 8:2; 10:18-22; Neh. 7:39-45; or 12:1-7). The position of the high priest showed no important change since Ezra's day. The Chronicler (equivalent to P) recognized the Aaronite priests, those of Eleazar's line and Ithamar's (1 Chr. 24:1-6). This equalizing of the two groups (according to P and confirmed by Ezra 8:2) became permanent.

The Chronicler takes the history of Israel to the time of Nehemiah. From c. 300 B.C., the temple staff was made up entirely of priests and Levites. The singers, gatekeepers, temple servants, and descendants of Solomon's servants no longer appear. The first two groups now have Levitical status (1 Chr. 6:16-48; 23:5; 2 Chr. 8:14), and it is possible that the other two classes may have been incorporated into the Levitical order. The Chronicler gives much attention to the Levites, their standing, and their important duties, especially in relation to the ark of the covenant (1 Chr. 15:2, 13-15; 16:4-6, 37; 2 Chr. 5:4; 35:3). They administer justice (1 Chr. 23:4; 2 Chr. 19:8-11). They care for the sanctuary and its holy vessels (1 Chr. 23:28; 2 Chr. 29:34). He does not maintain, as some have charged, the status of the Levites at the expense of the designated rights of the priests. Aaronic priests only were permitted to burn incense, a prerogative that even the kings would not usurp (2 Chr. 26:16-20). The organization of the priesthood, now said to be in its final form, consisted of twenty-four courses, which ministered at the temple for a stated period of duty (1 Chr. 24:1-4, 19). At this time, it appears that the authority of the high priest was solidly established in the Jewish commonwealth. In addition to previous designations, he is also called "the official in charge of the house of God" (9:11).

The Chronicler's account of the earlier history of the priests and Levites does not agree with older sources. Many modern scholars feel his views were influenced by conditions of his time that he read back into an earlier period. It cannot validly be denied, however, that he might have used sources not known elsewhere. It is held also that he did not expect his writing to be taken as history, and his contemporaries understood this. But how can such a claim be proved? Explanations of the statements of the Chronicler are: (1) he had before him a source in which the Levites were completely

unknown; (2) he invented freely; and (3) he set forth valid preexilic information. In the light of research that has shown the reliability of the Chronicler as a historian, the last-named option is the only secure and tenable one (see A. C. Welch, *The Work of the Chronicler* [1939]; W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel [1942],* 121-29, 150-52; but see the more recent and extensive discussion in K. Peltonen, *History Debated: The Historical Reliability of Chronicles in Pre-critical and Critical Research, 2* vols. [1996]).

Malachi calls the covenant with the priests the covenant with Levi or with the Levites (Mal. 2:4, 8). Because this terminology does not tally with that of the Priestly Code, some claim it appears to point to a date before the publication of P.

**9. After the OT.** In the time of the Maccabees, mention is made of higher and lower orders of priests, but hardly any reference is made to Levites. The tithe and other rights were withdrawn from the Levites, according to JOSEPHUS and the TALMUD. Certain tithes and firstlings not indicated in the OT became part of the enlarged and expanded incomes of the priests and Levites. In later times, the duties of the priest were made more precise. The office of high priest underwent change. It was no longer for life and no longer hereditary. The rabbinical literature speaks of the addition of a high priest's substitute in case the high priest had contracted Levitical uncleanness that prevented his performance of the duties of his position. This was not a standing position of one person alone, because seven days before the Day of Atonement, "another priest" had to be set apart in case the high priest could not officiate *(m. Yoma* 1:1). Duties multiplied over the years, and responsibilities had to be divided more widely.

***C. Alternate Views.*** Attempts less radical than the critical school have been made to explain the biblical data. Some try to modify Wellhausen's position by giving earlier dates to Pentateuchal material (esp. P) or by allowing more truth to some of the Chronicler's statements. None of these attempts has met with striking success.

Robertson Smith feels it is impossible to assign the distinction of Levites and Aaronites to an early date. The priestly portions of the Pentateuch and Joshua cannot be employed for this early history. Probably the kin of Moses had certain hereditary rights in relation to the worship of the Lord. He believes that in time, with the multiplication of sanctuaries, the name *Levite* came to be extended to all priesthoods recognized by the political authorities (Exod. 4:14). Thus it had become a professional term. Gradually all priests were viewed as Levites by adoption although not by descent.

The view of H. M. Wiener *(The Origin of the Pentateuch* [1912]) makes much of the versional evidence of the texts involved. It considers all Pentateuchal law as of Mosaic origin, accepts the harmonious witness of the Law and the Prophets, and regards Chronicles as representing a later interpretation of the history and the legal precepts. His reconstruction is this: Moses consecrated Aaron and his sons as priests of the tabernacle in the wilderness. He set apart the rest of the tribe of Levi as a body of porters during the wanderings. In the laws of Numbers, he made no assignment of duties after the sanctuary was permanently located. Simultaneously, he gave a corpus of priestly teaching for administration in settled life that required a large and scattered group of priests to be furnished by the house of Aaron. To fulfill this need, Deuteronomy—Moses' last legislative activity—enlarged the duties of the Levites and gave them priestly status. Earlier distinctions were largely eliminated, although the high priesthood was retained in the house of Aaron until Solomon's reign. Then it passed from the house of Eli to that of Zadok, who, according to Ezekiel, was a Levite.

These conditions remained until the exile, when Ezekiel suggested an arrangement with reforms

to implement more effectively Moses' principle of the distinction between holy and profane. He inaugurated a new division in the tribe of Levi, giving the sons of Zadok a position like that once held by the sons of Aaron and demoting all other Levites from the priesthood given them by Deuteronomy. The duties of the latter group were not included in the Mosaic legislation ("keepers of the charge of the house"). Because of Ezekiel's influence, the distinction between priests and Levites came into existence in postexilic times, though unknown to all writers of the second part of the Hebrew canon. A meaning was read into the Mosaic law never intended by the author, and this view is presented by the Chronicler, who is responsible for the prevailing tradition. Many of the Chronicler's statements are not meant to be understood literally and were not so taken by his original readers.

Such mediating views are subject to some of the serious failings of the critical school. Additional reconstructions have been proposed during the last decades of the 20th cent. (cf. *ABD,* 4:297-310; *DOTP,* 646-55), but they have not found wide support.

**IV. Revaluations.** The Graf-Wellhausen view of the history of the Levitical system witnessed considerable modification during the 20th cent. (e.g., by Scandinavian scholars). Working from the basis of the evolutionary view of history, its proponents erred in oversimplifying the religious development in Israel. In these special areas, the Wellhausen view has been reexamined. The position that the high priesthood did not exist before the exile is invalid. The position Haggai and Zechariah accord the high priest Joshua (Hag. 1:1, 12, 14; 2:2, 4) does not fit any theory that the office was an innovation between Ezekiel (572 B.C.) and the second return (520). All appearances point to an established institution. The argument that Ezekiel mentioned no high priest is liable to all the weaknesses of an argument from silence. He did not mention a king, but no one argues that kings did not exist in Israel to this time.

A cardinal position of the Wellhausen theory is that the distinction between priests and Levites, prominent in the Priestly Code, was not known before the exile. It is axiomatic in this view that Deuteronomy does not distinguish between them. Nothing in the data precludes the presence of a Levitical order, whose service was a subordinate one in the temple, and from which they seem to have been displaced by the foreigners. That Ezekiel fails to mention Levites (other than the degraded priests) does not prove they did not exist any more than the silence of Haggai and Zechariah proves they were missing half a century later.

Another presupposition of this hypothesis is that in Deuteronomy the terms *priest* and *Levite* are synonymous. This is an unwarranted assumption. The distinction is not so clear as in P, but it is present, and indications are that the difference is assumed throughout Deuteronomy. In that book, the emphasis is on the tribe of Levi as separated for the sanctuary ministry to whom the priesthood was restricted—thus the phrase "the Levite priests." Priests are, nevertheless, distinguished from Levites.The distinction is unmistakable from the laws of Deut. 18, which differentiates between the provision for the ministering priest at the sanctuary (vv. 3-5) and that for the Levite from the surrounding areas in company with the ministering Levites (vv. 6-8). The first verse of this chapter does not consider "the Levite priests" as all the tribe of Levi; rather, it is a characteristic elaboration of a statement by adding a phrase that broadens its meaning (cf. 12:7, 12,18; 15:11).

Even Wellhausen conceded that the position of the Levites is the most vulnerable part of the posited Priestly Code. Once it is granted that the distinction between priests and Levites did not begin with Ezekiel but is preexilic, one of the basic props for the late date of P demolished. It is agreed that P contains much early material, since many of its laws are of ancient origin. Increasingly in recent years, this fact has been seen, and it is now recognized as proper to use data from that source as

evidence for practices of the early monarchy. Moreover, there are signs that P itself was in existence before the exile. Its ties with Ezekiel appear to show an acquaintance by Ezekiel with P rather than the reverse. The wide distribution of the Levitical cities in P reminds of conditions of preexilic days. If a separate order of Levites existed in preexilic times, then the sacrificial personnel of P belong to the old temple rather than that of the restoration. Furthermore, there are indications that P is not only preexilic, but pre-Deuteronomic. Once it is seen that there is an implied distinction between priests and Levites in Deuteronomy, the significance of the ties between this book and the priestly laws becomes apparent. The most striking case of an affinity between the two codes is in regard to clean and unclean animals in Deut. 14:3-20 (cf. Lev. 11:2-23). Finally, there is no proof of any acquaintance of P with Deuteronomy. Thus the priority of the Priestly Code is strongly implied.

**V. Priests in the NT.** The NT usage of the terms *priest* and *high priest* (with but one exception, Acts 14:13) reflects OT antecedents, especially the ministers of the temple cultus. In the Gospels and Acts, the usage is restricted to the Jewish caste who continued to minister in the temple. Elsewhere the terms are used only in Hebrews to refer to Jesus in a theological understanding of his ministry, and in the book of Revelation, where the Christian community is referred to as "priests to God," reflecting Exod. 19:6. First Peter also cites the Exodus passage, calling the Christian community a "holy priesthood" and a "royal priesthood" (1 Pet. 2:5, 9).

***A. The priestly caste.*** For the most part the high

priest and priests in the NT are extensions of what one finds in the OT. However, the Maccabean revolt and the subsequent Hasmonean dynasty of priest-kings, followed by Roman rule—first under Herod and finally under procurators—have left their indelible imprints, and certain inevitable changes resulted.

**1. The high priest.** Primacy of position in the priestly hierarchy during NT times continued to belong to the high priest. His leading position was based chiefly on the cultic character of his office. What distinguished him from all other men was his unique privilege to enter the Holy of Holies once a year to offer sacrifice on the Day of Atonement. Moreover, he had the privilege of taking part in any sacrifice at any time he chose. Ritual and marriage regulations were especially strict for him in comparison with others.

The high priest also served as president of the SANHEDRIN. Since there was no king during the 1st cent. A.D., he was the principal agent for the people in dealing with Rome. Thus both religious and political power tended to focus on him. It was he who presided over the trials of Jesus (Mk. 14:53, 60-64 and parallels), of the early apostles (Acts 4:6; 5:17, 21, 27), of Stephen (7:1), and of Paul (23:2-5). The high priest also deputized the pre-Christian Saul to bring Christian Jews from Damascus to Jerusalem, apparently to stand trial.

During NT times, the high priesthood had lost its OT hereditary character. HEROD the Great had begun the practice of dismissing and appointing the high priest, a practice continued under Roman rule. The effect was wholly deleterious. Not only did the office cease to be lifelong and hereditary, but it also became wholly dependent on political authority, with resulting cases of simony and nepotism.

Even after removal from office, however, the high priest retained his title and authority. Thus ANNAS (in office A.D. 6-15) continued to exercise considerable authority in the trial of Jesus, during the high priesthood of his son-in-law CAIAPHAS (A.D. 18-37; see Jn. 18:13, 24; cf. Lk. 3:2; Acts 4:6).

John's comment that Caiaphas "was high priest that year" (Jn. 11:49, 51; 18:13) probably does not mean that John was ignorant of the office or confused by the authority of Annas, but rather that Caiaphas happened to be high priest *that* eventful year, the year of Jesus' glorification. (For a list of high priests from 200 B.C. to A.D. 70, see J. *Jeremias, Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* [1969] 377-78.)

**2. The captain of the temple.** Next in importance to the high priest was the CAPTAIN OF THE TEMPLE (*stratēgos tou hierou).* His chief ritual duties were to assist the high priest during the performance of his sacrifices and to substitute for the high priest in case of defilement. He was a member of the Sanhedrin, and also served as chief of police in the temple area; as such he had power of arrest (cf. Acts 4:1; 5:24, 26). Because he was next in rank to the high priest, he usually was next in line for that office. He probably was chosen from the near relatives of the

These stone vessels found in the 1st-cent. home of a temple priest insured the purity of the products they contained.

high priest or in the time of Christ from one of the four leading families (cf. 4:6).

**3. The chief priests.** At least sixty-four times in the NT, and often in Josephus and the Talmud, the term *high priest (archiereus G797)* occurs in the plural. From the time of E. Schürer *(HJP* 2/1 [1891], 202-6) most scholars have considered this term to refer either to the high priest and former high priests in particular, or in general to "the members of those privileged families from which the high priests were taken." However, Jeremias *(Jerusalem,* 175-81) has shown persuasively that it more likely refers to the specific group of temple officers that included not only the high priest and the captain of the temple, but also the temple overseers and treasurers. These priests had various administrative duties, especially over offerings and the treasury. They also had seats on the Sanhedrin —hence their implication in the opposition to Jesus and the early church, especially after Jesus "cleansed" the temple.

**4. The ordinary priests.** Over against the priestly aristocracy were the vast majority of ordinary priests, who may have numbered approximately 18,000 in the time of Jesus (Jeremias, *Jerusalem,* 201). They were divided into twenty-four divisions or courses (the Gk. term is *ephēmeria G2389,*

Lk. 1:5), each of which performed the daily temple sacrifices for a week, twice a year. Besides these two weeks they also traveled to Jerusalem for the three annual pilgrimage festivals. During the weekly course of ABIA (eighth in order), ZECHARIAH was chosen by lot to offer incense in the Holy Place, probably at the evening sacrifice, and it was then that he had his encounter with the angel (1:8-23).

For the rest of the year these priests lived at home (cf. Lk. 1:23) with a few priestly functions to perform, such as declaring a leper clean after his healing (Mk. 1:44 and parallels; Lk. 17:14). For subsistence the majority of them also had another occupation. It is probably from this group of priests that "a large number…became obedient to the faith" (Acts 6:7).

**5. The Levites.** At the bottom of the priestly hierarchy were the Levites, who numbered about 10,000 and who also were divided into twenty-four courses. Their chief functions were MUSIC and various forms of service connected with the temple. Although they rarely are mentioned by name in the NT (Lk. 10:32 and Jn. 1:19), passages in PHILO JUDAEUS *(Spec. leg.* 1.156) and the MISHNAH *(m. Mid.* 1:1-2) indicate that they formed the police force of the temple. Therefore, they are almost certainly the "guards" or "officials" (Gk. *hypēretēs G5677,* "attendant") responsible for both the attempted (Jn. 7:32, 45-52) and actual arrest of Jesus (18:3,12), as well as the arrests of the apostles (Acts 4:1; 5:17-18, 22, 26).

**6. Jesus and the priests.** On the surface, Jesus' relationship to the priestly caste appears somewhat ambiguous. On the one hand, he accepted the Mosaic regulation about healed lepers (Mk. 1:44 et al.) so that the priest, too, must by endorsement share in the testimony to his mighty works. He did not openly condemn the priestly caste, as the prophets had done and as he did the Pharisees. Even in the Good Samaritan parable (Lk. 10:25-37), it is likely that the priest and Levite are singled out chiefly for effect (the lawyer who asked the question prob. expected such callousness in priests, but surely next would come a member of the Pharisaic party!).

Nevertheless Jesus stood quite apart from the priestly tradition. There is scarcely any sacerdotal language in his teaching. He himself is not called a priest, nor are priestly functions even remotely attributed to his followers. Any allusions to his "fulfillment" of the priesthood or priestly functions are distant at best (Matt. 12:6, "I tell you that one greater than the temple is here" [cf. Jn. 2:19-22]; some see in Matt. 26:64 an allusion to the priestly Messiah of Ps. 110).The involvement of the priesthood in Jesus' death, therefore, probably was less from open encounters, such as the temple cleansing, than from fear of his threat to the entire system—both political and religious.

Because of this stance on the part of Jesus, one is not surprised either that there is no priesthood in the early church or that the early Christians abandoned the sacrificial elements of the temple (Acts 3:1) and soon the temple altogether (cf. Stephen's speech in ch. 7).

***B. Jesus as high priest.*** Although the author of Hebrews is the only NT author specifically to call Jesus a "priest," the roots of such an idea are much earlier. The concept of his priestly ministry is deeply rooted in a basic NT motif shared by all strata, namely, that Christ's death had atoning significance—that what he did, he did *for* sinners. Thus Jesus himself said that the Son of Man had come "to give his life as a ransom for many" (Mk. 10:45; cf. Lk. 22:19-20). This was an integral part of the early KERYGMA (cf. Acts 3:18; 10:43), and a part of the "tradition" PAUL "received" and handed on ("that Christ died for our sins," 1 Cor. 15:3). Thus Paul regularly uses the phrase "for us" (*hyper hēmōn;* Rom. 5:8; 8:31; 1 Cor. 11:24; 2 Cor. 5:14; et al.). It is not surprising, therefore, that

he should occasionally use sacerdotal language in this regard (see esp. Rom. 3:25 and Eph. 5:2). The Johannine writings also reflect this theme and language (1 Jn. 2:2; 4:10; Rev. 5:9); in John's gospel, the high priest "prophesies" the high priestly character of Jesus' death (Jn. 11:49-52). PETER also suggests this theme and does so in language much like that of Hebrews: "For Christ *died for sins once for all,* the *righteous for* the unrighteous, to *bring you to God"* (1 Pet. 3:18).

It is the author of Hebrews who takes this figure and works it out with consummate skill. He starts with the basic notions of priesthood. A priest is appointed to act on behalf of sinners in relation to God (Heb. 5:1). His ultimate purpose is to bring them to God (cf. 7:25) and thereby bring them to perfection or completion (10:14; cf. 2:10; 9:9; 10:1; 11:40; 12:23; see PERFECT). The priest does not take this prerogative upon himself; he must have divine appointment (5:4). The way he brings people to God is by offering sacrifices for sins (5:1; 8:3; 9:7, 13). The priest, too, is a man and a sinner; therefore he must offer up sacrifices for himself as well (5:2, 3; 7:27; 9:7). This turns out to be the basic limitation of the OT system. An imperfect priest can only offer imperfect sacrifices (9:11-14; 10:1-4). Therefore, both the covenant on which his priesthood is based (8:6) and the Holy Place in which it is performed (9:11) are imperfect. Finally, the net result is imperfect. The old system "can never…make perfect those who draw near" (10:1).

Thus priests, because of their sinfulness, are subject to death; they come and go (Heb. 7:23). Their sacrifices are repeated daily and annually; but the worshiper is not perfected (9:9 –10). Therefore, the old is only a type (a shadow) of the real who was to come (9:23-24; 10:1). In this frame of reference the author views the genuine, but sinless, humanity of Christ in light of his exaltation, and in an argument at once deeply perceptive and richly varied sees him as both the ultimate priest and the end of the priestly system.

Christ is the ultimate priest because by his death he ratified a new covenant (Heb. 9:15-22), toward which the OT itself had looked (8:8-13). Moreover, God had promised that the messianic king would also be "a priest for ever, in the order of Melchizedek" (Ps. 110:4). Such a promise indicates the imperfection of the old Aaronic order (Heb. 7:11-14). It is Jesus who perfectly "fulfills" this promise. MELCHIZEDEK appeared and disappeared in the OT "without beginning of days or end of life," thus prefiguring the eternal Son of God (7:3). Melchizedek's "order" is also superior to Aaron's because according to the Jewish theory of ancestry, Levi was in Abraham's loins when Abraham paid tithes to Melchizedek—and the lesser always pays tithes to the greater (7:4-10).

Furthermore, Jesus is a priest "forever" in contrast to the Aaronic priests, "since death prevented them from continuing in office" (Heb. 7:23). This is the author's main interest in Jesus' humanity. Other priests could not continue because of sin; but Jesus, though "made like his brothers and sisters in

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Reproduction of the Upper City in Jerusalem (looking W, with the three towers of Herod's palace on the left). The priestly aristocracy owned sumptuous homes in this part of the city.

every way" (2:17 TNIV), was sinless; therefore he is a perfect and eternal high priest (4:15; 5:7-10; 7:23-28; 9:14). This genuine humanity also makes him a perfect priest in that he can fully "empathize with our weaknesses" (4:15 TNIV; cf. 2:14-18).

Jesus is the ultimate priest also because he offers the perfect sacrifice—*himself*. The clearest evidence that the blood of goats and calves was inadequate was that such offerings were continually repeated (Heb. 10:1-4). By offering himself, Jesus offered a perfect sacrifice "once for all," one that need not be repeated (9:23-28). Furthermore, he offered it in the eternal Holy Place, having entered "heaven itself, now to appear for us in God's presence" (9:24). The end result, therefore, of Jesus' priestly ministry is death to the old system, because he now indeed brings sinners to God. Not only are sins done away, but an "eternal redemption" is secured whereby one has continual and confident access to God (4:16; 6:19 –20; 7:25; 10:19 –22).

***C. The priesthood of the church.*** Because of Jesus' own stance on the priesthood and because of the "once-for-all-ness" of his own mediatorial work, the NT gives no hint of a priesthood among its ministers. Paul does call his ministry among the Gentiles a "priestly duty" (Rom. 15:16, using the verb *hierourgeō G2646,* "to act as priest"), but this probably means that he understood himself as a "mediator" of the gospel to the Gentiles. Although the very early work known as DIDACHE says of the prophets that "they are your high priests" *(Did.* 13.1), reluctance to use sacerdotal terminology for the Christian ministry continued through the 2nd cent. It was not until BAPTISM and the LORD'S SUPPER were regularly reflected on sacramentally that the church's ministers began to be called priests. The first Christian writers to do so were both from the W, at the beginning of the 3rd cent. (Tertullian, *On Baptism 17;* Hippolytus, preface to *Refutation of All Heresies).*

However, two writers in the NT independently reflect on the church as the true "kingdom of priests" and "holy nation" of Exod. 19:6 (1 Pet. 2:5, 9; Rev. 1:6; 5:10; 20:6). Over the years these passages have elicited considerable debate and an extensive literature. From the time of Luther they have been used to argue for the "general priesthood of all believers" over against any kind of episcopacy. What is intended by such argument is that the church by its corporate relationship to Christ, by its being "in Christ," is "a holy priesthood, offering spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ" (1 Pet. 2:5; cf. the language of Heb. 13:15-16). Therefore, the individual member shares in Christ's prerogative as high priest and has direct access to God through him.

Although the believer's direct access to God through Christ is indicated throughout the NT (cf. Rom. 5:1-5; 1 Tim. 2:5-6; Heb. 4:14-16), there is considerable doubt, on the basis of contextual exegesis, whether this is the meaning either in 1 Peter or the Revelation. Much more likely the intent is that the Christian community is to be seen as the true "continuation and consummation of the Chosen People of God" (J. H. Elliott, *The Elect and the Holy* [1966], 197), and therefore Peter ascribes to them the honorary titles first given to Israel. The import of such language, both in Exodus and in the NT, is probably missionary and witnessed to the responsibility of their "priesthood" toward the world. "But you are a chosen people, *a royal priesthood,* a holy nation…that *you may declare the praises of him* who called you out of darkness into his wonderful light" (1 Pet. 2:9-10).

Therefore, in *the language* of the NT itself there would seem to be little to support either a priesthood among the ministry or a general priesthood of believers. Rather, the whole church has

been brought to God through the high priestly ministry of Christ; and the "royal priesthood" of the church is the high privilege of mediating Christ to the world.

(See further A. Edersheim, *The Temple: Its Ministry and Services* [1874], 38-78; J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* [1899], 123—74; G. Vos, "The Priesthood of Christ in the Epistle to the Hebrews," *PTR* 5 [1907]: 423-47, 579-604; J. Moffatt, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews,* ICC [1924], xxx-lv; J. Orr, *The Problem of the Old Testament* [1926], 180-92, 315-26; W. F. M. Scott, "Priesthood in the New Testament," *Scottish Journal of Theology,* 10 [1957]: 399-415; T. W. Manson, *Ministry and Priesthood: Christ's and Ours* [1959]; E. Best, "Spiritual Sacrifice: General Priesthood in the New Testament," *Int* 14 [1960]: 273-99; R.De Vaux, *Ancient Israel* [1961], 359-66; O. Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament,* 2nd ed. [1963], 83-107; C. Eastwood, *The Royal Priesthood of the Faithful* [1963]; A. Cody, *A History of Old Testament Priesthood* [1969]; L. Sabourin, *Priesthood:A Comparative Study* [1973]; *HJP,* rev. ed. [1973-87], 2:227-91; F. H. Gorman, Jr., *The Ideology of Ritual: Space, Time, and Status in the Priestly Theology* [1990]; R. D. Nelson, *Raising Up a Faithful Priest: Community and Priesthood in Biblical Theology* [1993]; T. F.Torrance, *Royal Priesthood,* 2nd ed. [1993]; J. Blenkinsopp, *Sage, Priest, Prophet: Religious and Intellectual Leadership in Ancient Israel* [1995]; J. C. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas: High Priests after the Exile* [2004]; M. Brutti, *The Development of the High Priesthood during the Pre-Hasmonean Period* [2006].)

C. L. FEINBERG (OT); G. D. FEE (NT)

**prince.** This English term occurs about 280 times in the KJV as the rendering of more than a dozen Hebrew words and three Greek words, almost all of which refer to a person who holds significant authority. Because in modern English the term is normally restricted to a monarch or to the son of a sovereign, it occurs much less frequently in contemporary Bible versions. For example, the Hebrew noun *nāśî) H5954* (perhaps meaning originally "one lifted up") may properly be rendered "prince" in a variety of contexts (e.g., Ezek. 7:27), but the KJV uses it also in numerous passages where "leader" is more appropriate (e.g., Num. 1:16 and frequently in this book). Similarly, the term *śar H8569,* which is often translated "prince" even in modern versions (Eccl. 10:16-17; Isa. 9:6), may at times have a different meaning, such as "official" (e.g., Gen. 12:15) and "commander" (e.g., 1 Sam. 18:30). Other relevant Hebrew terms include *nāgîd H5592,* "chief" (Ezek. 28:2 et al.), *nādîb H5618,* "noble" (Job 12:21 et al.), and *nāsîk H5817,* "[tribal] leader" (Josh. 13:21 et al.). In the NT, "prince" is used by the KJV, and sometimes by modern versions, primarily to render Greek *archōn G807,* "ruler" (Jn. 12:31 et al.).

**principality.** This English term, in the sense of "authority," is used eight times by the KJV in the NT to render Greek *archē G794,* mostly in the plural (Rom. 8:38; Eph. 1:21; 3:10; 6:12; Col. 1:16; 2:10, 15; Tit. 3:1 [the KJV uses it also one time in the OT,Jer. 13:18]).This Greek word, which occurs more than fifty times in the NT, means "beginning" (Mk. 1:1 et al.), but in a derived sense "first place," thus "sovereignty, dominion," then "someone who holds authority," that is, "ruler." (BDAG, 138B [meaning 6], understands the semantic development thus: "an authority figure who initiates activity or process.")

In the passages listed above (with the exception of Tit. 3:1, where the reference is to earthly rulers), PAUL uses the word to signify the organization of supernatural and angelic powers (so also in 1 Cor. 15:23, where KJV has "rule"). In almost all these verses, the apostle pairs *archē* with *exousia*

*G2026,* "control, authority"; several times the term *dynamis G1539,* "power," occurs as well. (See G. B. Caird, *Principalities and Powers: A Study in Pauline Theology* [1956]; W. Carr, *Angels and Principalities* [1983]; P.O'Brien, "Principalities and Powers: Opponents of the Church," in *Biblical Interpretation and the Church,* ed. D. A. Carson [1984], 110-50; C. E. Arnold, *Powers of Darkness: Principalities and Powers in Paul's Letters* [1992].) Many scholars believe these terms are related to the phrase *ta stoicheia tou kosmou* (Col. 2:8,20; cf. Gal. 4:3, 9), which the NRSV renders, "the elemental spirits of the universe" (NIV, "the basic principles of this world"; TNIV, "the elemental spiritual forces"). See ELEMENTS.

**principles.** See ELEMENTS.

**Prisca** pris'kuh. See PRISCILLA AND AQUILA.

**Priscilla and Aquila** pri-sil'uh, ak'wi-luh *or* uh-kwi'luh (Πρίσκιλλα diminutive of Πρίσκα *G4571* [the latter is the form always used by Paul], "of a former time"; 'Ακύλας *G217,* "eagle"; both names are Latin). A Christian woman and her husband, always named together, who were close friends of PAUL (Acts 18:1-3, 18-19, 26; Rom. 16:3-5; 1 Cor. 16:19; 2 Tim. 4:19).

Aquila was a Jew, a native of the province of PONTUS in ASIA MINOR (Acts 18:2). His name, common among slaves and freedmen, is Latin, but he doubtless had a Hebrew name as well. Under what circumstances he came to ROME is not known. He may have been a slave in a Roman household and later gained his freedom. Since the race of Priscilla is not mentioned, she probably was non-Jewish, but may have become a PROSELYTE before marrying Aquila. Four out of six times her name stands before that of Aquila (Acts 18:18,26 [not in KJV]; Rom. 16:3; 2 Tim. 4:19).This prominence has been explained as due to her superior ability and zeal, or that she had a higher social standing than Aquila as a member of an old Roman family. Aquila and Priscilla had settled in CORINTH because of the edict of CLAUDIUS C. A.D. 49/50 expelling all Jews from ROME. (The account given by SUETONIUS *[Claudius* 25] suggests that the expulsion was due to disturbances among the Jews because of Christianity.)

Their trade as "tentmakers" (Acts 18:3) may mean that they wove the tent cloth, or cut and sewed the tents. That it means "leather workers" is questionable; Paul's PHARISEE father would scarcely teach his son such a trade. Paul's working partnership with Aquila and Priscilla resulted in a lasting association of friendship and Christian service. Whether they already were Christians when Paul met them is uncertain. The relationship soon led them into a deep experiential understanding of Christianity. So profitable and mutually satisfactory did their association with Paul prove to Aquila and Priscilla, that they agreed to shift their business to EPHESUS when Paul planned to begin work there (18:18-19). Paul left them at Ephesus to lay the groundwork while he made a trip to Jerusalem. After hearing APOLLOS in the synagogue, Priscilla and Aquila "explained to him the way of God more adequately" (18:26). The order of their names indicates that Priscilla was the leading spirit in this ministry to Apollos.

They were still in Ephesus when Paul wrote 1 Corinthians; they sent greetings together with "the church that meets at their house" (1 Cor. 16:19). Eager to use their home for the Lord, they threw it open as a regular place of assembly for believers in Ephesus. That Paul continued to stay with them during his ministry at Ephesus is clear (16:19, asserted in some MSS). Where and when Priscilla and Aquila "risked their necks" for Paul's life is uncertain (Rom. 16:4, NRSV). It was a witness to their

love and high esteem for Paul.

When on the third journey Paul wrote Romans from Corinth, Priscilla and Aquila were back in Rome and again had a church in their home (Rom. 16:3, 5). The greeting to them in 2 Tim. 4:19 indicates that they had returned to the E, apparently Ephesus. The fact that in these passages they are the first to be greeted indicates their close relationship with Paul. (The suggestion of Harnack that Priscilla, aided by her husband, wrote HEBREWS is unconvincing.)

D. E. HIEBERT

**prison.** A place of confinement or restraint, used especially as a means of punishment. Many Hebrew and Greek terms are used in the Bible to describe incarceration. These include words for CHAINS and FETTERS (e.g., Pss. 149:8; 105:18; Acts 12:6-7; 16:26), as well as the verb "to bind" (e.g., Gen. 42:24; Matt. 14:3), but some are more specific. Hebrew, for example, has the word *masgēr H4993,* "prison" (Ps. 142:7 et al.), and it can also use *bayit H1074,* "house," in combination with other nouns, such as *kele) H3975,* "restraint" (1 Ki. 22:27 et al.). The NT uses such Greek terms as *desmōtērion G1303,* "prison" (Matt. 11:2 et al.), and *phylakē G5871,* "guard" (5:25 et al.).

Various kinds of imprisonment were known in biblical times. These included incarceration in a PIT, perhaps a CISTERN, in a military or royal building, in cells and DUNGEONS, and occasionally in a house. Devices sometimes were used to make the prisoner uncomfortable, such as fetters or stocks. Floggings also were administered, especially during NT times. It must be recognized, however, that imprisonment itself was not necessarily a legal means of punishment. Rather it was often a detention prior to trial, the isolation of a dangerous person, or a restraint imposed with no judicial sanction. It is observed that Ezra 7:26 provides the first clear biblical example of imprisonment with legal sanction. Roman prisons were for detention, or to coerce those in contempt of court, but were not for the extended penalizing of free persons. Many who would have become political prisoners were allowed exile. Private prisons also existed. (See ABD, 5:468-69.)

Notable examples of imprisonment in the Bible include the following.

1. JOSEPH was taken by his brothers, cast temporarily into a pit, sold to traders (Gen. 37:23-28), and again to an Egyptian officer (v. 36); without legal sanction he was imprisoned in what is thought to have been a round structure, perhaps a fortress (39:20), and ultimately in a dungeon (41:14).

2. Detention pending judicial decision (Lev. 24:12; Num. 15:34).

3. SAMSON was imprisoned and put to hard labor (Jdg. 16:21).

4. MICAIAH, a prophet, King HOSHEA of the northern kingdom (Israel), and King JEHOIAKIN of Judah were put in security as political prisoners (1 Ki. 22:27; 2 Ki. 17:4; 24:15); when Jehoiakin was subsequently released he was wearing prison clothes (25:27-30), but ZEDEKIAH received a worse fate (Jer. 52:11).

5. JEREMIAH suffered various forms of imprisonment: in stocks, in the king's private prison, in another private prison—evidently with cells and dungeon, and in another dungeon, possibly a cistern (Jer. 40:1 et al.).

6. Confidence is expressed in the OT that God would release from prison those who trust him, and commit his enemies to judgment (Pss. 68:6; 69:33; 102:20; 107:10-13; 142:7; 146:7; Isa. 24:22; 42:7; some of the passages are spiritually symbolic, as is seen in the fulfillment of Isa. 61:6 and in Lk. 4:18); prisons also provided illustrative material for Jesus (Matt. 5:25; 18:30; 25:36, 39,43,44; Lk. 12:58).

7. JOHN THE BAPTIST was imprisoned and later executed (Matt. 4:12 and parallels).

8. Jesus' predictions (Lk. 21:12) that his disciples would be imprisoned were fulfilled (Acts

4:3; 5:18; 12:3-4).

9. PAUL imprisoned others before his conversion (Acts 8:3) and afterward frequently was committed to prison for his faith, and was also beaten frequently (16:22-29 et al.; 2 Cor. 6:5; 11:23); in Rome he was under house arrest (Acts 28:16) but later was imprisoned again prior to his execution (2 Tim. 1:8; 2:9).

10. The abode of the departed evil is called a prison in a difficult passage (1 Pet. 3:18-20; see SPIRITS IN PRISON).

11. The ABYSS in which Satan is confined during the MILLENNIUM is also called a prison (Rev. 20:7). See also CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

W. L. LIEFELD

**Prison Epistles.** Term used to refer to a group of letters traditionally thought to have been written by the apostle PAUL during his first Roman imprisonment: EPHESIANS, PHILIPPIANS, COLOSSIANS, and PHILEMON. In all of these letters Paul makes some allusion to his being in chains or in prison, but not all scholars agree regarding the time and place of writing.

**Prochorus** prok'uh-ruhs. See PROCORUS.

**proconsul.** The title given to a magistrate functioning outside ROME "in place of a consul" (Lat. pro *consule);* it was applied to the governor of a Roman PROVINCE. Under the Roman system of provincial administration, the authority of a CONSUL might be extended after the expiration of his term of office, usually to allow him to serve as the governor of a province. It was seldom that this duty was performed by a magistrate in office, especially in the later Roman republic. Under the emperors, the title was used generally to designate provincial governors regardless of whether they were ex-consuls or ex-praetors. Acts (using the equivalent Gk. term *anthypatos G478)* mentions two proconsuls: Sergius PAULUS (Acts 13:7) and GALLIO (18:12). See also PRAETOR; PREFECT; PROCURATOR.

R. C. STONE

**Procorus** prok'uh-ruhs (Πρόχορος *G4743)*. Also Prochorus. One of the seven men appointed by the early church to serve tables and thereby relieve the apostles for other duties (Acts 6:5; see DEACON III). A 5th-cent. work known as *Acts of John* claims to have been written by this man (see JOHN, ACTS OF).

**procurator.** An agent or manager, that is, someone appointed "to care on behalf of" (Lat. *pro curare)* someone else. In preimperial Rome, this term was used in a general way to designate an administrator and was applied also to the manager of an estate, such as a bailiff or steward (cf. the VULGATE's use of this Latin word in Matt. 20:8). Later, however, the term was used as the title of more prominent officials who acted as personal agents for the emperor; most of them belonged to the equestrian rank (Romans of the second highest social class).

Three ways in which procurators were used may be delineated. (1) Procurators of PROVINCES dealt chiefly with imperial finances and worked side by side with the governor and his financial officer, the quaestor; at times they would act as a check on the governor. (2) A great number of departmental posts were held by procurators, such as law enforcement, grain supply, mint, mines, gladiatorial schools, and the like. (3) Some procurators governed a minor province, such as THRACIA

and JUDEA, in which case they were not restricted to dealing with financial matters, but had the power of life and death as any other governor; most often they were semidependent on the governors of larger provinces. (For other types of procuratorial posts, see *OCD,* 1251-52.)

The Roman historian TACITUS (in *Annals* 15.44) used the term *procurator* with reference to Pontius PILATE, but it is now recognized that prior to the emperorship of CLAUDIUS, provincial governors bore the title PREFECT. Subsequent to the reign of Agrippa I (A.D. 37-44; see HEROD VII), Judea was again ruled by Roman representatives, two of whom are named in the NT, FELIX (C. 52-58) and FESTUS (c. 58-62). These are properly called *procurators,* although Luke uses the general term for "governor," *hēgemōn G2450* (Acts 23:24; this is also the title used by the Gospels with reference to Pilate). The chief duty of these men was to keep the volatile Palestinian area quiet. Thus, for example, they refrained from using human or animal figures on their coinage, in deference to the Jews. (See further *ABD,473* –74.)

R.C.STONE

**profane.** This verb (from Latin *profānus,* "outside the sanctuary," that is, "ordinary, not sacred") is used frequently in English Bible versions, primarily as the translation of Hebrew *ḥālal H2725* (piel stem), which can also be rendered "defile," "desecrate," and so on. The word occurs especially in Leviticus and Ezekiel, where the issue of ritual PURITY is prominent (Lev. 20:3 [here in combination with the synonym *ṭāmē H3237]* et al.; Ezek. 7:21-22 et al.). The English verb can be used also to render Greek *bebēloō G1014* (cf. KJV in Matt. 12:5; Acts 24:6), a term that may have been coined by the SEPTUAGINT translators to render Hebrew *hālal.* It was derived from the earlier adjective *bebēlos G1013* ("allowable to be trodden, unhallowed, godless"), which also occurs in the NT and is usually rendered "profane" by the KJV and NRSV (1 Tim. 1:9 et al.). Moreover, the NRSV in some passages gives "profane" as the rendering of Greek *koinos G3123,* "common" (Acts 10:14-15 et al.; NIV, "impure"). See also HOLINESS; UNCLEANNESS.

**promise.** In biblical use, promise (Gk. *epangelia G2039)* contains the elements of COVENANT (Eph. 2:12), contract, and pledge, with blessings to the beneficiary. In its very nature it is prophetic, of which FULFILLMENT is properly expected (Ps. 119:123; Heb. *ʾimrâ H614,* "utterance, word"). PAUL identifies promise with SALVATION (2 Tim. 1:1) and with the GOSPEL (Gal. 3:18). Moreover, promise is a commitment made by someone, mediated by someone, and inherited by someone. There are human promises and divine promises; of the latter, there are temporal and spiritual promises.

All promises are considered binding on the part of the one who makes them. For honorable persons, "their word is as good as their bond." The promises of God are sacred, and were so considered in the Bible. David sang, "The promise of the LORD proves true" (2 Sam. 22:31 NRSV); and, "The promises of the LORD are promises that are pure" (Ps. 12:6 NRSV). On completion of the temple, SOLOMON in salutary praise said, "The LORD has kept the promise he made" (2 Chr. 6:10; Heb. *dābār H1821,* "word"). Another sang, "My comfort in my suffering is this: / Your promise preserves my life"; and, "My eyes stay open through the watches of the night, / that I may meditate on your promises" (Ps. 119:50,148).

**I. Human promises.** Promises made by men and women are subject to human frailties and have the earmarks of those who make them. Just before his death, JACOB exacted a promise from JOSEPH that he would not bury him in Egypt, but in the land of his fathers (Gen. 47:29-30), and Joseph kept his promise (50:7-13). MOSES commanded the Israelites to keep promises (Deut. 23:23). He later warned

the tribes of Reuben and Gad against the consequences if they broke their promise of alliance with the other tribes of Israel (Num. 32:24). BALAK's promise to BALAAM proved futile (22:17). After NEHEMIAH warned the dilatory Israelites of God's wrath, "he made the nobles and officials take oath to do what they had promised" (Neh. 5:12; cf. Acts 5:1-11). People with evil intentions make promises and reap evil rewards. HAMAN made a promise "to pay into the royal treasury for the destruction of the Jews" (Esth. 4:7), but in turn was hanged for his wickedness. JUDAS ISCARIOT offered to betray Jesus, and the chief priests "promised to give him money" for it (Mk. 14:11).

**II. God's temporal promises.** God made many promises of an earthly nature, usually related to preservation, protection, posterity, possessions, and prosperity. At the close of his life, JOSHUA gave this testimony, "You know with all your heart and soul that not one of all the good promises the LORD your God gave you has failed. Every promise has been fulfilled; not one has failed" (Josh. 23:14).

***A. To Noah.*** God established his covenant with NOAH and his descendants and with every living creature. The Lord thus promised that he would not again curse the earth nor destroy it by flood and that seasonal cycles would be permanent—and the RAINBOW would be his sign (Gen. 8:21-22; 9:8-17).

***B. To Abraham.*** ABRAHAM, like Noah, was a mediator of God's great promises. Regarding posterity, Abraham was to foster a great race and many nations. "I will make you into a great nation" (Gen. 12:2); "As for me, this is my covenant with you: You will be the father of many nations" (17:4).The main line of fulfillment began with ISAAC (17:19-20; 21:1-3; Gal. 4:28), expanded in the Israelites (Num. 22:5; 1 Ki. 4:20), and culminated in the Jews and in Jesus (Acts 13:32-33). A corollary promise to Abraham was that kings would come from him (Gen. 17:6c), fulfilled in the kings of Israel and Judah, chiefly in DAVID, and ultimately in Jesus.

***C. The land of promise.*** In another significant promise to Abraham, God said, "The whole land of Canaan, where you are now an alien, I will give as an everlasting possession to you and your descendants after you" (Gen. 17:8). The promise was renewed to Moses that, after delivering the Israelites from Egyptian bondage, he would bring them "to the land of the Canaanites…a land flowing with milk and honey" (Exod. 3:17; cf. Deut. 34:4). Until the time of Moses' death it was still "the land of promise" (Heb. 11:9 KJV), by which it later became popularly known as the Promised Land.

To JOSHUA, poised for conquest on the bank of the JORDAN, God reiterated his promise (Josh. 1:3), after which Israel under Joshua began to take possession. During DAVID'S reign, all the Promised Land was conquered and settled (2 Sam. 24:2). It was a fulfillment of the old promise, and

Shechem (modern Tell Balaṭah), with the mountains of Samaria in the background (view to the SE). It was in this general area that God first promised Abraham he would give the land of Canaan to Abraham's descendants (Gen. 12:6-7).

a divine heritage of which David gratefully sang. He thanked God for being mindful of "the covenant he made with Abraham, / the oath he swore to Isaac. / He confirmed it to Jacob as a decree, / to Israel as an everlasting covenant: / 'To you I will give the land of Canaan / as the portion you will inherit'" (1 Chr. 16:16-18). Ever since, throughout the long turbulent history of the Jewish people, no matter where the Jew lived, the Promised Land was their homeland; and in recent history, the nostalgic pull has resulted in a new Israelite nation in Palestine.

***D. Longevity.*** One distinct promise mediated by Moses concerned longevity. In the fifth commandment God said, "Honor your father and your mother, so that you may live long in the land the LORD your God is giving you" (Exod. 20:12), which according to Paul "is the first commandment with a promise" (Eph. 6:2).

***E. Posterity.*** In support of family tradition, many promises pertained to posterity. Those concerning Abraham's populous descendants (Gen. 32:12) and David's royal descendants (1 Ki. 9:5) had both historic and spiritual fulfillment. Other promises of offspring varied in significance. Among them were those concerning the births of SAMSON (Jdg. 13:2-3, 24), SAMUEL (1 Sam. 1:17, 20), JOHN THE BAPTIST (Lk. 1:13, 57-60), and, most of all, JESUS CHRIST (Isa. 7:14; Matt. 1:18-25; Lk. 1:30-31; 2:4-7). A lesser known person, HEMAN, head musician and seer in David's court, was given fourteen sons and three daughter "through the promises of God to exalt him" (1 Chr. 25:5), and his sons like him were musician prophets. God promised JEHU that his descendants would "sit on the throne of Israel to the fourth generation," and the word "was fulfilled" (2 Ki. 15:12).

***F. Deliverance.*** Promises of another nature were made to David that God through him would deliver his people "from the hand of all their enemies"; that he too would have rest from conflict; and that his son would build the TEMPLE (2 Sam. 3:18; 7:13; 1 Ki. 8:20, 56). Because of SOLOMON'S unselfish

prayer, God promised him superior wisdom plus "both riches and honor" (1 Ki. 3:12-13).

***G. Restoration.*** God said to Jeremiah during the exile, "I will come to you and fulfill my gracious promise to bring you back to this place" (Jer. 29:10). He did bring them back, and during the reconstruction of Jerusalem, Haggai said, "for I am with you, says the LORD of hosts, according to the promise that I made you when you came out of Egypt" (Hag. 2:b-5a NRSV).

**III. God's spiritual promises.** The undertone of spiritual promise is evident in all biblical promises. The frequent use of *promise* in the singular form suggests that all promises are aimed at one target. The Hebrew word *)imrâ* appears with this sense some fifteen times in Ps. 119 alone, not to mention numerous other times in the OT. Similarly, NT writers spoke of "the promise," while giving light on its ultimate meaning. The writer of Hebrews mentioned "the promise of entering his rest" (Heb. 4:1). Within a few verses, Paul mentioned "the promise" three times with implications of its spiritual fulfillment (Rom. 4:13-16).

***A. Fulfillment in Christ.*** Beginning with the *protevangelium* (Gen. 3:15), the people of God were sustained by the promise of restoration and preservation until its fulfillment in "the promise of life that is in Christ Jesus" (2 Tim. 1:1). Paul said, "For no matter how many promises God has made, they are 'Yes' in Christ" (2 Cor. 1:20). The culmination of God's promised blessings in Christ accounts for the important place that "the promise" holds in Christianity. PETER wrote, "His divine power has given us everything we need for life and godliness through our knowledge of him who called us by his own glory and goodness. Through these he has given us his very great and precious promises, so that through them you may participate in the divine nature and escape the corruption in the world caused by evil desires" (2 Pet. 1:3-4). All divine promises converge in "the promise of God" to provide salvation. With this in mind, PAUL, before his defense before Agrippa, said that he was on trial "because of my hope in what God has promised our fathers" (Acts 26:6).

***B. Eschatology.*** Christ's return was unconditionally promised by himself and by angels (Matt. 25:31; Acts 1:11). In the last days scoffers will ask, "Where is this 'coming' he promised?" (2 Pet. 3:4). To this the Christian can answer, "The Lord is not slow in keeping his promise, as some understand slowness. He is patient with you, not wanting anyone to perish, but everyone to come to repentance. …But in keeping with his promise we are looking forward to a new heaven and a new earth, the home of righteousness" (3:9, 13). James wrote that those who endure trials "will receive the crown of life that God has promised to those who love him" (Jas. 1:12).

**IV. Heirs of promise.** Writers of the NT identify the heirs of promise and their rich bequests.

***A. Physical heirs.*** Physical heirs in the broader sense are all people, beneficiaries of the promise to Noah. In a restricted sense, Abraham and his descendants were heirs of special promise. "And so after waiting patiently, Abraham received what was promised" (Heb. 6:15). God confirmed his word with an OATH because he "wanted to make the unchanging nature of his purpose very clear to the heirs of what was promised" (6:17). God not only promised Abraham that he would "be the father of many nations" (Gen. 17:4), but also promised him a son in his old age (18:10; 21:1; Gal. 4:23) through whose lineage the earth should be blessed (Gen. 12:3). And, though his descendants were as numerous as "the sand of the sea" (Rom. 9:27), only through the chosen line came the redemptive

heirs of promise, among whom were Moses, David, Elijah, and Jesus.

***B. Spiritual heirs.*** Spiritual heirs of promise were not limited to the chosen race, nor God's bequest of temporal things. The patriarchs knew this, beginning with Abraham. "By faith he made his home in the promised land like a stranger in a foreign country; he lived in tents, as did Isaac and Jacob, who were heirs with him of the same promise. For he was looking forward to the city with foundations, whose architect and builder is God" (Heb. 11:9-10).

Like the patriarchs and their heroic descendants who "gained what was promised" (Heb. 11:33), Christians should sustain hope and endurance that they may "receive what he has promised" (10:36; cf. v. 23). Those who possessed Canaan under Joshua were not then heirs of God's total bequest, for there is yet "the promised eternal inheritance" (9:15). Only in it is the SABBATH rest of God, mentioned at the creation (Gen. 2:2), which awaits his people after the toils of this life (Heb. 4:1-11). Paul explained that though Abraham's heirs were to be named through Isaac, "it is not the natural children who are God's children, but it is the children of the promise who are regarded as Abraham's offspring" (Rom. 9:8).

Moreover, true heirs are not those who depend on their obedience to the Mosaic laws but on the promise made to Abraham: "It was not through law that Abraham and his offspring received the promise that he would be heir of the world, but through the righteousness that comes by faith. For if those who live by law are heirs, faith has no value and the promise is worthless.…Therefore, the promise comes by faith, so that it may be by grace and may be guaranteed to all Abraham's offspring —not only to those who are of the law but also to those who are of the faith of Abraham" (Rom. 4:13-14, 16; cf. 9:8). Consistent with this interpretation, Paul included Gentile Christians among the heirs of promise. They were once "separate from Christ, excluded from citizenship in Israel and foreigners to the covenants of the promise, without hope and without God in the world," but now "the Gentiles are heirs together with Israel, members together of one body, and sharers together in the promise in Christ Jesus" (Eph. 2:12; 3:6).

***C. Jesus as heir.*** In a very distinct way, Jesus is the heir of promise. "The promises were spoken to Abraham and to his seed. The Scripture does not say 'and to seeds,' meaning many people, but 'and to your seed,' meaning one person, who is Christ." Furthermore, Paul asserted that the law, coming later, "does not set aside the covenant previously established by God and thus do away with the promise" (Gal. 3:16-18). Logically then, "the Scripture declares that the whole world is a prisoner of sin, so that what was promised, being given through faith in Jesus Christ, might be given to those who believe" (3:22). JAMES added that God has chosen the earthly poor "to inherit the kingdom he promised to those who love him" (Jas. 2:5).

**V. The promise of the Holy Spirit.** Finally, Jesus committed the promise to the HOLY SPIRIT as mediator of God's grace to Christians. Long ago, God had promised an outpouring of his Spirit on his people (Isa. 44:3). Under the shadow of the cross Jesus promised his disciples that he would send them another Counselor, the Holy Spirit (Jn. 14:16, 26; see PARACLETE). The risen Lord, just before his ascension, reassuringly said to his disciples, "I am going to send you what my Father has promised" (Lk. 24:49); and he charged them "to wait for the gift my Father promised" (Acts 1:4). Soon afterward, on the day of PENTECOST, Peter explained the advent of the new spiritual power, saying that Jesus had returned to God, had "received from the Father the promised Holy Spirit," and had "poured out what you now see and hear" (2:33). In the Holy Spirit, God fulfills his promise that

he will dwell with his people, true heirs of promise (Ezek. 37:28).

G. B. FUNDERBURK

**pronouncement story.** A brief narrative by Jesus that climaxes with an authoritative declaration. See FORM CRITICISM.

**prophecy.** See PROPHETS AND PROPHECY.

**prophetess.** Both Hebrew and Greek have specific terms referring to a female prophet. In the OT, the word *nĕbîʾâ H5567* (fem. form *of nābîʾ, H5566*) is applied to several women. MIRIAM, the sister of MOSES, led the response to the "Song of Moses" (Exod. 15:20). The charismatic leader DEBORAH judged Israel (Jdg. 4:4). When the Book of the Law was recovered at the time of King JOSIAH, his officers consulted HULDAH (2 Ki. 22:14; 2 Chr. 34:22). NEHEMIAH was opposed by a prophetess named NOADIAH (Neh. 6:14); her stature is suggested by the merely anonymous mention of the prophets associated with her. The wife of ISAIAH is called a prophetess, perhaps because of her relation to him (Isa. 8:3).

In the NT, the Greek word *prophētis G4739* occurs only twice, once with reference to the venerable ANNA, who shared in the prophetic revelation concerning the coming Messiah (Lk. 2:36), and once as a term arrogantly assumed by "that woman Jezebel," evidently a false prophetess in THYATIRA (Rev. 2:20). There is, however, ample evidence of prophetic activity among women in the apostolic period (Acts 2:17; 1 Cor. 11:5; cf. the general language of 12:10, 28-29, et al.). The four daughters of PHILIP prophesied (Acts 21:9), though they are not designated as prophetesses. See PROPHETS AND PROPHECY.

W. L. LIEFELD

**Prophets, Former and Latter.** In the Hebrew Bible, these terms are used to designate two groups of books. The group called Former Prophets consists of the historical books of Joshua, Judges, 1-2 Samuel, and 1-2 Kings. The Latter Prophets include Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Book of the Twelve (i.e., the Minor Prophets; Daniel is placed in a different category, the Writings). See CANON (OT); PROPHETS AND PROPHECY.

**Prophets, Lives of the.** A Jewish writing preserved in several Greek MSS (and various secondary versions), but thought by many to have been composed in Hebrew or Aramaic, probably before A.D. 70. (For the view that "the Palestinian traditions included in this document first attained literary form in Greek," and that it may date from the first decades of the 1st cent., see D. R. A. Hare in *OTP,* 2:380-81; English trans. on pp. 385-99.) It consists of twenty-four brief chapters—some of them only one or two sentences long—that give summary biographies of the authors of the OT prophetic books and also of Nathan, Ahijah, Joad, Azariah, Elijah, Elisha, and Zechariah son of Jehoiada. Some of the information comes from the OT itself, but the author depends heavily on extrabiblical traditions. The document is often cited as an interesting example of popular Jewish religion.

**prophets and prophecy.** The great importance of the prophetic movement is evidenced by the occurrence of the word *prophet* over 300 times in the OT and over 100 times in the NT, along with many other terms that clearly refer to individuals performing the same function. Since the predictive aspect of prophecy has been so stressed in modern usage as almost to overshadow other phases of

prophetic activity, it is particularly needful that Bible students seek to understand the full original purpose of the movement and its importance in biblical revelation and in the divine plan.

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## I. Prophetism in general

***A. Definition.*** Examination of the activities and writings of the prophets clarifies the OT prophetic task. The OT prophet acted as a mouthpiece for God, receiving a message from him and proclaiming it in accordance with his commands. Since there is one God, a true prophet must necessarily be a prophet of this God. The word, however, might be used of one who pretended or actually believed that he was a mouthpiece of God or some other god.

Prophets and prophecy are designated in the OT by a number of different terms. For example, 1 Chr. 29:29 uses three different words: NATHAN is called a *nābîʾ H5566* (the primary term), but SAMUEL is described as a *rōʾeh H8014,* "seer," and GAD bears the designation *ḥōzeh H2602,* which also means "seer." One passage gives the following historical information concerning the period at the time of Samuel: "Formerly in Israel, if a man went to inquire of God, he would say, 'Come, let us go to the seer,' because the prophet of today used to be called a seer" (1 Sam. 9:9). ELISHA, one of the most typical of all prophets, is referred to as "the man of God" thirty-six times. (For discussion of these terms, see I.B below.)

Examination of the usages of the word *nābîʾ* makes the definition certain. The first occurrence of the word gives little clue as to its meaning: ABIMELECH is told that ABRAHAM is a prophet and will pray for him (Gen. 20:7). This is the only time the word occurs in the book of Genesis, and it yields little information beyond the fact that the prophet had an especially close relationship to God and could pray effectively. The statement assumes that Abimelech had an idea what a prophet was.

Fuller light on the meaning of the word is evident from its second occurrence (Exod. 7:1). Here is a repetition in somewhat figurative language of the idea expressed literally earlier, after MOSES declared that his lack of eloquence would make it impossible for him to act as God's representative before Pharaoh (4:10-16). God had said that he would appoint Moses' brother AARON, who was a good speaker, to accompany him. Moses could tell Aaron what to say, and Aaron would then relay it to Pharaoh. The Lord said, "He will speak to the people for you, and it will be as if he were your mouth and as if you were God to him" (4:16). This idea is summarized in the words, "And the LORD said to Moses, 'See, I have made you like God to Pharaoh, and your brother Aaron will be your prophet'" (7:1). This passage indicates clearly that the word *prophet* means one who passes on a message from God.

This definition fits the usage of all the various terms, and is particularly stressed in the following verses, among many others: "The Sovereign LORD has spoken—who can but prophesy?" (Amos 3:8). "You must go to everyone I send you to and say whatever I command you.…Get yourself ready! Stand up and say to them whatever I command you" (Jer. 1:7, 17). "Son of man, go now to the house of Israel and speak my words to them" (Ezek. 3:4).

The position of a prophet differed from that of kings and priests, who generally received their positions through heredity. No one could ever be a prophet simply because his father was one. Kings, priests, and other officials might be appointed or elected by human instrumentality (cf. Jdg. 9:6; 11:5, 6; 1 Ki. 2:35; 12:20). No human individual or organization could enable a person to become a true prophet. The NT speaks of prophets as one of God's gifts to his church, along with evangelists and pastors (Eph. 4:11). A church can ordain and install an evangelist or a pastor, but no one can become a prophet in the full meaning of the word unless God chooses to give that person a message with orders to pass it on.

Sometimes a distinction has been made between the prophetic office and the prophetic gift. Such

a distinction has no foundation in the Bible or in any other ancient writing. Strictly speaking, the work of a prophet is not the fulfilling of an office, but the performance of a function. It would appear that God on several occasions selected a person to give one or two messages and never again used him as his mouthpiece. On other occasions the Lord used a prophet over a long period. The prophetic position is entirely a matter of relationship to God and cannot be enhanced or decreased by any human agency. A great leader such as Moses or Samuel or David could also be a prophet. A priest such as Samuel or Ezekiel could also be a prophet. The name indicates a function rather than an office.

Rarely is the term *prophet* applied, either in the OT or in the NT, to an individual other than one who receives, or claims to receive, messages directly from God. The word, however, is sometimes used in the plural in a more extended sense. Thus in the time of general confusion and PHILISTINE oppression toward the end of the period of the judges, when Samuel was the one individual who received God's messages and passed them on to the people, those who sympathized with Samuel and went about singing God's praises and trying to arouse patriotic fervor as well as religious feeling among the people were sometimes called *prophets*. The use of the word in this extended sense is mostly confined to the book of 1 Samuel, aside from the reference in 1 Ki. 18:4, 13 to OBADIAH, who hid 100 prophets in a cave to protect them from the anger of AHAB. In the time of ELIJAH and ELISHA, the people who wished to assist the prophets or to learn from them were described as "sons of the prophets" (see discussion below, under II.D).

In the NT, as in the OT, a prophet was one who received his message directly from God. As the Bible neared completion and the existence of God's written word in its entirety made direct communication no longer necessary, it became possible to use the term in the extended sense of one who receives a message from God through the written word and then passes it on to God's people "for their strengthening, encouragement and comfort" (1 Cor. 14:3).

The feminine PROPHETESS is used in both Testaments for a woman who performed the prophetic function. In one instance, however, it may simply mean the wife of the prophet Isaiah (Isa. 8:3).

***B. Hebrew terms.*** As already noted, the most common Hebrew term is *nābîʾ*, which occurs more than 280 times, about one-third of its occurrences being in the book of Jeremiah. The feminine form, *nĕbîʾâ H5567,* is used several times, usually indicating a woman who performed the same task of receiving and passing on a divine message (cf. Exod. 15:20; Jdg. 4:4-6; 2 Ki. 22:14-20; 2 Chr. 34:22-28; Neh. 6:14).

There have been many guesses about the origin of this word. It was formerly assumed by students of Hebrew that all Semitic nouns were derived from verbs, and the attempt was therefore made to find a verbal root from which *nābîʾ* could have been derived. Many suggestions were made, none of which are well grounded. The most common was to derive it from a somewhat similar but not identical root, meaning "to gush." From this some interpreters proposed that it meant one into whose mind the Lord poured ideas; others thought it came from the notion of a person who poured out words at a rapid rate, and as evidence they pointed to the few passages that might suggest that these prophets engaged in ecstatic activities (see IV.H below).

Aerial view of Nebi Samwil, a few miles WNW of Jerusalem. The mosque on the mound marks the traditional site of the burial of Samuel the prophet.

Among various other etymologies that have been proposed, the one most widely accepted (albeit tentatively) is the Akkadian verb *nabû,* "to call," so that *nābîʾ* suggests either "someone who speaks" or "someone who has been called."

Today, however, most scholars recognize that not all Hebrew nouns are derived from verbs; if in this case the noun is original, then the derived Hebrew verb *nābāʾ H5547* means simply "to perform the work of a *nābîʾ*." Moreover, linguists now agree that etymological information is no sure guide to current meaning. The only reliable way to determine the meaning of a word is through examination of its usage. And as already shown, the use of this word makes clear that a prophet was one whom God used as his mouthpiece to pass on a message.

Another term applied to various prophets is the phrase "man of God," which is used almost eighty times in the OT. Nearly half of these refer to Elisha, while fifteen relate to an unnamed prophet (1 Ki. 13); the rest are widely scattered, being used seven times of Elijah, five times of Moses, four times of Samuel, three times of David, twice of a certain SHEMAIAH who lived during the reign of REHOBOAM (12:22-24), and five times of other unnamed representatives of God. The two additional terms are both participles of verbs of seeing. The less common of the two, *rōeh H8014,* is derived from the usual word for "to see" *(rāʾâ H8011).* It occurs a dozen times, mainly with reference to Samuel (only a few other times in the OT), and it may indicate his supposed ability to see present or future facts that were invisible to others. The second participle, *ḥōzeh H2602,* is derived from a less common Hebrew word for seeing, *ḥāzâ H2600,* which perhaps conveys the idea of gazing or looking intently. This participle is used seventeen times to designate various prophets. Both participles frequently are translated "seer."

The verb *prophesy* is usually the rendering of *nābāʾ*. In most cases it represents the activity of receiving God's message and passing it on. In some instances it indicates giving a message from some imagined supernatural being, or imitating the actions of a prophet. Nouns derived from the two verbs for seeing are frequently used to indicate the prophetic vision. The most frequent of these is *ḥāzôn*

*H2606,* which is used in this sense more than thirty times. The noun *maśśāʾ H5363* (from the verb *nāśāʾ H5951,* "to lift up, carry") is used twenty-seven times to indicate a prophetic message. The KJV typically translates it as "burden," but modern versions more often use the rendering "oracle" (Isa. 13:1 et al.).

***C. Greek terms.*** The common term for "prophet" in the NT is *prophētēs G4737,* which occurs over 140 times. Several cognates are also used. The verb *prophēteuō G4736,* "to prophesy," occurs almost thirty times in the NT. The noun *prophēteia G4735,* found nineteen times in the NT, is usually translated "prophecy," referring to the utterance itself, but the term can also refer to the activity of prophesying (Rev. 11:6) and to the "gift of prophecy" (1 Cor. 13:2). The feminine *prophētis G4739,* "prophetess," is used twice in the NT, once of ANNA (Lk. 2:36), and once to designate one who was not truly a prophetess, but was so considered by her followers (Rev. 2:20). The adjective *prophētikos G4738* occurs twice (Rom. 16:26; 2 Pet. 1:19). A number of other Greek words are used of prophetic activity in the NT, most of them stressing the ability of the prophet to reveal matters known only to God or to predict the future.

***D. The prophetic call.*** It sometimes is claimed that every prophet received a specific call from God to enter upon his or her task. According to this theory, everyone who was used in the prophetic capacity had an experience, at some time before beginning the work, leading to the conviction that God had ordered that person to devote his or her life to the work of being a prophet.

Such a theory is difficult to disprove, but it should not be accepted as proven without a sufficient amount of evidence that God always called people in some specific way when he desired them to become prophets. As the Bible nowhere says that every prophet received such a call, the only way to test the statement is to look for reports of individual experiences. Of course, no one could sincerely pass on a message from God unless God had commanded that person to do so, but this is altogether different from giving someone a call to enter upon a continuing activity as a prophet.

Since a king, a great leader, or a priest also performed the function of a prophet if God commanded him to do so, the call to one of these positions must be distinguished from being called to be a prophet. The Lord ordered GIDEON to save Israel from the hand of the Midianites (Jdg. 6:14). The carrying out of this task involved the reception from God of instructions regarding its details, and Gideon to this extent acted as a true prophet (7:2-11); his call, however, was not to be a prophet but to be a deliverer. DAVID was anointed by Samuel as God's choice eventually to succeed SAUL as king (1 Sam. 16), but there was as yet no intimation that God would use him as a prophet in connection with the writing of many psalms (Acts 2:29-30).

Moses, one of the very greatest of the prophets, was to his contemporaries primarily a leader. When God first appeared to him at the BURNING BUSH, he declared his intention of delivering the people from Egyptian bondage and said, "I am sending you to Pharaoh to bring my people the Israelites out of Egypt" (Exod. 3:10). Two chapters are devoted to telling how the Lord insisted that Moses undertake this difficult mission, listing the various ways in which Moses tried to evade the task and showing how the Lord answered each of these objections. Moses repeatedly refused, but God insisted, and eventually Moses agreed most reluctantly to undertake the task of leading the Israelites out of Egypt.

One of Moses' objections was that the Israelites would not believe him when he said the Lord had appeared to him. Thus there entered into the picture incidentally the fact that to be a deliverer, Moses must also become God's recognized spokesman. His call was primarily to be a leader and a

deliverer and therefore can hardly be considered an example of a typical call to be a prophet, even though in the end his work as a prophet assumed outstanding importance.

The statement that every prophet received a specific call from God is hard to reconcile with the case of Elisha. When Elijah was at Sinai, God gave him the command to ANOINT Elisha son of Shaphat to succeed him as prophet (1 Ki. 19:16). There is no indication that he poured oil on Elisha's head or even informed Elisha that God was calling him to be a prophet. When he passed the farm where Elisha was plowing, Elijah simply threw his coat over Elisha (v. 19). Elisha ran after him and said, "Let me kiss my father and mother good-by…and then I will come with you." Elijah answered gruffly, "Go back.…What have I done to you?" (v. 20).

It is not stated how long a time Elisha accompanied Elijah, but his service would seem to have been mostly the doing of menial tasks, for he was known in later times as the man who "used to pour water on the hands of Elijah" (2 Ki. 3:11). On the last day of his life, Elijah gave every evidence of trying to keep Elisha from being present at his departure (2:2, 4, 6). When Elijah was about to be taken up to heaven he asked Elisha what present he would like to have. Elisha said he wanted a double portion of Elijah's spirit (2:9). Since it was customary at that time that a man's eldest son should receive a double portion of the inheritance, it is evident that Elisha was requesting to be Elijah's successor. Elijahs answer was: "You have asked a difficult thing,…yet if you see me when I am taken from you, it will be yours—otherwise not" (2:10).

After Elijah was taken up, Elisha looked for proof that he was actually Elijah's successor. He found it through taking the mantle of Elijah that had fallen from him and striking the waters of the Jordan River with it, saying, "Where now is the LORD, the God of Elijah?" (2 Ki. 2:14). When the waters parted for him as they had done for Elijah (v. 8), he knew that his request was granted. After a time, Elisha became recognized as God's prophet and continued for a long period, but a specific call in the usual sense would be very hard to deduce from the description given.

Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel were called to the difficult task of declaring God's message to hostile listeners. Under the circumstances it was crucial that each be given an inaugural experience or vision that would intensify his determination to be true to God and to continue to the end, no matter what opposition he would face. In each case there is a full record of a specific call. Because ISAIAH'S call is recorded in Isa. 6 instead of at the beginning of his prophecy, many interpreters have concluded that this was not an original call but rather a vision given at a later point in Isaiah's career. In this chapter Isaiah tells how he saw the Lord on a throne, and immediately he was filled with agony because he realized his sin and unworthiness. One of the seraphim touched his lips with a live coal from the altar, representing that his iniquity had been taken away. Then he heard the Lord say, "Whom shall I send? And who will go for us?" and answered, "Here am I. Send me!" (Isa. 6:8). Isaiah's general orders were then given (6:9-13), which must have been a heart-rending experience since his message was to be one of doom and punishment with comparatively little response. They included only a brief suggestion (at the end of v. 13) that a small remnant would carry on for God. This experience prepared him to stand fearlessly before the obstinate opposition of AHAZ, described in the following chapters.

The Lord declared to JEREMIAH that even before his birth he had consecrated and appointed him to be "a prophet to the nations" (Jer. 1:5), and told him that he would make him like a fortified city against the whole land, which would fight against him but would not prevail (vv. 18-19). EZEKIEL lived among people who were bitter at heart and not inclined to listen to a message from God, whom they thought had forsaken them. Ezekiel was given a vivid experience to drive home to his mind the realization of God's power and majesty (Ezek. 1-3). It was necessary to strengthen the determination

of all three

Key cities associated with the Old Testament prophets.

prophets, that they might remain true to God under very difficult circumstances. AMOS stated that as he followed the flocks God called him to prophesy to Israel (Amos 7:15). Of the many other prophets whose messages are included in the OT (aside from those mentioned above), hardly anything is described that could be considered as a specific call to the work of a prophet.

## II. The prophetic activity

### *A. How the prophet received his message*

**1. The prophetic consciousness.** The prophet was not simply a wise man who gave good advice. He received a message from God and proclaimed it. Yet he was never a mere automaton through whom God caused words to be uttered. He was a human being facing real situations. In his human capacity he made mistakes. Thus when David told Nathan that he had decided to build a temple, the prophet said, "Whatever you have in mind, go ahead and do it, for the LORD is with you" (2 Sam. 7:3). That night God corrected Nathan: it was not God's will that David should build the temple—it should be built by David's son (vv. 4-16).

In an earlier period, God had ordered Samuel to go to Bethlehem and anoint one of Jesse's sons, who would eventually replace Saul as king (1 Sam. 16). As the prophet looked at the older sons in turn, he felt sure that the Lord's anointed was before him, but the Lord told him that he was incorrect. Only after David was called in from the sheep pasture did Samuel know that the right son stood before him (vv. 6-13). Thus a prophet might know a portion of the divine will but be completely incognizant of

| THE HEBREW PROPHETS | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ORDER | THE PROPHET | HISTORICAL SETTING | DATE (B.C.) |
| 1 | JOEL | 2 Ki. 11:1—15:7 | 837–800 |
| 2 | JONAH | 2 Ki. 13–14 | 825–782 |
| 3 | AMOS | 2 Ki. 14:23; 15:7 | 810–785 |
| 4 | HOSEA | 2 Ki. 15–18 | 782–725 |
| 5 | ISAIAH | 2 Ki. 15–20; 2 Chr. 26–32 | 758–698 |
| 6 | MICAH | 2 Ki. 15:8–20; Isa. 7–8; Jer. 26:17–19; 2 Chr. 27–32 | 740–695 |
| 7 | NAHUM | (Jon. 1–4; Isa. 10; Zeph. 2:13–15) | 640–630 |
| 8 | ZEPHANIAH | 2 Ki. 22:1—23:34; 2 Chr. 34:1—36:4 | 640–610 |
| 9 | JEREMIAH | 2 Ki. 22–25; 2 Chr. 34:1—36:21 | 627–586 |
| 10 | HABAKKUK | 2 Ki. 23:1—24:20; 2 Chr. 36:1–10 | 609–598 |
| 11 | DANIEL | 2 Ki. 23:35—25:30; 2 Chr. 36:5–23 | 606–534 |
| 12 | EZEKIEL | 2 Ki. 24:17–25; 2 Chr. 36:11–21 | 592–572 |
| 13 | OBADIAH | 2 Ki. 25; 2 Chr. 36:11–21 | 586–583 |
| 14 | HAGGAI | Ezra 5–6 | 520 |
| 15 | ZECHARIAH | Ezra 5–6 | 520–518 |
| 16 | MALACHI | Neh. 13 | 433–425 |

Adapted from *The Unfolding Drama of Redemption* by W.G.Scroggie. © 1953 by Pickering and Inglish, Ltd. Used by permission. These dates cannot be fixed with certainty, and in some cases (esp. Joel) the historical setting is disputed. The margin here given is that *within* which the prophet is likely to have ministered, and does not represent the *duration* of his ministry.

other portions. (Cf. 1 Cor. 13:9, "For we know in part and we prophesy in part.")

The Scripture records several dialogues between God and a prophet. When Elijah was at Sinai, ready to give way to utter discouragement, God spoke, reminding him of divine omnipotence and stressing God's control over all the nations, but also indicating that Elijah had finished most of the work that God had given him to do, and that another man was to be prepared to succeed him (1 Ki. 19:9-18). Again, when God directed Ezekiel to present a message in a certain way, he objected, and God modified the directions to make it easier for the prophet to carry them out (Ezek. 4:7-15). Similarly, the first two chapters of Habakkuk contain a dialogue between God and the prophet in which Habakkuk states the problems that he faces and the Lord presents illuminating answers.

The prophet was not omniscient, and he was not an automaton. The Lord increased his understanding, but he also gave him commands and messages to be presented in exactly the form in which they were given. By different methods this was done: "In the past God spoke to our forefathers through the prophets at many times and in various ways" (Heb. 1:1).

**2. The external or internal voice.** On one occasion, the boy Samuel thought Eli had called him, when it was really God who spoke (1 Sam. 3:3-9). This strongly suggests an audible voice that could have been understood by anyone in the vicinity, and it may have been the way many of the prophetic messages were received. In other instances, a prophet received a sudden direct message from God,

but no audible divine voice was heard by others near the prophet. Thus 1 Ki. 13 describes a situation where a prophet standing by the altar suddenly cried out to his companion, "This is what the LORD says," and then proceeded to rebuke him (v. 21); but there is no indication that God's voice was heard by any other than this prophet.

The Lord once said to Isaiah: "Go out, you and your son Shear-Jashub, to meet Ahaz at the end of the aqueduct of the Upper Pool, on the road to the Washerman's Field. Say to him, 'Be careful, keep calm and don't be afraid. Do not lose heart because of these two smoldering stubs of firewood —because of the fierce anger of Rezin and Aram and of the son of Remaliah'" (Isa. 7:3-4). After Isaiah met Ahaz and gave him God's message, however, the king answered insincerely; and immediately Isaiah gave a second message that involved knowledge of facts that the prophet could hardly have known previously. This and other such cases seem to indicate that the revelation was given by means of an internal voice.

**3. Opening the prophet's eyes.** Another method was the divine enabling of a prophet to see realities that were invisible to ordinary eyes. For example, after an ANGEL of the Lord had forced BALAAM'S donkey to step out of the road, the Lord opened Balaam's eyes so that he could see what had previously been invisible to him, though visible to the animal (Num. 22:31). In another incident, when Elisha's servant was terrified by the sight of the surrounding Aramean army, the prophet prayed that God would open his eyes. God answered his prayer and enabled the servant to see the hills around filled with horses and chariots of fire to protect the prophet (2 Ki. 6:15-17).

**4. A vision or imaginary picture.** Ezekiel 37 describes a vision in which the prophet saw dry bones coming together and being covered with sinews and flesh, but not having life. Then the Lord told him to prophesy, commanding the wind to give life to the dead bodies. In the vision Ezekiel saw that "they came to life and stood up on their

Balaam claimed to be a prophet, but God used a donkey to rebuke him.

feet—a vast army" (v. 10). This and other visions gave Ezekiel specific revelations in pictorial form, which he could pass on to his listeners. The last nine chapters of his book describe in detail a future situation. This information probably was given to the prophet in the form of a vision, which he proceeded to describe in his own words; the Holy Spirit kept him from error in his description.

Micah 4:1-4 describes a future situation in which multitudes would come to the house of the Lord, the God of Jacob would rebuke strong nations afar off, and the people would sit in complete

safety under their vines and fig trees. This may have been presented to the prophet in the form of a picture, which he then described in human terms. It is possible that God gave Isaiah the same vision, and that Isaiah described it in words very similar to those he had already heard Micah use, but introduced it with the statement, "This is what Isaiah son of Amoz saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem" (Isa. 2:1), to indicate that he was not simply copying Micah, but had himself seen the same vision that Micah saw. The prophet Ezekiel says that he was transported in a vision from Babylonia to Jerusalem (Ezek. 8:1-3). Later, the Spirit of God brought him back in a vision to Babylonia (11:24). Between these two statements he describes what he saw happening in Jerusalem, part of which may refer to events that were occurring in Israel at that very time. A substantial part of what he saw, however, consisted of spiritual realities not visible to an ordinary eye (e.g., 9:1-4; 10:1-5; 11:22-23). A similar type of revelation may be involved in much of what John describes in Revelation.

**5. Conclusion.** God revealed himself to the prophets in many ways. He used their personal observations and experiences as means of preparing them to understand his messages. It is, however, the clear and definite teaching of the OT that the prophets received their message from God, so that it was his message, not theirs. Often the words were given them by direct revelation. In all cases the words in those messages that God desired to be preserved for future ages were inspired of the Holy Spirit to keep them from every type of error. Regardless of the method by which a particular message was given to the prophet, it might contain aspects of truth that he could not grasp or understand himself, but that later interpreters could discover by carefully examining his words and by comparing them with those of other prophets.

### *B. How the prophet gave his message*

**1. Brief oral statements and rejoinders.** On various occasions a prophet was directed by God to confront a king or other leader and present to him a brief message of either rebuke or encouragement, sometimes with a specific order to be carried out. Thus Deborah gave a divine command to Barak (Jdg. 4:6-7). An unnamed man of God rebuked Eli (1 Sam. 2:27-36). Shemaiah, a man of God, told Rehoboam to stop fighting against Israel (2 Chr. 11:3-4). Jehu the son of Hanani pronounced doom on Baasha (1 Ki. 16:7). Azariah, the son of Oded, encouraged Asa (2 Chr. 15:1-2). Jehu, the son of Hanani, rebuked Jehoshaphat (19:2-3). Elijah suddenly appeared before Ahab, predicted a disastrous drought, and disappeared (1 Ki. 17:1). After the judicial murder of Naboth, Elijah met Ahab and gave him a severe rebuke (21:17-24). Other similar incidents can be cited.

In addition to making brief oral statements, the prophets sometimes answered questions or made rejoinders, giving further divine messages. When, at a time of great national danger, an unnamed prophet promised Ahab victory over Syria (1 Ki. 20:13), the king of Israel asked about the conduct of the battle, and the prophet went on to give God's answer to the king's questions. A little later, when a king of Israel's aide declared impossible the almost unbelievable deliverance that Elisha had promised, the prophet proceeded to depict the fate in store for that ungodly man (2 Ki. 7:1-2). When God directed Isaiah to deliver a message of hope to Ahaz (Isa. 7:3-9) and Ahaz showed an attitude of contemptuous unbelief, the Lord gave the prophet a further message, one of coming judgment (vv. 10-25).

**2. Longer oral messages.** The traditio-historical school of critics holds that all the work of the

prophets consisted of short pithy statements that were remembered and enlarged and added to by their followers in subsequent generations. The scriptural record, however, makes clear that the prophets also delivered many messages of considerable length. An early instance is found in the extended statements of the law that God gave Moses, which Moses passed on to the people (e.g., Exod. 20:22—23:33). In Numbers, Balaam gave four long messages (Num. 23:5-10, 16-24; 24:3-9, 15-24) declaring God's favor upon Israel, after Balak had hired him to curse the nation. No long discourses have been preserved from Samuel or from Jonah, but this is no proof that they did not deliver any. The OT books ascribed to the prophets contain many long messages that were delivered orally.

**3. Patriarchal blessing.** A peculiar type of divine message occurs in the book of Genesis, where certain PATRIARCHS made declarations regarding the future of their descendants. Sometimes, a patriarch used language that implied he had some control over what would happen to his descendants. To draw such an inference from his words would be incorrect. In these instances recorded in the Bible, the patriarch was strictly guided by the divine Spirit and permitted to say only what was in accord with God's plan for the future. Even though not explained in the Scripture, it is evident that sometimes at a particular crisis, such as approaching death, the Lord allowed a patriarch to perceive the future of his descendants and to state what was ahead for them.

After the undescribed sin of HAM'S younger son, CANAAN (Gen. 9:22, 24), NOAH declared a curse upon him, which was fulfilled in the subjugation of the Canaanites at the time of the Israelite conquest. At the same time, the patriarch was permitted a glimpse of the blessings that lay in store for some of the descendants of SHEM and JAPHETH. A similar instance of a prophetic blessing occurred when ISAAC, old and nearly blind, thought death was approaching (27:2, 41).

Although God revealed to the patriarchs many aspects of his plan, they were fallible human beings. Isaac knew God's declaration that when ESAU and JACOB were born, the older would serve the younger. Yet Isaac planned to change the situation by giving Esau the blessing that God intended for Jacob. Nonetheless, when Jacob stood before Isaac, God allowed him to glimpse the future of Jacob's descendants and to give a true prediction of their predominance, even though Isaac himself thought he was blessing Esau. When Isaac learned his mistake he was greatly disappointed, but he recognized that nothing could be done to change it. God had overruled Isaac's personal wishes. When Esau returned, Isaac gave him a lesser blessing, telling what God then revealed to him about the future of Esau's descendants.

Many years later, when Jacob thought his end was near, JOSEPH brought his two sons, MANASSEH and EPHRAIM, to see their grandfather. Jacob declared that these two sons of Joseph would have a position among Jacob's own sons as progenitors of tribes (Gen. 48:5). Jacob, however, crossed his hands, putting the right hand on the younger son instead of on the older. When Joseph remonstrated, Jacob pointed out that the tribe descended from the younger brother would be the greater of the two (vv. 13-20). The following chapter (Gen. 49) relates Jacob's blessing to his own sons. Although he named his individual sons, he had their descendants in mind.

**4. Description of visions.** On several occasions a considerable portion of a prophet's message consisted of describing something he had seen in a vision. This was used effectively by MICAIAH when he faced the wicked King AHAB and his counterfeit prophets. Micaiah presented a figurative picture of the fate that was ahead for Israel (1 Ki. 11:7-8) and then depicted a visionary setting in the heavenly courts (vv. 19-23). Daniel described a series of visions, foretelling great future events (Dan. 7-12). Ezekiel told how he was carried in a vision to Jerusalem where he witnessed various

events, and later was brought back to Babylonia (Ezek. 8-11). The last nine chapters of Ezekiel are a long description of a vision in which he saw the land of Israel at a future time. In another prophetic book, Zechariah, there is probably more of this sort of prophecy than in any other of the OT prophetic books. The apostle John had a marvelous vision, which he described in the book of Revelation. There are only a few additional instances where the prophetic message consists in the description of a vision that the prophet had, though there may be some that are not identified as such.

**5. Symbolic actions.** More common than accounts of visions are descriptions of prophetic actions intended to drive home an important message. These "object lessons" should be clearly distinguished from the prophetic visions mentioned above. The prophet AHIJAH tore a garment into twelve pieces and handed ten of them to JEROBOAM, illustrating that the kingdom of Solomon would be broken and ten tribes given to Jeroboam (1 Ki. 11:29-30).

This incident was reminiscent of the time when Saul laid hold of Samuel's robe and accidentally tore it. Samuel immediately seized upon this as an illustration that Saul's kingdom would be torn away from him and given "to one of your neighbors—to one better than you" (1 Sam. 15:27-28). After Elisha, on his deathbed, had made JOASH shoot "the LORD'S arrow of victory, the arrow of victory over Aram," he ordered the king to smite the ground with some arrows. When the king did so but lackadaisically just three times, Elisha pointed out that Joash's lack of enthusiasm in carrying out God's command would result in partial rather than total victory (2 Ki. 13:15-19).

To deliver a message unpalatable to their listeners, Jeremiah and Ezekiel made frequent use of symbolic acts to arouse the people's curiosity and induce them to listen. Jeremiah was directed by the Lord to buy a linen waistcloth and wear it for a time, without putting it in water. Then he was told to hide it in a crevice in the rocks. After many days he was again instructed to dig up the waistcloth. The deterioration that had set in was used as a vivid sign of how the house of Israel, once so near the Lord, had ceased to be profitable to him (Jer. 13:1-11).

Jeremiah also went to the potter's house and saw a clay vessel that had been marred in the hand of the potter and was therefore made over into something different. This he used to illustrate God's sovereign power (Jer. 18:1-10). On another occasion he broke an earthen flask at the Valley of HINNOM and declared that God would similarly destroy Judah (19:1-13). One day he held up two baskets of figs, one full of very good figs and the other full of figs so bad that they could not be eaten (24:1-3). Pointing to the difference between the two he declared that the good figs were like the people who already had been taken into exile, and the bad ones like those still in Jerusalem.

Many of Jeremiah's prophecies were uttered in Jerusalem during the interval between the first deportation and the final siege and destruction of the city. Many people were determined to believe that the Lord would deliver their land, and Jeremiah had the difficult task of persuading them that it was God's will that their city would be destroyed and that they would be taken into captivity.

Ezekiel faced an even more hostile audience. The group of exiles among whom he lived were thoroughly convinced that Jerusalem would not be destroyed and were unwilling to listen to any contrary opinion. It was necessary for Ezekiel, like Jeremiah, to allow himself to be considered unpatriotic or even treasonable. Under these circumstances Ezekiel made more extensive use of symbolic actions than Jeremiah did. When the people had become so irritated at his message that they refused to listen further, God told him no longer to reprove them (Ezek. 3:26); instead, the prophet was to make a picture of Jerusalem on a tile and pretend to lay siege against it (4:1-3). He was to lie on his left side a certain number of hours every day for 390 days to illustrate the iniquity of the house of Israel, and then to lie on his right side forty days to illustrate the iniquity of the house of Judah (vv.

4-6). He was to measure out food and water to illustrate the scarcity of these items in a city under siege (vv. 9-11). Then he was commanded to cut off some of his hair and divide it into three parts of equal weight: one third he was directed to burn; another third to strike with a knife; and the third to scatter in the wind. This illustrated the coming threefold fate of the people in Jerusalem (5:1-4). As the time for the siege was drawing near, Ezekiel was ordered to dig a hole through the wall of his house and carry his household goods out through it, to illustrate the coming flight of the refugees from Jerusalem (12:1-16).

The use of symbolic acts was not limited to the true prophets. One of the "prophets" who tried to please Ahab by giving the messages the king desired to hear made horns of iron and claimed: "This is what the LORD says: 'With these you will gore the Arameans until they are destroyed'" (1 Ki. 22:11). Similarly, after Jeremiah had put yoke-bars around his neck to illustrate the coming subjection of the nations to the king of Babylon (Jer. 27:1-11), HANANIAH son of Azur, who pretended to be a prophet, publicly took the yoke-bars off Jeremiah's neck and broke them, declaring that God would free the nations from NEBUCHADNEZZAR within two years (28:10-11).

Some interpreters insist that most of the symbolic acts described in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel were merely visions. They say, for instance, that Isaiah could not actually have gone "naked and barefoot" for three years (Isa. 20:2-4 NRSV), because this would have been indecent; therefore, he must simply have had a vision in which he did so. They say also that it would have been impossible for Ezekiel to lie beside a tile for 390 days.

A little reflection, however, will show that to consider these symbolic acts as merely visions would defeat their purpose, which was not to give the prophet a new understanding but to seize the attention of the people. To hear Isaiah say that in a vision he had walked naked and barefoot for three years would add little to the impact of his messages. To see the prophet actually walking around in a state of dress unbecoming of his station in life would surprise people and lead them to inquire what it meant.

Similarly, for Ezekiel to say that in a vision he had lain for 390 days facing a tile on which he had drawn a picture of Jerusalem would add nothing to the effect of his message. It would be dramatic, however, if he literally were to lie in the public square, possibly a few hours each day (it is recognized by many commentators that the command would not necessarily require that Ezekiel do this twenty-four hours at a time). People thinking of their homeland and longing to return would quickly notice the similarity of the picture on the tile to the place they so wished to see again. Parents would point out its details to their children, and the children would ask why Ezekiel was lying there in that way. Thus attention would be attracted and curiosity aroused. When the Lord would again direct Ezekiel to present the message orally (Ezek. 6:11), the people would be ready to listen.

Symbolic actions occur less frequently in the NT. One instance is Jesus' command to the disciples that when they were not received in a city they should shake off its dust from their feet. Another symbolic action is Jesus' washing the disciples' feet. The use of bread and wine in the institution of the LORD'S SUPPER constitutes a symbolic action for the vivid remembrance of the redemptive work of Christ.

***C. The place of emotion in the work of a prophet.*** Many prophetic messages were addressed not merely to the head but also to the heart of the listeners. They abound in pictures calculated to arouse strong feelings of sorrow for sin, of gratitude to God, or of determination to follow the commands of God. No one could have such an influence upon his hearers without himself being emotionally moved. This is strikingly illustrated in the words of Samuel to Saul (1 Sam. 15:22-23; 28:18-19), and in those

of Elijah to Ahab (1 Ki. 18:18; 21:19-21). When Elisha was asked to help the three kings in their desperate situation (2 Ki. 3:10-15), he was so moved by his detestation of the wicked king Jehoram that it was necessary to call for a minstrel to quiet his spirit before he could listen to the voice of God. The NT calls Elijah "a man subject to like passions as we are" (Jas. 5:17 KJV).

It is quite natural that there should be evidence of strong emotion on the part of the prophets and also of their hearers. This, however, is very different from saying that the prophet was compelled only by his feelings or that his message was produced exclusively by his emotions. It is quite common among some interpreters to allege that most of the prophetic ideas were the result of their being in a state of "ecstasy" (see below under IV.H).

***D. Schools of prophets and sons of prophets.*** The phrase "school of the prophets" has come into wide use through a strange error. In his later years Samuel lived in a section of the town of RAMAH called NAIOTH (1 Sam. 19:18—20:1). This name probably means "habitation," and in later Jewish tradition it came to be thought that this represented a school where Samuel taught. Most interpreters now agree that it is only the name of a section of the town or possibly a common noun (thus "the dwellings at Ramah"). The idea of a school of the prophets was further strengthened by the statement that Huldah the prophetess dwelt "in Jerusalem in the college" (2 Ki. 22:14; 2 Chr. 34:22 KJV). The word that the KJV translators here have rendered "college" is *mišneh H5467,* which is usually translated "second" or "double"; here it probably refers to the Second Quarter (NRSV) or SECOND DISTRICT (NIV) of the city.

There is no biblical evidence that groups of men were ever trained to become prophets. God called the prophets as individuals. This was true of Moses, Samuel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and in all other cases where there is record of such a call. The prophetic work was an individual activity in which one individual received a message from God and passed it on to God's people. Only in an extended sense is the term *prophet* applied to groups of people.

Whereas there are occasional references to large groups of pretended prophets of false gods, such as the prophets of Baal (1 Ki. 18:13), or to groups of men who falsely pretended to be prophets of the LORD (1 Ki. 22:6; Jer. 5:31; 14:14), none of these were real prophets in the biblical sense of the term. The word sometimes was loosely applied to individuals desiring to serve the Lord and therefore attaching themselves to men recognized as God's prophets, and joining them in religious activities. References to such people are rarely found in the prophetic books, but occasionally occur in the historical books. Thus in 1 Sam. 10 it is said that Saul met a company of prophets, and ch. 19 tells of a group of men popularly called prophets who met under Samuel's direction (these two passages will be discussed further below under IV.H). Obadiah, the servant of Ahab, declared that he had saved the lives of "a hundred of the LORD'S prophets" (1 Ki. 18:13). Later, an unnamed prophet who brought Ahab a divine rebuke was recognized by Ahab as "one of the prophets" (20:41). In view of the great body of evidence of the unique and individual character of the prophet's task, none of these passages proves that the term in its fullest sense can be applied to groups of men.

The phrase SONS OF THE PROPHETS occurs seven times in the OT (aside from the negative statement in Amos 7:14 where Amos declared that he had not been a prophet's son). All these occurrences are found between 1 Ki. 20 and 2 Ki. 9. In biblical use the term *son* means (1) male child, (2) descendant (cf. Matt. 1:1, "Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham"), (3) member of a group, or (4) an apprentice or learner (cf. Prov. 1:8; 2:1; 3:1; et al.; see BEN-).

The picture of the "sons of the prophets" in 2 Ki. 2 is not a pleasant one. They are depicted as superstitious men with a complete lack of understanding of the nature of the divine work (v. 16). At

first Elisha showed little interest in them (2:3, 5, 16-18), though later on he established friendly relations with the group (chs. 4-6) and even, on

The modern village of Tekoa. This area was the home of Amos the prophet.

one occasion, deputed one of them to do an important errand (9:1-10). From among these men, who doubtless had a sincere desire to serve the Lord, God might occasionally choose an individual to perform the prophetic function, but there is no evidence that this was often the case.

***E. Cessation of OT prophecy.*** Until about 400 B.C., the prophetic movement was prominent in Israel. Time and again an individual came forward declaring the word of God, boldly facing political leaders and denouncing them for their sins, giving encouragement to God's people, or announcing God's will as to the next step to be taken. After about 400 B.C. no more prophets appeared. There was no declaration that prophecy was ending, nor did anyone realize that this had occurred. Only after a time did realization dawn upon the people.

The book of 1 Maccabees, which is on the whole a sober history of events during the Jewish revolt against ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes (see MACCABEES, BOOKS OF), brings out clearly that it was felt that there was no prophet in Israel at the time and that this had been true for a considerable length of time (1 Macc. 9:27). This situation, however, was not accepted as final (4:46; 14:41). When the Jews did not know what to do with the altar that had been desecrated by the Syrians, they showed their expectation of the coming of new prophets by deciding to keep it in a safe place until a prophet should appear and tell them what was God's will in the matter (4:46). About A.D. 90, JOSEPHUS, discussing the beliefs of his people, said that at about the time of ARTAXERXES of Persia "the exact succession of the prophets" had ceased *(Ag. Ap.* 1.8). Since that time, no individual has been generally recognized by the Jews as a divine prophet. It was God's plan that a period of about 400 years should thus elapse between the great prophetic movement of the OT and the new prophets connected with the coming of Christ and described in the NT.

Critics suggest another reason for the end of the prophetic movement. They propose that the prophetic movement ended because its predictions that God would protect his land and not allow the

people to be taken into exile had proven false. This theory is contradicted by the following facts: (1) Although false prophets did indeed predict that God would not permit his people to go into exile, such an attitude can hardly be said to be characteristic of the true prophetic movement. In fact, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, who have been recognized as two of the greatest prophets, repeatedly declared that the nation would go into exile and that Jerusalem would be destroyed. (2) The prophetic movement was active and vital for a considerable time after the return from exile, and the rebuilding of the temple was facilitated by the prophesying of Haggai and Zechariah (Ezra 5:1, 2; cf. Hag. 1:1-15).

It is easy to see why God caused the OT prophetic movement to come to an end: (1) The entire OT had been written and its books were available as a guide for God's people. (2) It was God's will that an interval of about 400 years should elapse between the prophecies of the Messiah and his actual coming. Although critics may assert that Daniel's prophecies were not written until after most of the events that he so clearly predicted, no one can say that the many OT prophecies of Christ were written after the time when they were fulfilled.

## III. True and false prophets

***A. False prophets.*** Wherever there is something good, counterfeits are apt to appear. There is no evidence of any movement outside of Israel that is more than slightly similar to the prophetic movement described in the Bible, but a certain amount of imitation might be expected among peoples in the neighborhood, both in other nations and in Israel itself.

**1. Those who prophesied in the name of a false god or idol.** Jeremiah twice speaks of people who prophesied by BAAL (Jer. 2:8; 23:13). When JEZEBEL introduced Baal worship into Israel, groups of men appeared who were called "prophets of Baal." There is no evidence in the Bible as to whether any of these people claimed actually to present messages from Baal. There is no reason to think that they ever expressed independent views, as was so often done by the prophets of the Lord. Prophets of Baal and of an associated deity are mentioned a number of times in 1 Ki. 18, and once in connection with the destruction of the Baal worship by Jehu (2 Ki. 10:19-29).

**2. Those who falsely claimed to receive messages from the Lord.** It was inevitable that individuals sought advancement by pretending to be prophets of the Lord, and that evil rulers might support such people to win the support of the godly. In 1 Ki. 22, an incident is described that brings into clear relief the difference between false prophets and true prophets. When Ahab invited Jehoshaphat to join with him in attacking Ramoth Gilead, the good king Jehoshaphat desired to know whether God would give an indication as to the result of the expedition. Therefore Ahab called in a great number of his men who claimed to be prophets, and all of them proceeded to give the message that they knew the wicked king desired to hear (vv. 5-12). Since their hypocrisy was evident, Jehoshaphat asked whether there was not an additional prophet of the Lord whom they could ask, and Ahab reluctantly mentioned Micaiah. The messenger who summoned Micaiah advised him to give a message similar to that of the others. He proceeded to do so, but evidently delivered it in a tone of voice that sounded insincere. Ahab demanded that Micaiah tell truly what the Lord had revealed to him. Then Micaiah proceeded to give the true message. Thus this individual who received and delivered a message from the Lord sharply contrasted with the number of so-called prophets who were actually hypocrites.

**3. Those who ceased to be true prophets.** The prophets, like everyone else except the Lord Jesus Christ, were fallible and sinful. In their human capacity they were apt to err. It was only when directly presenting a message that God chose to give them that their words were free from error. Thus such men as Balaam or the prophet at Bethel described in 1 Ki. 13 might truly give the word of God and then might be led astray into wicked acts or even into presenting false messages. One can be sure that in such a case the message, if false, would not be included in the Scripture unless it were definitely labeled as error.

***B. Tests of a prophet.*** Sometimes it was very difficult to know who was a true prophet and who was a deceiver. Jeremiah 28 describes a situation in which godly people might have been greatly puzzled.


Cast and polished glass jars belonging to Sargon II, king of Assyria (721-705 B.C.). As a prophet, Isaiah foretold the coming of the Assyrians, who would eventually destroy Samaria.

Jeremiah had just declared that it was God's intention to permit the king of Babylon to conquer Israel and to take its people into exile. Hananiah son of Azur publicly rebuked Jeremiah and gave a message similar to that which Isaiah had given a century before, declaring that God would mar-velously protect Jerusalem and would not allow it to be taken. After Hananiah gave this purported message, Jeremiah withdrew (v. 11). At this point the true people of God could have been confused in deciding which of the two was the true prophet. However, in answer to the question, "How can we know when a message has not been spoken by the LORD?" (Deut. 18:21), Moses had recorded certain tests (13:1-5; 18:20-22) as follows:

**1. A true prophet must speak in the name of the Lord.** According to Deut. 18:20-22, if a prophet speaks in the name of other gods or claims to be a representative of heathen deities, he is not a true prophet. Although good ideas may be obtained from many different sources, such truths are mixed with error. The true prophet gives a message directly from God; therefore his message can be considered entirely trustworthy. No such claim can be made for any alleged revelation not given specifically in the name of the Lord.

**2. A true prophet may produce a sign or a wonder.** Cf. Deut. 13:1-2. God enabled Moses to perform certain miracles to show the Israelites that God had sent him (Exod. 4:1-5) and also to prove to Pharaoh that he represented the true God. This sort of authentication of the prophet's ministry was particularly evident in the work of Elijah and Elisha. It was, however, the exception rather than the rule. Comparatively few of the prophets mentioned in the Bible are said to have performed miracles.

Persons unfamiliar with the Bible often think it is filled from cover to cover with unbelievable supernatural events. Actually God has used unusual powers of this type only sparingly in authenticating his messengers. Providentially directed events are far more common than acts that would be considered miraculous by the observers. Most of the miracles recorded in the Bible are gathered around a few main crises in the relation of God to humanity. Elsewhere they seldom occur.

**3. A prediction given by a true prophet may be visibly fulfilled.** "If what a prophet proclaims in the name of the LORD does not take place or come true, that is a message the LORD has not spoke" (Deut. 18:22). In the test mentioned above, God enabled Jeremiah to present proof that he was the true prophet and that Hananiah was the false one. First, Jeremiah repeated the Lord's definite message, which specifically denied what Hananiah had declared (Jer. 28:13-14).Then Jeremiah proceeded to make a further prediction, namely, that Hananiah would die that very year (vv. 15-16). Two months later this prediction was fulfilled (v. 17), giving evidence that Jeremiah was the true prophet.

Sometimes a prediction referred to the distant future, and therefore a prophet's contemporaries could not form an immediate judgment. In an account in 1 Ki. 13, there is a prophet who traveled from Judah to Bethel to denounce the type of worship that Jeroboam had introduced by setting up the golden calves (see CALF, GOLDEN). He declared that a king from Judah, called Josiah, and belonging to the house of David, would defile the altar that Jeroboam had built. Nearly 300 years passed before this occurred. Then a king bearing the name the prophet had predicted performed the deed that had been foretold. People living at that later time would have striking evidence that the prophet described in ch. 13 was a true prophet and that the worship of the golden calves was wrong. In this particular case an additional proof was given to the prophet's contemporaries. The man of God followed up his distant prediction (v. 2) with one that would be fulfilled that very day (v. 3; cf. v. 5).

More than a century before the destruction of Jerusalem, Isaiah predicted that after the people had been in distant exile for many years a new conqueror named CYRUS would set them free and would make it possible for Jerusalem to be rebuilt (Isa. 44:28; 45:13). When this occurred it produced further evidence that Isaiah was indeed a true prophet.

**4. The most important test of all—agreement with previous revelations.** It is clearly brought out in Deut. 13:1-5 that a man might claim to speak for the Lord, might perform what appeared to be a miracle, and might even make a prediction that would come true, and still be a false prophet. It is the duty of God's people to check carefully the content of any revelation and see whether it is in line with what God has revealed previously. PAUL brought out this truth very clearly where he said, "But even if we or an angel from heaven should preach a gospel other than the one we preached to you, let him be eternally condemned!" (Gal. 1:8). This test also is not easy to apply. Sometimes a true prophet gave a message that at first seemed to contradict a portion of God's revelation that had previously been given, and it requires careful study to perceive that the two are mere different facets of the same truth.

***C. The negative nature of the tests given by Moses.*** The tests described above were real tests and would rule out many impostors. Yet an impostor might seem to fulfill all of these tests. He might perform an act that would appear to be miraculous. He might have made a lucky guess about the future. It might not be possible to find any clear contradiction between his teaching and the ideas contained in the Word of God. In spite of all this he might actually be a false prophet.

Moreover, some true prophets did not perform any miracle. Some did not predict anything that

would happen soon enough for those who heard to be able to judge whether the prediction was fulfilled or not. Sometimes a true instrument of divine revelation used words in a different sense than had been done by an earlier prophet, thus seeming to contradict the earlier statement of truth (cf. the difference in meaning of the word *faith* as used by James and as used by Paul). The tests that Moses gave, although they would rule out many impostors, would not always enable the observer to distinguish between false prophets and true prophets. The tests are largely negative rather than positive.

Absolute certainty as to who were the true prophets often was difficult to attain. In Jeremiah's time many good people must have found it difficult to decide between the alleged prophets on the one hand, who said that God would protect his land and who seemed to be directly in line with the teaching of Isaiah a century earlier, and Jeremiah and Ezekiel on the other hand, who declared that God would cause the nation to be destroyed and the people to be taken into exile.

In his providence God caused his people to honor the writings of the true prophets. Christians can be certain that no mistake was made by those who preserved these books because Jesus Christ set the seal of his approval upon them, declaring that his people should "believe all that the prophets have spoken" (Lk. 24:25). This authentication by Jesus Christ enables a Christian to know that those who are described in the OT as true prophets were indeed prophets of God.

**IV. Naturalistic explanations of the prophetic movement.** In modern times many critics have attempted to explain the whole prophetic movement on a naturalistic basis. This viewpoint is the result of certain presuppositions contrary to the claims of Scripture. The Bible, however, declares that one great God created the world and controls all things, and that this God has communicated with sinners. When there were comparatively few people on earth, he communicated directly to them. When the population had greatly increased and confusion and misunderstanding became widespread, he selected certain individuals through whom he sent messages to his people, calling on them to acknowledge him as the great Creator, to turn away from sin and receive the salvation that he offered. The Bible teaches that the Holy Spirit kept these prophetic messages from error and has preserved them for the guidance of God's people.

***A. The naturalistic presuppositions.*** Those who deny the biblical view of the prophetic movement can be considered in three categories: (1) Many interpreters assume that everything in the universe can be explained on a mechanistic or naturalistic basis, and that the scriptural concepts of God are mythical, fanciful, and imaginary. God as an actual Being who exerts any direct influence on human events is ruled out in their thinking. (2) A second class of interpreters theoretically believe that God exists, and some of them even accept as true the basic teachings of the NT about the reality of sin and the necessity of salvation through Christ. Nonetheless their fundamental attitude toward the prophetic movement and the prophetic books does not differ greatly from the attitude of those in the first category. Their assumption is that God, though great and important, will neither directly communicate with man nor actively intervene in the life of humanity. (3) A third category of interpreters declares that God exists, that he takes an interest in human life, and that he reveals himself through great actions through the course of history. Yet in all their thinking they constantly assume that God has never revealed himself through words. To many of them (as to some of those in the other two categories) the prophets were simply great thinkers who either deduced or intuitively discovered important truths. To others, particularly in the first two categories, the activities of the prophets were either the result of peculiar psychological quirks or a by-product of the clash of various political,

religious, and social forces.

None of these three categories of interpreters take the words of the prophets at their face value or believe that God actually communicated messages to them that they in turn passed on. These interpreters are only interested in determining the human and social forces that brought these books into existence. They are interested in determining whether the prophets were men who interpreted events through their own reasoning or whether they were individuals who were influenced by emotional vagaries to take certain attitudes or to utter certain expressions.

The naturalistic explanations of the prophetic books have been made from a variety of different and sometimes contradictory viewpoints. Whereas the interpreter of the prophetic books must always keep in mind the inherent difficulty of conveying divine thoughts to finite, fallible, and sinful human beings, there is no solid basis for denying the simple teaching of the Bible that God spoke to the prophets and that the prophets passed on his messages.

***B. Denial that biblical prophets have been able to predict the future.*** One of the first to try to explain the prophetic movement from a naturalistic basis was Celsus, a writer who attacked Christianity in the 2nd cent. A.D. Celsus denied that the prophets had truly predicted the future. He dealt particularly with the book of Daniel, claiming that its rather detailed predictions of Alexander the Great and his successors were not actually written until after the events had occurred, so that the alleged predictions were really based upon a later knowledge of what actually had happened. This attitude toward the prophetic predictions has continued to the present time and has been a prominent factor in the attempts of modern critics to date many of the books much later than the time they claim to have been written. It was done doubtless to forestall this sort of interpretation in relation to the most important predictions of the OT—those relating to the life and death of Christ—that God caused that the OT should be completed some centuries before the time of Christ to make it obvious that the OT predictions of Christ were made long before his time.

A second method sometimes used to discount prophecy is to assert that predictions have been intentionally fulfilled, as in the case of Jehoram's death (2 Ki. 9:14-26), and perhaps, of Josiah's actions (23:16-17). Thus it is pointed out that Jehu remembered Elijah's prediction and deliberately fulfilled it (vv. 22-26). This, however, does not really destroy the force of the authentication. No one could have predicted that at the time of Jehu's rebellion Jehoram would have returned to Jezreel to be healed of his wounds, or that their encounter would take place at the very spot where Elijah had declared that the blood of Naboth would be avenged (9:21). In addition, that Jehu would desire to fulfill the prediction was an authentication rather than the opposite.

There are also a number of elements that clearly show the divine foreknowledge and control in connection with Josiah's fulfillment of the prediction in 1 Ki. 13:2. In Israel, several dynasties had replaced one another during the three centuries


Tel Yizre(el (biblical Jezreel) seen behind the lush agricultural fields that surround the site. This city would witness Elijah announcing judgment on Ahab for his murder of Naboth.

between Jeroboam and Josiah. Only divine knowledge could have declared that the house of David would continue to rule Judah during all that time. Only divine knowledge could have shown that the man who would be king of Judah at this time would bear the name Josiah. Only God could have known that before Josiah's reign the Assyrian conqueror would have destroyed the northern kingdom and thus made it possible for Judah, formerly possessing only about one third as much strength as Israel, to enter the area of the northern kingdom and carry out the predictions that the man of God had given. It was part of the divine providence that Josiah would see the tomb and inquire whose it was, and be reminded of the prediction.

Another method used in the effort to prove that the prophets were not really messengers from God is to assert that certain prophecies in the Scripture were not actually fulfilled. Sometimes much is made of the prediction by Jeremiah regarding Jehoiakim: "He will have the burial of a donkey—/ dragged away and thrown / outside the gates of Jerusalem" (Jer. 22:19). It has been pointed out that there is no statement in 2 Kings that Jehoiakim's body was thrown out unburied or that he died through violence, but merely that he "rested with his fathers" (2 Ki. 24:6). It is sometimes alleged that this phrase indicates a ceremonial burial. Such an argument, however, has no factual foundation. In most of the numerous other instances where this phrase is used of a king, it is followed by the statement "and he was buried" (or "and they buried him"), thus showing that the phrase merely indicates death and not burial. It is true that the book of Kings does not give any information about the manner of Jehoiakim's death. Chronicles gives little more information, but does contain the words: "Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon attacked him and bound him with bronze shackles to take him to Babylon" (2 Chr. 36:6). The following verses tell nothing about Jehoiakim's death or burial, but merely add a summary reference to his sinful life (v. 8). It must be admitted that there is no available information as to the manner of Jehoiakim's death.

Under the circumstances, however, a little thought will show that it is unrealistic to assume that the book of Jeremiah contains a false prophecy regarding Jehoiakim's death. Jerusalem remained under Jewish control for eleven years after the death of Jehoiakim, and every Jew would have known

whether he was buried with the usual ceremony attending the death of a king, whether he suffered a tragic fate through some conspiracy, or whether Nebuchadnezzar treated him with such indignity that his body was thrown out into the wilderness for a time before being buried, perhaps even remaining unburied. If Jehoiakim had died a natural death and had been buried with the customary pomp attending the death of a king, Jeremiah's many enemies would have had no difficulty in persuading everyone that he was a false prophet. Even on the unlikely assumption that the followers of a pretended prophet whose prediction had proved to be so completely wrong still supported him, it can be assumed safely that so demonstrably false a prediction about the king's death would not have been included in his book.

Many prophecies in the Scripture have been fulfilled in remarkable fashion. To reconstruct history on the basis of imagination at points where there is no evidence, and then to use this as a means of declaring that some of the prophecies were not fulfilled, is hardly a fair way to treat God's Word.

***C. The rise of the higher criticism.*** When the higher criticism was applied to the OT, and scholars began to divide the PENTATEUCH into various alleged sources supposedly written at different times, a new dimension was added to the naturalistic efforts to explain the origin of the prophetical books. In 1789, J. C. Doederlein declared that Isa. 40-66, which predicts the coming of Cyrus and the return of the Jews from exile, had been written more than a century after the time of Isaiah. Some of the same arguments that alleged that Isaiah could not have written these chapters were extended to various passages in the first part of the book. Eventually many critics divided the entire book of Isaiah into great numbers of separate sections, allegedly written by a great variety of authors who were said to have lived at various times. This approach was soon extended to nearly all the other prophetical books. It was long held by most critical scholars that Ezekiel was a unit, but early in the 20th cent. critics began to divide this book too into many sections attributed to a variety of authors.

Most of these higher-critical approaches to the prophets derive from two causes: (1) unwillingness to believe that the prophecies could actually have been made in advance of the times when the events occurred; (2) application to the Bible of a method of literary study generally applied by 19th-cent. critics to nearly all ancient or medieval writings, but by the middle of the 20th cent. abandoned by most literary critics in nonbiblical fields.

***D. Form criticism and traditio-historical approach.*** Early in the 20th cent., Hermann Gunkel introduced a new approach based not, like the previous higher criticism, upon theories of literary development and composition, but upon seeking a popular origin for statements or ceremonial forms adapted to particular situations. He laid great stress on trying to discover the particular type of situation that would have given rise to a particular statement or to a particular type of literature, and assumed a subsequent long period of oral transmission before the results were written down. This approach has been greatly extended by a group of Scandinavian scholars who have developed it into what is now called the traditio-historical approach. These writers insist that little or nothing of the prophetic writings (or perhaps of the rest of the OT) was in written form until after the exile. They hold that the prophets uttered short gnomic sayings that were passed on by word of mouth. These statements were enlarged and added to by their followers during many generations and thus the material gradually assumed a definite form. According to this view, comparatively little of what is attributed to the various prophetic writers actually was composed by them.

Some members of the traditio-historical school have strongly opposed many of the ideas of the

documentary analysis approach that is typical of the higher criticism. For a time the followers of the documentary analysis strongly retaliated in kind, but subsequently many critics have sought to combine both approaches, denying that the prophet actually received messages from God and passed them on, and also completely abandoning the notion that the Bible is an infallible rule of faith and practice.

***E. Relation to the ceremonies of the temple.*** The Wellhausen school of criticism, which succeeded in gaining wide acceptance of its ideas regarding the Pentateuch and the extension of these ideas to the rest of the OT, laid great stress on Hegelian principles of synthesis growing out of division and competition between opposing views. Its followers selected a few passages in the prophets that include strong language against dependence on formalism or ceremonial observances. It drew from these the idea that the prophets were a group that favored a return to the simple life of the desert in contrast to the highly developed ceremonial procedures described in the book of Leviticus and supported by the priests. Thus the followers of Wellhausen tended to praise the prophets as great opponents of the complex ceremonial system (or cult) and to hold that the eventual development of the Pentateuch proceeded from a synthesis of the views of these two opposing groups. For several decades most of the critical literature tended to praise the prophets and to speak derogatorily of the priests, and to consider the two groups as being in complete opposition.

A change in this attitude was introduced by G. Hölscher with his book *Die Propheten* (1914), in which he pointed to statements in the prophetic books expressing interest in the temple ceremonies and sympathy with their purposes. From this developed a widespread attitude among naturalistic critics that maintained that the prophets were actually a group of temple servants (see NETHINIM), receiving their support from the temple and supporting its cult, though at times opposing corrupt elements that had crept in.

An altered view has been advanced by a few scholars who maintain that the prophets could be divided into two groups: (1) the "popular prophets," who received their income from the temple and supported the status quo, and (2) the "reforming prophets," who opposed them and were not connected with the cult. Comparatively few scholars have as yet espoused this later view.

***F. The sociological approach.*** During the first part of the 20th cent. many popular writers, affected by the critical attitude of considering the prophets as supporters of the simple life of the desert, wrote books depicting the prophets exclusively as social reformers, and alleging them to be prototypes of those in modern times who have stood for great sociological changes. This approach to the prophets, greatly emphasized for some decades, is seldom articulate today.

***G. Derivation of the prophetic movement from the culture of other ancient nations.*** During the past two centuries, the knowledge of the ANE has been greatly extended. New discoveries in Egypt and in Mesopotamia have made available thousands of ancient records giving considerable information about the life and thought of people who lived centuries before the time of Moses. Discoveries in Syria have greatly increased the knowledge of the ancient Canaanites. Instead of being an isolated picture of ancient life, the historical events in the Bible take their place in an extensive history that is far better known than ever before.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that there has been a search for antecedents of the prophets in other lands. Some students of ancient culture have been carried away by enthusiasm for their particular area of specialization. Early in the 20th cent., Friedrich Delitzsch gave his famous

"Babylon and Bible" lectures before the German Kaiser, aiming to show that everything of value in biblical teaching was merely a pale reflection of Babylonian ideas. In 1933, the noted American archaeologist James Henry Breasted wrote his book, *The Dawn of Conscience,* to prove that ethical understanding really began in ancient Egypt. Attempts have been made to show that the Israelite prophets were mere examples of a type of activity that was common at that period. Some critics have held that they were a reflection of a phenomenon that occurred among the Canaanites but not elsewhere. Others have held that they represent an influence that was widespread throughout the ANE.

Before looking at the alleged similarities a few points should be noted. The Hebrew prophet was one who claimed to speak for God. He was in most cases independent of any indirect control by a king or by ecclesiastical officials. He delivered the message that God had given him. Frequently this was a message of denunciation—of the people, the king, or the priests—for disobedience to the divine orders or to God's moral law. He sometimes gave great promises of blessing for the future. Sometimes he gave directions as to specific actions to be taken at a particular time. He did not hesitate to come into sharp conflict with the king or even to accuse him of wrongdoing and to declare that God would punish him for his deeds.

Prediction entered into many of these activities, but in an incidental way. The prophet was not primarily a foreteller, diviner, or soothsayer, though there were probably some in ancient Israel, particularly in the times described in 1 Samuel. In regard to this aspect of the prophet's work, superficial resemblances can be found in every culture. People everywhere desire to learn about the future. Among the Babylonians there was a highly sophisticated pseudoscience of examining the livers of slaughtered animals to foretell the future (alluded to in Ezek. 21:21). In ancient Greece and Rome, observation of birds and other types of augury were regularly conducted before making important decisions. Modern nations have their astrologers and fortune tellers, occasionally patronized even by seemingly sophisticated leaders—so great is the desire to know what is ahead. The mere fact that individuals in many lands have claimed to predict the future is hardly evidence of the existence of a movement at all comparable to the activity of the Hebrew prophets.

On examination of the thousands of ancient records that have been discovered, the amount of material that can be presented in support of the claim that there existed in any of these countries a movement really similar to the prophetic movement in Israel is extremely meager. Although the material from UGARIT tells much about the Canaanite religion and culture in the period prior to the Israelite entrance into Canaan, it has yielded very little that can be considered as in any way supplying a background for Hebrew prophetism.

Among all the archaeological discoveries that have been made, just about the only one that has been alleged to show a Canaanite background for the Hebrew prophets is not a document from Canaan, but one from Egypt. Much has been made of this Egyptian papyrus, written in the 11th cent. B.C., in which Wen-Amon, an official of an Egyptian temple, tells how he was sent to Byblos (GEBAL), on the Syrian coast, to obtain lumber for a ceremonial barge. For many weeks the prince of Byblos refused to see him. One day, as the prince "was making offering to his gods, the god seized one of his youths and made him possessed." In his frenzy the youth called out that the prince should see the messenger from Egypt. Some writers have called this "a prophetic frenzy," and compared it with the so-called ecstatic behavior of the Hebrew prophets.

All that the account actually says is that when this man was in his trance he said that Wen-Amon represented the god Amon and should be allowed to present his message, and that the king of Byblos then gave the Egyptian messenger a hearing. Nothing further is said about the man who had the trance.

There is no evidence that he made any prediction about the future, or that the prince of Byblos considered his behavior as having any great importance; in fact, all that the prince did was to allow the messenger the opportunity for a conference. He refused to admit any obligation to Egypt and would not supply the lumber that was requested until Wen-Amon had sent to Egypt for additional money. Events such as this occurred in many lands from time to time, but have little in common with the biblical account of the work of the prophets.

Babylonian tablets from MARI and elsewhere include a few alleged letters from a god to a king. ASHURBANIPAL, king of Assyria in the latter part of the 7th cent. B.C., tells of a dream in which the goddess ISHTAR promised to give him victory. Dreams of this type are occasionally described in ancient records, but such experiences are recorded from most countries, although they present merely a superficial similarity to one small phase of Hebrew prophetism.

In the great mass of available Egyptian material only a few documents purport to contain anything similar to the work of the Hebrew prophets. The two most frequently mentioned are called "the Prophecy of Nefer-Rohu" and "the Admontion of Ipu-wer." Each of these is contained in a papyrus that was made during the New Kingdom (18th-20th dynasties), but they are thought to be copies of writings originally produced several centuries earlier. The first tells how at the time of the 4th dynasty, a man predicted the coming period of anarchy and the rise of a great pharaoh who would stabilize conditions. Most scholars think that it actually originated during the 12th dynasty as a story in praise of its first king. The other describes the terrible conditions in the land during the period of chaos before the Middle Kingdom and blames the negligence of the rulers. It has been said that this was similar to the denunciation by an Israelite prophet of a wicked king.

In the search for an origin for the Hebrew prophetic movement, both of these documents have been said to show the existence of something similar in Egypt. Even if the alleged similarity were to be accepted to its fullest extent, it would be in reality only the slightest basis on which to construct a theory that anything existed in Egypt at all comparable to the long-continuing prophetic movement in Israel. (For a more detailed survey of the relevant materials, see H. B. Huffmon *in ABD,* 5:477-82. See also M. Nissinen, ed., *Prophecy in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context: Mesopotamian, Biblical and Arabian Perspectives* [2000].)

***H. Ecstasy and the prophet.*** It often is asserted by naturalistic interpreters that one of the most characteristic features of the activity of the Hebrew prophets was a state of ecstasy that would tend to produce unnatural visions and ideas, and that their belief that they were divinely directed was simply the result of an emotional state. The activity of the prophets has even been compared to that of the whirling dervishes of Islam, more than a thousand years after their time.

The strongest evidence adduced from the Bible for the existence of a state of ecstasy among prophets is found in 1 Ki. 18. This passage recounts the activities of the prophets of Baal, who called on the name of their god "from morning till noon," shouting, "O Baal, answer us!" When they received no response, "they shouted louder and slashed themselves with swords and spears, as was their custom, until their blood flowed" (vv. 26-28).

It should be noticed that this is not an account of Hebrew prophets at all. The quiet and dignified attitude of Elijah, the true prophet of God (cf. 1 Ki. 18:30-37), is in vivid contrast to the orgiastic and ecstatic activities attributed to these prophets of Baal. It is not at all impossible that among the Canaanites there were groups of religious votaries who frequently engaged in ecstatic practices, although evidence is not at present available to prove that this was the case. It may be that the Israelite writer called these heathen religionists "prophets" simply because of a superficial analogy

to the religious leaders of his own land.

Actually there is very little evidence in the historical or in the prophetic books that the Hebrew prophets were subject to any state of ecstasy or unnatural enthusiasm. Assertions that Israelite prophets behaved in a manner similar to the prophets of Baal have been based on very few verses, since most references to the prophets contain no suggestion whatever of such an attitude. Such assertions are based on four principal passages: Num. 11:24-30; 1 Sam. 10:5-11; 19:20-24; Ezek. 8-11. It should be noticed that only the last of these relates to a writer of one of the prophetic books.

The first passage, Num. 11:24-30, is not usually much stressed by those who advance such a theory. It states that seventy elders prophesied in a group by themselves and that two men prophesied within the camp. Thereupon Joshua asked Moses to rebuke them, but he answered, "I wish that all the LORD'S people were prophets." It would hardly fit with the rest of what is told in the Pentateuch about the character and attitudes of Moses to think that he was referring with commendation to an activity that could be described as orgiastic or ecstatic. From the context it seems much more likely that the men were praising God and extolling his goodness in a way that would arouse the admiration of the rest of the people.

Much more is made of certain passages from 1 Samuel. A recent writer speaks of "the numerous references in 1 Samuel to bands of prophets who, dancing and singing to the accompaniment of musical instruments, worked themselves up into a frenzy, and then fell into trances." Actually there are very few passages in 1 Samuel that could possibly be interpreted as warrant for such a statement. The first of these is in 1 Sam. 10:5b-6, where Samuel said to Saul: "As you approach the town, you will meet a procession of prophets coming down from the high place with lyres, tambourines, flutes and harps being played before them, and they will be prophesying. The Spirit of the LORD will come upon you in power, and you will prophesy with them; and you will be changed into a different person." The fulfillment of this prediction is described in vv. 10—11: "When they arrived at Gibeah, a procession of prophets met him; the Spirit of God came upon him in power, and he joined in their prophesying. When all those who had formerly known him saw him prophesying with the prophets, they asked each other, 'What is this that has happened to the son of Kish? Is Saul also among the prophets?'"

It is reading too much into the passage, however, to claim that it describes a group of prophets as singing wildly, dancing like dervishes, or falling into a trance. All that is said is that they moved down the hill in a procession, prophesying, preceded by instruments of music. The only really unnatural circumstance described in the passage is the fact that Saul joined them. This issue will be discussed below.

The work of the prophet is generally represented as an individual activity. At this time Samuel was the only individual who is described as performing the true prophetic function of receiving messages from God and passing them on, but it would be most natural that other individuals might join together to follow him and to spread the message that he presented. At this period of Philistine oppression, it would be particularly natural that such activities, partly religious and partly nationalistic, should develop. In a loose way, the term "band of the prophets" might be applied to such groups. It is reading into the passage something that is not there to say that these men were giving evidence of an abnormal psychological condition. Even if they had been doing so, it would prove nothing as to the attitude of Samuel and the many other individual prophets, both before and after, of whom nothing at all similar is ever stated.

Another passage cited in this connection is 1 Sam. 19:18-24. What is said first about the prophets is that Saul's messengers "saw a group of prophets prophesying, with Samuel standing there

as their leader" (v. 20). As mentioned earlier, Jewish tradition saw in this account a group of men studying under the direction of Samuel as the great prophetic teacher. Whether this was the situation, or whether the prophets were merely praising God in various ways, there is nothing in this statement to suggest that they were engaged in highly emotional or ecstatic activities. The ground for reaching such conclusions is based upon what was done by the three groups of messengers that Saul sent, and more particularly on what was done by Saul himself.

We read that when Saul's messengers saw the prophets prophesying, "the Spirit of God came upon Saul's men and they also prophesied." This also happened in the case of the second and third groups of messengers. It should be noticed, however, that there is here no clear evidence of anything psychologically strange or ecstatic. These messengers may well have been men who truly believed in the God of Israel and realized that Saul was departing from the principles of justice that God had commanded through the prophet Samuel, who had anointed Saul to be king. When they stood in the presence of Samuel and his associates and saw them praising God, they may well have felt strongly impelled to show their oneness with the followers of the Lord. There is no statement that any of the messengers fell into a trance. What is said about them does not necessarily prove any ecstatic characteristics of the followers of Samuel.

The only forceful argument that can be drawn from either of these passages to support the idea that ecstasy was characteristic of the prophets relates exclusively to what is said about Saul. The first passage (1 Sam. 10) relates that Samuel told Saul that when he would meet the company of the prophets the Spirit of the Lord would come upon him and he would join with them and prophesy, and says that he did so. This was so contrary to people's general impression of Saul that they wondered whether he was also among the prophets. The second instance is different. When Saul came to Samuel's home to see what had happened to his messengers, he was evidently so carried away with the enthusiasm of the gathering that he removed his garments and joined in the songs of praise, staying there for many hours and finally falling asleep from sheer exhaustion, forgetting for the time being his hatred against David who was thus afforded an opportunity to escape (19:23—20:1).

Although the description of Saul's actions does give the impression of a highly unnatural mental state, it should be observed that it is not the prophets but Saul who is involved in this description. This king, who was turning against the God who had placed him upon the throne, had been highly emotional before, and at this time he was in a neurotic condition, moving rapidly from one extreme of emotion to the other. Rapid changes of emotion, or even highly ecstatic states of mind, could have been typical of Saul, but this is no proof that they characterized the prophetic movement.

Two other passages from 1 Samuel and two from 2 Kings might be mentioned, although with far less reason than in the case of the two passages from 1 Samuel already discussed. The first of these is in 1 Sam. 18:8-11. Saul sometimes found relief for his highly strung nerves through listening to David's playing of the harp. When the populace praised David's exploits as a warrior, it filled Saul with jealousy and added to his nervousness. "The next day an evil spirit from God came forcefully upon Saul. He was prophesying in his house, while David was playing the harp, as he usually did. Saul had a spear in his hand and he hurled it, saying to himself, 'I'll pin David to the wall.' But David eluded him twice" (vv. 10-11). There is nothing unique about Saul's irrational and changeable actions. The only problem in the passage is that instead of "was prophesying" (hithpael of *nābā*ʾ*),* some versions have "raved" (NRSV) or the like (cf. *HALOT,* 2:659, which gives "rage" as a frequent meaning). Such a rendering, however, assumes the point that needs to be proven.

The other passage is 1 Sam. 28, where we read that Saul, who had strictly forbidden the people to patronize those who claimed to have relations with evil spirits, sought a woman with a familiar

spirit to learn the outcome of the imminent battle with the Philistines. The woman claimed to be able to bring back the spirits of the dead. Saul asked her to bring up Samuel. "When the woman saw Samuel, she cried out at the top of her voice and said to Saul, 'Why have you deceived me? You are Saul!'" (v. 12). The context makes it evident that the woman, accustomed to pretending to bring up the spirits of the dead, either through some fraud or because evil spirits impersonated them, was surprised and terrified when Samuel actually appeared. God had chosen, in this one instance, to cause Samuel's spirit to return to pronounce a final judgment against Saul. It is a strange episode, quite out of line with usual human experience, but hardly such as to support the description of the ecstasy of the prophets quoted above.

Those describing the alleged ecstatic character of the Hebrew prophets cite the fact that on one occasion Elisha called for a minstrel before he would declare the will of God. "While the harpist was playing the hand of the LORD came upon Elisha" (2 Ki. 3:15). This has been quoted as evidence that a Hebrew prophet required the stimulus of music to produce an ecstatic state and thus enable him to prophesy. Actually the incident is isolated and, in addition, can be explained far more reasonably in a different way. The context suggests that Elisha was so disgusted at being asked to give help to the wicked son of Ahab that it was difficult for him to compose his thoughts. He had said, "As surely as the LORD Almighty lives, whom I serve, if I did not have respect for the presence of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, I would not look at you or even notice you" (v. 14). Music was a help to Elisha in composing his spirit so that he could listen to the quiet voice of the Lord and overcome his antipathy at facing the wicked Jehoram.

Finally, reference sometimes is made to a time when Elisha sent one of the sons of the prophets to pour oil on the head of Jehu and thus start his revolt against the successors of Ahab. The representative of Elisha asked to speak privately with Jehu and went with him into an inner chamber. There he poured the oil over Jehu's head, declaring that God had anointed him king over Israel, and then rushed out of the house (2 Ki. 9:1-10). Jehu's associates said to him, "Why did this madman come to you?" (v. 11). The use of the word "madman" in reference to the prophet has been taken by some as showing that the prophets engaged in orgiastic ecstasy. Under the circumstances, however, this would be a very natural way for the onlookers to speak of the messenger who talked privately to Jehu and then rushed out of the house, and does not necessarily throw any light on the real nature of the prophets. It is quite common for God's spokesmen to be considered "mad." Even the apostle Paul was called "insane" on occasion (Acts 26:24-25).

It thus is evident how few are the references to the prophets that could give the slightest suggestion that they engaged in orgiastic activities or fell into trances. When one of the most generally reliable of the critical writers can make the unfounded statement quoted above about the activities of the prophets in 1 Samuel, it is not at all strange that other critics should make extremely dogmatic assertions about the alleged ecstasy of the prophets, going far beyond any evidence that can be drawn from the biblical data.

The only evidence of any importance that can be drawn from the prophetic books themselves to support the idea of an unnatural psychological state of the prophets is taken from the book of Ezekiel. This book describes a number of peculiar acts, which have already been discussed above (under II.B). In a situation very different from that of modern Western nations, Ezekiel used peculiar methods to attract attention. These, however, are hardly evidence that the prophet was in a distorted mental state. More particularly, claims about the alleged ecstatic character of Ezekiel's activities are based upon Ezek. 8—11, where it is said that Ezekiel was transported across the desert to Jerusalem in a vision and saw strange events there, which he recounted after being again brought back to Babylonia

in a vision. That the prophet, while having this vision, was in a very unusual mental situation cannot be denied. That it was ecstatic, however, is highly questionable, and that it was characteristic of the prophets in general is improbable.

This section has included a cursory examination of the various antisupernaturalistic explanations given to the activities of the prophets. These explanations often strikingly contradict one another. Since most of the writers holding these views feel free to accept as genuine whatever portions of the Bible seem to fit their theories, or to cast out as spurious those that do not, their conclusions rest on no solid ground. Even where, as in the argument regarding the alleged ecstasy of the prophets, the conclusions are said to be based on the biblical data, examination of the text proves such conclusions to be unwarranted. If one believes in a personal God, there is no difficulty in accepting the biblical claim that he spoke to the prophets and gave them messages to pass on. If one *a priori* rejects such a possibility, however, there is no end to the variety of possible explanations that human ingenuity may devise, but for which no solid basis exists.

## V. The interpretation of prophecy

### *A. Basic considerations*

**1. An unusual type of literature.** One of the first considerations in examining any written material is to determine what sort of literature it is. It might be a narrative, a love letter, or a poem celebrating a victory or mourning a death. Many of the types of literature common today can be found in almost every period of history, but OT prophecy is a type of literature that is rarely found outside the Bible. It claims to be the presentation of a divine message through the mouth of a divinely selected spokesman. The Christian believes that the writers of the Bible were divinely commissioned to write material that infallibly presents the word of God, but that no one else has ever been given a similar task. The parts of the Bible that consist almost entirely of divine messages for God's people are different in nature from literature outside of the Bible or in most other parts of the Bible. Many other sections of the Bible deal with situations that can be paralleled wherever human beings have lived. They describe rejoicing at birth and at weddings, and sorrow at death. They describe the enthronement of rulers and the shouts of victory after deliverance in battle. These parts of the Bible have many analogies in other literature. Such analogies can rarely be found for the prophetical books. Therefore, the interpretation of prophecy, to be dependable, requires very special preparation. See INTERPRETATION.

**2. Prophecy not exclusively prediction.** In line with the present common use of the word *prophecy,* there are those who consider all prophecy as simply prediction, and this brings confusion into the understanding of the prophets. In reaction against this approach, other writers have attempted to reduce the element of prediction to almost nothing. Both errors should be carefully avoided. Prediction has so important a place in prophecy that its part will be specifically discussed below (under V.C), yet it should be remembered that there is far more to prophecy than prediction, and that many important prophecies include little or no prediction.

**3. Importance of the historical background.** Much attention has been directed by students of ancient writings to the importance of finding the "situation in life" that led to the production of a certain piece of literature. This principle applies in a modified way to the study of the prophets. The prophecies

were not given simply to write a book that should be of help for future ages. Everything that God caused to be included in the Bible is of real importance for his people throughout the ages, yet the prophets spoke directly to the people in their time. In interpreting any part of the prophetical books it is very important to consider whatever can be learned of its historical background. The historical books contain accounts of the activities of various prophets and quote many of their messages. In the prophetical books the historical background must frequently be ascertained by careful examination of incidental statements, or learned from other parts of the Bible. For example, knowledge of the historical background described in 2 Ki. 16:5-9 is essential to the understanding of Isa. 7 and 28. These and various other sections of the prophetic writings cannot be properly interpreted without first determining their historical background. An important caution in this regard, however, will be noted below (see section 8).

**4. Relation to the specific divine purpose.** It is most important in the understanding of the "situation in life" of the prophetical books to determine the divine purpose in the giving of each portion of the prophecy. This is so important that section B below will be devoted to an inductive examination of the purposes of the various types of prophetic messages.

**5. The need of starting at the right place.** A principle important to almost any field of study, but one that is more neglected in Bible study than in most other areas, is that we should advance our understanding by proceeding from the simple to the less simple and from the clear to the less clear. All too often an exhaustive study of a difficult passage in the prophetical books is done first and then this is used as a basis on which to interpret other passages. In some cases this is done to explain away the obvious intent of other passages. Proper method requires that the passages that are fairly obvious or simple to interpret should be carefully examined first, and that principles drawn from them provide the light in which the more difficult passages can be understood.

For example, it is advisable that any careful study of the prophetical books, particularly their predictive sections, should begin with an exhaustive study of the life, activities, and messages of Elijah and Elisha. Here the historical situation is clearly set forth and easily understood. Here the purpose of each prophetic message is usually deduced easily from the nearer or larger context. Here the fulfillment of the prediction is described in most cases, and it is therefore easy to see exactly how the prediction should be interpreted in the light of its actual fulfillment. From careful study of the material between 1 Ki. 17 and 2 Ki. 13, a proper foundation can be laid for the understanding of much of the material in the prophetical books. No extensive study of the prophetical books should be undertaken without this reasonable preparation.

**6. Recognition of figurative language.** Like all literature, prophecy contains figures of speech. This does not mean that it is necessarily obscure. When one says that a man was "a lion in the fight," he does not mean that the man was transformed into a physical lion or that he chewed up the enemy with his teeth, but that he showed the qualities of bravery and tenacity that are considered typical of a lion. The language is definitely figurative but its meaning is perfectly clear—perhaps even clearer than a literal statement would be.

If prophecy is so interpreted as to consider that the figurative language cancels the literal meaning, nothing is left. Such a method of interpretation is entirely misleading and is not a conclusion of valid literary criticism. In the Bible, figures of speech usually are clear from the context. Thus when Isaiah described the failure of a future Assyrian attempt to conquer Jerusalem and then declared

that the Assyrian empire itself would be destroyed, this prediction was given by the figure of speech of the cutting down of a forest (Isa. 10:33-34). A similar figure is used in the following verse (11:1) to portray the later rise from obscurity of the house of David: "A shoot will come up from the stump of Jesse; / from his roots a Branch will bear fruit." It is obvious that this verse predicted a time when the kingdom of the descendants of Jesse would be cut down almost to nothing, paralleling the destruction of the Assyrian empire described in the previous verse, but that out of what apparently is almost destroyed a new branch will grow up and become powerful. This is followed by the prediction of the greatness of the coming Messiah. The literal meaning of the figurative language is clear. Vividness and beauty of expression are greatly increased, but no obscurity is introduced. There is little difficulty in deciding what is literal and what is figurative. (A similar figure is used in Ezek. 31:3: "Consider Assyria, once a cedar in Lebanon, / with beautiful branches overshadowing the forest.")

Most of the words in any meaningful passage must be interpreted literally. In interpreting prophecy it is a safe rule to consider the literal meaning first and see whether it gives a clear idea, or whether a figurative interpretation of one or more words might convey a better sense. In the latter case it is always well to look for uses of a similar figure elsewhere in the Scripture, as a precautionary measure against misinterpretation. One should not assume, however, that a particular figure will always be used in the same way. Interpretation of figures sometimes requires careful study.

The term "spiritualization" sometimes is used for interpreting a passage in such a way that everything in it is taken figuratively. There is really nothing "spiritual" about such an approach. Usually its result is to cause a passage to mean anything that the interpreter may desire. There are even commentaries that assert that a certain book or portion of a book is to be taken entirely figuratively so that everything in it is a symbol of something else (e.g., Song of Solomon as figurative for Christ and the church). The result of such an approach is to make it possible for readers to draw from the passage anything they see in it. Thus a portion of Scripture is made practically useless. Such an approach dishonors the Word of God.

It sometimes is difficult to know exactly what a passage of the Bible means. It may be impossible in some cases to be absolutely sure of interpreting a passage correctly. If one moves forward carefully and cautiously, however, interpreting the obscure and the difficult in the light of what is plain and clear, definite results can be attained for most portions of the prophetic writings.

**7. Realization of the principle of progressive revelation.** The Bible is not simply a book of rules or of theological propositions. It sets forth the way in which God presented his truth to human beings. Little by little he revealed great and important truths as he led people into the understanding of what he desired them to know. The principle of progressive revelation needs to be recognized if Scripture is to be correctly interpreted. Effective communication of precise ideas from one mind to another is difficult. Communication of the ideas of the infinite God to finite man is ever more challenging. Sometimes an idea is lightly touched upon, then suggested more clearly, then expressed more fully, then misunderstandings are corrected, and finally the idea is reiterated. Thus an idea can be traced through Scripture and the understanding of it can be gradually increased and clarified.

Several times during his earthly ministry Jesus told his disciples that he would be crucified and raised from the dead, but his words sounded so strange that they made no impression. After his resurrection, when the disciples were surprised that these events had occurred, instead of rebuking them for forgetting what he had said while he was with them, he criticized them for not having studied

the prophetic writings more carefully, and therefore not being ready "to believe all that the prophets have spoken" (Lk. 24:25). Before he was crucified Jesus said to his disciples, "I have much more to say to you, more than you can now bear" (Jn. 16:12). Until they fully realized the fact of his death and resurrection, many important ideas would have been meaningless to them. It was necessary that much be left to be revealed to them by the Holy Spirit after his ascension. Thus later portions of revelation may be more complete than earlier ones, but not more true. God never reveals anything that is contrary to the truth. Early portions of revelation on a certain matter may be incomplete, but they are never untrue.

In connection with this principle, one must always keep in mind that God's will differs regarding different situations. For example, a whole series of forms and ceremonies looked forward to the crucifixion of Christ and taught about his first coming in figurative or symbolic form. There were a considerable number of these, since they looked forward to something that could as yet be only vaguely understood. After the fact became visible it was no longer necessary to continue these ceremonies, but a much smaller number could be substituted (baptism, the Lord's Supper) that would look back to the first coming and forward to the second coming. Thus God's will for his people in one situation was different from what it was in another, but God's truth never changes.

**8. Recognition of divine oversight of the contents of the Bible.** Any study of the prophetical books that is to unlock their true message must have this as a basic principle. God inspired the writers in such a way that what was written down for permanent retention as part of his enduring message to his people should be complete in itself. Proper interpretation of the prophetic messages requires comparison of Scripture with other Scripture. Everything that can possibly be learned from the Bible alone about the historical background of the prophetic messages is important for their interpretation. It is unnecessary, however, to have additional knowledge beyond what can be gathered from the statements in the Word of God itself.

All the principles necessary for correct interpretation of prophecy can be found in the Bible. To ascertain them may require much careful study. External material can be helpful but is not essential for understanding the divine message. Knowledge gained from study of other ancient writings or from archaeological material may throw light on certain events or on certain aspects of interpretation, but the correct understanding of the messages that God has placed for his people through the ages can be correctly and completely gathered from the Bible as it stands. This recognition of the divine preparation is a necessary prerequisite to proper interpretation of the prophetical books.

### *B. The purposes of prophecy*

**1. Rebuke.** On examining the prophetic declarations contained in the historical books and the longer messages in the Major and Minor Prophets, it soon becomes apparent that more than half of what is said comes under the heading of rebuke for sin and the call to repentance. This activity evidently consumed far more of the prophet's time than any other feature of his work. There is a tendency among Bible students to pass rapidly over these sections, but in so doing a great part of the message of the prophets is missed. God caused these long messages of rebuke to be written down and preserved because he desired his people throughout all the centuries to apply to their hearts and lives these stern warnings against sin.

**2. Encouragement to the people of God.** Though occupying much less space than rebuke, this is a

very important part of the prophetic activity, and these are the passages that receive the most attention today. In many cases such passages come immediately after the passages of rebuke. Very often, particularly in the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Micah, there are lengthy passages almost entirely of rebuke, followed by an abrupt transition to declarations of coming blessing and encouragement for the people of God. Examples of the many instances of abrupt transition are the following: from Isa. 1:31 to 2:1-5; from 4:1 to vv. 2-6; from 42:24-25 to 43:1-7; from Mic. 2:11 to vv. 12-13; from 3:12 to 4:1.

It is as if the prophet addressed the nation as a whole, declaring God's wrath upon its sin and failure, and then turned his attention to the small group of godly believers. These were members of the nation, and they realized themselves to be implicated in its sin. Their hearts were burdened by the general attitude, and they knew that they also were culpable; yet they had turned to God and hoped that the entire nation might repent. Hearing the prophet's rebuke and knowing how well deserved it was, they tended to despair. To these people and to the godly throughout history God addressed himself, assuring that, though punishment for sin is bound to come, God has ultimate blessing in store for his people. Great messianic passages are found mostly in sections of this type.


Marble bust of Emperor Claudius (A.D. 41 – 54). It was during his reign that Agabus's prophecy of a famine over all the Roman world was fulfilled (Acts 11:27-28).

**3. Revelation of facts about God and his creation.** Although this might seem to be the most important aspect of the prophetic work, it rarely occurs entirely by itself. Usually, the important facts that the prophet reveals about God's character and purposes are contained in passages presenting rebuke or giving encouragement. The work of the prophet was intensely practical. The words of all the prophets taken together provide a great source of knowledge of God and creation, but their messages rarely present this information exclusively.

**4. Information as to the action to be taken on a specific occasion.** This aspect of the prophets' work represents a comparatively small part of their total message, but it seemed to be most important

to their contemporaries. During the wilderness journey Moses was frequently given directions as to the immediate actions that the people should take (e.g., Exod. 16:4-33; 17:1-7; Num. 11:16-23; 15:32-36; 17:1-13; 21:8-9). Although Joshua, the great leader of God's people, is not listed as a prophet, God gave him specific revelations at many points in his career as to the particular action to be taken. A number of similar instances occur in Judges and in 1 and 2 Samuel. Rehoboam was told by the prophet to discontinue attempts to reconquer Israel (1 Ki. 12:22-24). Isaiah informed Ahaz that he need not worry about the coming attack from Samaria and the Arameans because God would soon remove both of these kings (Isa. 7:5-8). Isaiah told Hezekiah that he could safely wait out the attack of Sennacherib, since God would prevent this invader from capturing Jerusalem. On the other hand, Jeremiah urged Zedekiah to surrender to Nebuchadnezzar, since it was God's will to allow this Babylonian conqueror to overwhelm Judah (Jer. 38:17-21).

Because God at times caused a prophet to give information as to the right policy to be performed in a certain situation, uninformed people gained the false impression that the prophet was primarily a soothsayer or diviner. Superstition easily develops. In the period of the judges, such ideas gained wide circulation. Many people had this false impression of Samuel, but there is no reason to think that Samuel thought of himself in this way or that it was his intention that people should thus misunderstand his true role.

**5. Authenticating a divinely appointed leader or prophet.** Occasionally a prophet made predictions for the purpose of authenticating his authority (e.g., 1 Sam. 3:19-21; 10:2-9; 1 Ki. 13:3; 2 Ki. 7:2; Jer. 28:15-17). Not only was it encouraging for the Israelites to know many years in advance that Cyrus would release them from the Babylonian captivity (Isa. 44:28—45:1), but also, fulfillment of this prediction 100 years later authenticated what Isaiah had spoken from God and led to renewed confidence in the other vital portions of his message. Under this head might be placed also the predictions about Jesus Christ that bear directly upon certain details of his mission rather than upon whole events which specifically served to identify him as the One predicted in the OT (cf. Ps. 22:18 and Isa. 53:9).

**6. Laying a foundation for the climax of all the divine activities in the work of the future Messiah.** This was a very important aspect of OT prophecy. Such declarations generally were given in relation to a background involving the immediate situation. Thus when Ahaz showed himself as an unbelieving and unworthy head of the house of David, Isaiah declared that God would in his own time provide a new head for the house of David, who would indeed be "God with us" (Isa. 7:14). Whereas Isaiah clearly predicted God's future mercy in bringing the people back from Babylonian exile (chs. 40-52), he gradually developed the vital point that the exile was the result of sin, so that deliverance would be only a temporary help unless a full and satisfactory solution to the sin question were to be provided. Then he relayed God's wonderful answer to the sin question by presenting the marvelous description of the expiatory work of Christ (52:13—53:12).

Although these messianic predictions are usually tied in with immediate situations, they form a constantly growing witness to the great climax that God would bring about through the sending of his Son to earth. The prophets were aware of this part of their work, but they often realized that they themselves knew only a small part of the truth that God planned eventually to reveal. Peter declared that they often longed to know more about the whole situation than they understood (cf. 1 Pet. 1:10-11). Since the Holy Spirit so inspired the writers of the Bible as to protect their words from error, the messages of the prophets contain more vital information than they themselves understood, and the

comparison of one prophecy with another often can yield greater understanding than was known to the human author of either passage.

***C. The place of prediction in prophecy.*** Although the primary work of the prophet was not to satisfy curiosity about the future, but rather to declare the message God gave him, it is not at all strange that these messages should include predictions. Since God controls everything and knows the future, it would be strange indeed if the messages he gave did not reveal glimpses of what is ahead. That prediction of the future is significant in the forthtelling of divine messages is apparent when related to the purposes of prophecy.

The purpose that relates to a larger portion of the words spoken or written by the prophets than any other theme is rebuke for sin and unfaithfulness. Such rebuke often is driven home by predictions about the punishment that God intends to send. Many of these predictions are conditional in nature and consist of declarations as to what will happen to the nation if it does not turn from its sin. There were many occasions, however, when


Chapel of John on the Island of Patmos. Tradition says this church was built over a cave where John wrote the book of Revelation.

the prophet spoke to people whose disobedience to God had reached the point where punishment was inevitable. As a result the prophecies contain many direct and unconditional predictions about coming disasters. An interesting instance occurred where Samuel, after his death, appeared to Saul, who was seeking advice in the greatest crisis of his life, and gave the king an unconditional prediction of God's punishment (1 Sam. 28:18-19). Many similar predictions were given (e.g., 1 Sam. 3:11-14; 2 Sam. 12:10-12; 1 Ki. 13:1-3; 21:19-24; 2 Ki. 7:2b; Jer. 29:32; 51:37; Ezek. 30:22-23; Lk. 19:43-44; 2 Thess. 1:8-9; 2:8).

Prediction also has a great part in the second purpose of prophecy, that of encouragement to the true people of God. Godly individuals who saw their nation tottering to ruin and knew that sin made escape from disaster impossible could easily give way to despair. To comfort them God gave specific information through the prophets about continuing blessing that would be provided after the punishment had run its course. In the dark days when the golden calves had been erected in the northern kingdom, an unnamed prophet encouraged God's people by predicting a specific event that would occur some three centuries later (1 Ki. 13:1-3; as noted above, this same prediction served as a rebuke to the ungodly). Many of the most comforting sections of the prophetic writings belong to this second category.

In connection with the third purpose of prophecy, that of revealing important facts about God's nature, predictions inevitably occurred. There was no simpler way of showing God's control over all the nations than to predict his future actions. When Elijah, at Mount Horeb during the terrible reaction that followed his contest with the prophets of Baal, seemed to give way to utter despair, God used this method of reassuring him of the divine control over all the nations. The predictions were given in the form of commands to Elijah to do what no mere prophet without political power or physical force at his disposal could possibly bring about. Although they were not fulfilled during Elijah's lifetime, the assurance that these great changes of dynasty would occur in two important nations served to strengthen the prophet's realization of God's supreme power and control.

In connection with the fourth purpose of prophecy, that of informing God's people of the next step to take in a particular situation, prediction naturally played a great part. Any such divine command was apt to contain either implicitly or explicitly a reference to some future event. The important part that prediction occupies in relation to the other two purposes of prophecy is obvious.

Thus prediction, although not the major portion of prophecy, was an important aspect of it, and it is not at all strange that today the word *prophecy* in popular usage has come largely to be restricted to predictive statements.

***D. Special problems in the interpretation of predictions.*** Certain matters particularly related to prediction require consideration.

**1. Conditional predictions.** Sometimes two parallel predictions were given with opposite conditions attached to them. One of the earliest instances of this is found in Lev. 26. The first condition is given in v. 3, "If you follow my decrees and are careful to obey my commands," leading to a description of the wonderful ways in which the Lord will bless the people if they fulfill that condition. In contrast, vv. 14-15 give the opposite condition, "But if you will not listen to me and carry out all these commands, and if you reject my decrees and abhor my laws and fail to carry out all my commands and so violate my covenant." In addition, vv. 16-39 describe the severe punishments that will follow. In the book of Jeremiah parallel predictions are particularly common.

Individual conditional predictions also occur. Thus when Ahijah promised Jeroboam that he would become king of Israel (1 Ki. 11), he foretold that God would build him a sure house, as he had done for David. However, this part of the promise was connected with a condition: "If you do whatever I command you and walk in my ways and do what is right in my eyes by keeping my statutes and commands, as David my servant did…" (v. 38a). Jeroboam did not fulfill the conditions, and this prediction was not fulfilled; instead Jeroboam's house was totally destroyed (15:29-30). There are many other instances in the Scripture where a prediction is clearly indicated as conditional. When no condition is clearly expressed, a prediction should normally be considered as unconditional.

Sometimes one feature of a prediction may involve a condition though the prediction as a whole is unconditional. For example, when the forms of legality had been so carried out as to make the murder of Naboth seem like a legal execution, Elijah met Ahab and solemnly pronounced his doom: "This is what the LORD says: In the place where dogs licked up Naboth's blood, dogs will lick up your blood—yes, yours!" (1 Ki. 21:19). But when Ahab humbled himself (v. 27) the Lord said to Elijah: "Have you noticed how Ahab has humbled himself before me? Because he has humbled himself, I will not bring this disaster in his day, but I will bring it on his house in the days of his son" (v. 29). The complete destruction of the dynasty of Ahab was brought about during the reign of his second son, whose dead body was cast onto the plot of ground that had been stolen from Naboth (2

Ki. 9:26). Thus the terrible prediction of doom to Ahab and his house was unconditionally fulfilled, but the time element was changed because of Ahab's brief period of repentance. Part of the prediction, however, was fulfilled at the death of Ahab (1 Ki. 22:37-38).

A similar situation exists in the book of Jonah, which states that the prophet walked through NINEVEH declaring, "Forty more days and Nineveh will be overturned" (Jon. 3:4). The people of Nineveh repented in sackcloth and ashes. Forty days passed and the city was not destroyed. The time element was conditional, but the prediction of destruction was unconditional, for eventually Nineveh suffered one of the greatest destructions recorded in history. The disaster was so complete that one of the greatest cities of the ancient world became a mere heap of ruins. Within a few centuries after Nineveh's destruction no one even knew where the city had been located. It is unlikely that God would have caused Jonah to make such a forthright prediction of Nineveh's overthrow if the destruction had not been a definite part of the divine plan. The aspect of time was conditional, but in view of the immediate repentance, the destruction was postponed. See JONAH, BOOK OF.

**2. Occasional ambiguity of the person addressed.** There are cases where it is obvious that the prophet shifted his vision, speaking for a time to one person, and then turning to another, or speaking to the nation as a whole and then turning his attention to the godly portion of the nation (e.g., Mic. 2:1-11 and 2:12-13; Zeph. 3:1-8 and 3:9-20).

**3. General principle or specific prediction.** Sometimes a prophetic message declared what would happen when certain circumstances occurred. In such cases a general principle was presented that could be fulfilled over and over. This is true of the passages in Lev. 26 discussed above. Another instance is found in Isa. 6:10, where the hardened condition of a large portion of the nation is described. These words are quoted by Christ in Matt. 13:14 and Mk. 7:6, and by Paul in Acts 28:25-27, as showing the condition of a part of Israel at the NT period.

**4. Single or multiple fulfillment.** Usually it is not difficult to determine whether a prediction describes a specific event or whether it is referring to a series of events. Thus the statement that foreign armies will overrun a land may refer to a number of occasions on which this would happen. If the statement is made in the singular, referring to a specific foreign army, it should almost always be understood as pointing to an individual event. When that event has occurred the prediction has been fulfilled.

There are very few cases where the context shows clearly that a prediction in which a singular term is used actually looks forward to a series of events. The outstanding instance is Deut. 18:9-22, where the vital question of divine guidance after Moses' death is discussed. In vv. 9-14, the people are warned not to inquire from diviners or necromancers, which are an abomination to the Lord. The rest of the passage tells how the people were to receive their guidance in the days ahead, before the entire Scripture had been given as a guide book for their lives. Moses declared: "The LORD your God will raise up for you a prophet like me from among your own brothers. You must listen to him" (18:15). Then the promise is reiterated: "I will raise up for them a prophet like you from among their brothers; I will put my words in his mouth, and he will tell them everything I command him" (v. 18). Thus vv. 15-19 tell how they are to receive their guidance during the long period ahead and stress that God will provide a means of revelation similar to that which had been available through Moses. On the other hand, vv. 20-22 show the danger of listening to false prophets and point out means of identifying those who falsely claim to be instruments of revelation.

The context therefore makes clear that Deut. 16:15-18 predicts a series of prophets who will come to convey God's messages to his people, even though the singular form of the word *prophet* is used. This series of prophets would point to the One who would be the greatest of all the prophets. The passage was so understood by the Jews. When a group was sent to inquire of JOHN THE BAPTIST who he was (Jn. 1:19-27), one of the questions asked was whether he was "the Prophet" (v. 21)—a clear reference to the passage in Deut. 18. In Acts 3:22 and 7:37 the passage was quoted to show the Jewish hearers that Jesus was the prophet whom Moses had predicted, the One who would be the climax of the great series of prophets.

Unless plural terms are used (or there is a clear indication in the context that a series of events is involved) each prediction should be understood as pointing to one specific event. Recognition of this principle is helpful in understanding the prophecies in Isa. 7. The background of this chapter is made clear in 2 Ki. 16:5-8. AHAZ was attacked by the king of Israel (also called Ephraim), which was far larger and stronger than Judah. Allied with Ephraim was SYRIA (ARAM), a kingdom considerably stronger than Israel. In the face of this difficulty Ahaz did not look to God for help but sent tribute to the ungodly Assyrian emperor and asked for his protection. Ahaz was confident that his clever but ungodly scheme would save him from the two neighboring powers, but God sent Isaiah to meet him in a public place and there assured him that God would protect the kingdom if he would place his trust in him. The Assyrian alliance could give deliverance from the immediate threat, but in the end it would bring far greater dangers than those already in view.

Isaiah further declared that the Arameans and Israel would not be able to conquer Judah but would themselves perish, and said, "If you do not stand firm in your faith, you will not stand at all" (Isa. 7:9). The following verses contain the divine answer to the cynical look on Ahaz's face. He was offered proof that he could trust God. In v. 12 Ahaz gave a reply that sounded very pious but was actually an evasion. His words aroused the divine anger, not so much because of what he said as because of the evident tone in which he spoke. In his rejoinder (vv. 13-14) Isaiah expressed a strong rebuke, not simply to Ahaz, but to the entire house of David, of which Ahaz was a very unsatisfactory representative. He spoke to the whole kingdom of Judah, giving assurance that it would not always have such unworthy representatives as Ahaz, but that God himself would provide, as the true head of the house of David, One born of a virgin, whose name can properly be called IMMANUEL ("God with us").

Beginning with Isa. 7:15, the prophet turned his attention away from the house of David as a whole and back to Ahaz. No statement had been made as to when Immanuel would come. On the assumption that he might be born immediately, the time that would be involved in his growth was used as

**IMPORTANT HEBREW PROPHETS AFTER THE TIME OF SAMUEL***

| Prophets | Kings |
|---|---|
| **Before the Kingdom Was Divided** | |
| Nathan<br>2 Sam 7:2-17; 12:1-25 | David (1011-971) |
| Gad<br>1 Sam 22:5; 2 Sam 24:11-19 | David |
| Ahijah the Shilonite<br>1 Kings 11:29-40 | Solomon (971-931) |
| **During the Divided Kingdom** | |
| **Active in the southern kingdom (Judah)** | **Active in the northern kingdom (Israel)** |
| Shemaiah<br>2 Chron 11:2-4; 12:5-8 | Rehoboam (931-913) |
| Azariah, son of Oded<br>2 Chron 15:1-7 | Asa (911-870) |
| Hanani<br>2 Chron 16:7-10 | Asa |
| Jehu, son of Hanani<br>2 Chron 19:2-3 | Jehoshaphat (873-848) |
| Jahaziel<br>2 Chron 20:14-17 | Jehoshaphat |
| Eliezer, son of Dodavahu<br>2 Chron 20:37 | Jehoshaphat |
| Elijah<br>2 Chron 21:12-15 | Jehoram (853-841) |
| Zechariah, son of Jehoiadah<br>2 Chron 24:20-22 | Joash (835-796) |
| JOEL time uncertain, perhaps in reign of Joash | |
| ISAIAH | Uzziah (791-740), Jotham (750-732), Ahaz (735-716), Hezekiah (716-687) |
| MICAH | Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah |
| NAHUM | Prob. written between 660 and 615 |
| HABAKKUK | Time of Josiah (641-609) |
| Huldah<br>2 Kings 22:14-20 | Josiah |
| ZEPHANIAH | Josiah |
| JEREMIAH | Josiah (641-609), Jehoahaz (609), Jehoiakim (609-598), Jehoiachin (597), Zedekiah (597-586) |
| Uriah<br>Jer 26:20-23 | Jehoiakim (609-598) |

| Prophets | Kings |
|---|---|
| Ahijah the Shilonite<br>1 Kings 11:29-39; 14:1-18 | Jeroboam I (931-910) |
| Unnamed Prophet from Judah<br>1 Kings 13:1-32 | Jeroboam I |
| Jehu, son of Hanani<br>1 Kings 16:7, 12 | Baasha (909-886) |
| Elijah<br>1 Kings 17—2 Kings 2 | Ahab (874-853) Ahaziah (853-852) |
| Micaiah<br>1 Kings 22:13-28 | Ahab |
| Elisha<br>1 Kings 19:16—2 Kings 13:21 | Ahaziah (853-852), Jehoram (852-841), Jehu (841-814), Jehoahaz (814-798), Jehoash (798-782) |
| HOSEA | Jeroboam II (793-753) |
| AMOS<br>Amos 1:1; 7:10 | Jeroboam II |
| JONAH<br>2 Kings 14:25 | Jeroboam II |
| Oded<br>2 Chron 28:9-11 | Pekah (752-732) |
| **Exile of northern kingdom, 721 B.C.** | |

| | |
|---|---|
| **During the Exile** | |
| EZEKIEL | Prophesied in Babylonia between 593 and 570 |
| OBADIAH | Prob. written in 585 B.C. |
| JEREMIAH | Active in conquered Judah (Jer 40-42) and in Egypt (Jer 43-44) |
| DANIEL | In Babylonia during reigns of Nebuchadnezzar (605-562) and his successors including Cyrus, the Persian (539-529) |
| **After the Return from Exile** | |
| HAGGAI<br>Ezra 5:1 | Written about 520 B.C. |
| ZECHARIAH<br>Ezra 5:1 | Written about 520 B.C. |
| MALACHI | Prob. written in 5th cent. B.C. |

*Names of those prophets who wrote books of the Bible are printed in capital letters. The right-hand columns give names and dates of kings associated with each prophet. Each kings' dates include his entire reign, even if part of it was in association with a preceding king, as was often the case. Since the evidence for precise dating is generally scanty, and since in ancient reckonings years did not begin in the same month as today, but varied in different areas, dates given by authorities sometimes differ by one or two years.

Under the name of each non-writing prophet Scripture references are given to his main activities, but none are given for writers of Bible books except when there is an important mention in some other book, or when a reference is important to show the time of his activity.

a measuring stick to show how soon God would cause Ahaz's faithless scheme to produce results quite different from what he had expected. Thus the prediction was that before the child reached the age when he could make simple choices, the two kings who were menacing Judah would have disappeared (v. 16), and the great depopulation caused by the Assyrian invasion would have resulted in a situation where crops that require human labor would be greatly diminished. Much of the land would revert to thorns and thistles for lack of workers to cultivate it (vv. 23-25), but pasture land would be so abundant that everyone left could have an abundant supply of such products as butter and honey (clearly stated in vv. 21-22, but already suggested in v. 15). Thus v. 14 pointed to a single event that would occur 700 years later, whereas vv. 15-25 described the situation that would develop in the immediate future. Each part of the prediction had a single fulfillment, and any attempt to consider them as having a "double fulfillment" simply leads to obscurity.

**5. The perspective of prophecy.** In most cases predictions relate clearly to one or more of the purposes of prophecy (cf. above, section V.B). Mere satisfaction of curiosity about the future is not one of these purposes. God gave his people encouragement and taught them the great truths of his plan of redemption, but he did not choose to reveal all the details of the sequence of events in the working

out of his plan. The arrangement of the predictions is to a great extent purposeful rather than chronological. This is illustrated in Isa. 7 (as already discussed), where a distant prediction, given for encouragement to the house of David and to the people of God, and at the same time to rebuke Ahaz, is followed by an immediate prediction mainly involving rebuke to Ahaz.

Usually predictions were given with a definite relation to an immediate situation. Thus the prophet rebuked the nation for its errors and then went on to encourage the people of God by showing something of the wonderful blessings that God would bring in the future for those who were true to him. Next a description of the wickedness or mistakes of the prophet's contemporaries were described and its punishment foretold, and this was followed by a description of a corresponding portion of God's future blessing.

An illustration that is apropos is a region where a series of high mountain ranges, one behind the other, are visible. At some points a mountain in the first range is prominent. Next to it a peak from the third range back is visible, and next to that, one from the second range is visible. Then a peak in the front range again seems most prominent whereas a high peak in the fourth range back may appear almost to touch it; the relative distances of the several ranges is difficult to perceive. Similarly, it is not always possible fully to discern the order of predicted events, since the presentation often is arranged according to subjects rather than to chronology.

There is no way to know exactly how much the prophets themselves understood of the details of God's plan for the future or of the chronological arrangement of these details. One can be sure that they were curious to know more than was actually revealed to them. Peter says that they were "trying to find out the time and circumstances to which the Spirit of Christ in them was pointing when he predicted the sufferings of Christ and the glories that would follow" (1 Pet. 1:11).

## VI. Prophets and prophecy in the NT

***A. The new period of prophecy.*** As indicated above (cf. II.E), the OT prophetic movement came to an end about 400 years before the time of Christ. Josephus states that many Jewish books were written after the end of the OT, but that none of them were considered as infallible because "the exact succession of the prophets had ceased" (*Ag. Ap.* 1.8). Prophets were sent to God's people not only to give them the guidance that was needed before the entire Bible was available as the infallible source of knowledge of God's will, but also to present the revelations that ultimately would be included in the Word of God. Since it was God's will to give another Testament, presenting new revelations of his will and character and depicting the most important events in history—the accomplishment of redemption as predicted in the OT—it would be natural to expect a new period of prophecy. This new period differed from the first in that it extended over a much shorter period of time; and also, it did not generally relate to an entire nation, but specifically it focused on the development of the church. The function of a prophet was overshadowed to a considerable extent by the leadership of the officers appointed for the development and direction of the church of Christ. Therefore NT prophets were less conspicuous than those of the former prophetic movement.

***B. Importance of prophets and prophecy in the NT.*** The casual Bible reader is not apt to realize that the NT contains as many references to prophets and prophecy in proportion to its length as the OT does. Not only was this a new period of revelation, but also many references were included to the former period of revelation. The central character in the NT, Jesus Christ, is the greatest prophet of all (cf. Deut. 18:15-19). His offices as priest and king may assume greater proportions in the mind of

the average reader, but his prophetic activity should not be overlooked. The term *prophet* is applied to him about a dozen times.

In his capacity as prophet, Jesus Christ exposed the sin of human beings, showed the way of salvation through trust in himself, encouraged God's people, revealed the nature of God to an extent never before shown, and made clear God's pattern for those who are saved. More space in the Gospels is taken up by the account of his prophetic activities, that is, his revealing of God's truth, than by his other actions: "he taught them as one who had authority, and not as their teachers of the law" (Matt. 7:29).

John the Baptist, the forerunner of Christ, was a prophet in the true OT sense. A great part of his activity consisted in rebuking the people for their sin, declaring the punishment that would come, warning them of the wrath to come, and urging them to repent. He spoke unhesitatingly of sin in high places in ways reminiscent of the activities of Elijah and Isaiah, and he lost his life as a direct consequence (Mk. 6:18-27).

Many of those who exercised the prophetic function in NT times were more conspicuous in other activities, such as the task of the apostles in overseeing the establishment of the church. In addition to the times when the term is applied to Christ, and the five times it is used of John the Baptist, the NT occasionally designates other individuals as prophets or prophetesses, or says that they prophesied. These include ZECHARIAH, the father of John the Baptist (Lk. 1:67); AGABUS (Acts 11:28; 21:10); BARNABAS, Simeon NIGER, LUCIUS, and MANAEN in ANTIOCH OF SYRIA (13:1); JUDAS and SILAS (15:32); and the daughters of PHILIP the evangelist (21:9).

CAIAPHAS, the high priest, is described in Jn. 11:51 as uttering a prophecy. This brings out the clear distinction between the character of a man and his position as a mouthpiece for God's revelation, for in this case the Lord caused one of the opponents of Christ to utter words that would convey a vital truth that was different from anything Caiaphas intended to express.

In Ephesians, Paul speaks of apostles and prophets as God's gift to his church in its early days (Eph. 2:20; 3:5; 4:11). Another passage, 1 Cor. 11-14, refers many times to men and women as prophesying in the church gatherings, thus describing individuals in the church who either claimed to be acting as mouthpieces of God or who were simply giving forth the true message of God that they had received through a portion of his Word.

A false prophet named BAR-JESUS is mentioned in Acts 13:6, while Rev. 2:20 speaks of "that woman Jezebel, who calls herself a prophetess." The apostle John urged that believers "test the spirits to see whether they are from God, because many false prophets have gone out into the world" (1 Jn. 4:1). (See further E. E. Ellis, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity* [1978]; D. E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* [1983]; M. E. Boring in *ABD,* 5:495-502.)

***C. NT references to OT prophets.*** The NT recognizes the OT as the foundation for understanding the great events connected with the life of Christ; consequently there are many references in the NT to the OT prophets. Jesus rebuked the disciples for not believing "all that the prophets have spoken" (Lk. 24:25). He designated the OT as "the Law and the Prophets" (Matt. 5:17; 22:40; Lk. 16:16; Jn. 1:45) or as "Moses and the Prophets" (Lk. 16:29, 31; 24:27). In the NT, many OT individuals are specifically called prophets or described as prophesying. These include Balaam (2 Pet. 2:15-16), David (Acts 2:29-30), Daniel (Matt. 24:15; Mk. 13:14), Elisha (Lk. 4:27), Enoch (Jude 14), Isaiah (8 passages), Jeremiah (Matt. 2:17; 27:9), Joel (Acts 2:16), Jonah (Matt. 12:39; 16:4; Lk. 11:29), and Samuel (Acts 13:20).

***D. Prediction in the NT.*** In the NT, as in the OT, prediction plays a considerable part in the prophetic work. It accomplishes the same purposes as those described above (section V.B). Sometimes it authenticated a speaker as God's representative. Sometimes it enabled God's people to know what to do under particular circumstances. Jesus Christ gave many important predictions about the consummation of the age and promised that after his departure the Holy Spirit would reveal to his followers further information about God's plan for the future: "and he will tell you what is yet to come" (Jn. 16:13). One book of the NT, the Revelation of John, is devoted mainly to predicting the great events that will occur at the consummation of the age.

***E. The cessation of NT prophecy.*** The new period of prophecy, like the earlier one (cf. above, section II.E), came to an end when this portion of God's Word was completed. The end of this period, when new divine revelations would no longer be given, was not immediately apparent. As in the case of the OT, they simply ceased. The entire Bible was written. Thereafter men in the church were called prophets only in the extended sense of presenting God's people truths received, not by direct revelation, but from careful study of the completed and infallible Word of God.

(In addition to the works mentioned in the body of this article, see E. W. Hengstenberg, *Christology of the Old Testament* [1854]; C. von Orelli, *Old Testament Prophecy* [1885]; R. B. Girdlestone, *The Grammar of Prophecy* [1901]; A. B. Davidson, *Old Testament Prophecy* [1903]; W. J. Beecher, *The Prophets and the Promise* [1905]; A. Guillaume, *Prophecy and Divination* [1938]; E. J. Young, *My Servants the Prophets* [1952]; B. D. Napier, *Prophets in Perspective* [1963]; C. Westermann, *Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech* [1967]; S. J. Schultz, *The Prophets Speak* [1968]; R. R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* [1980]; K. Koch, *The Prophets, 2* vols. [1983-84]; W. A. Grudem, *The Gift of Prophecy in the New Testament and Today* [1988]; T. W. Overholt, *Channels of Prophecy: The Social Dynamics of Prophetic Activity* [1989]; W. VanGemeren, *Interpreting the Prophetic Word* [1990]; C. Forbes, *Prophecy and Inspired Speech in Early Christianity and Its Hellenistic Environment* [1995]; C. Wester mann, *Prophetic Oracles of Salvation in the Old Testament* [1991]; J. Blenkinsopp, A *History of Prophecy in Israel,* rev. ed. [1996]; R. E. Clements, *Old Testament Prophecy: From Oracles to Canon* [1996]; D. E. Gowan, *Theology of the Prophetic Books: The Death and Resurrection of Israel* [1999]; B. Uffenheimer, *Early Prophecy in Israel* [1999]; R. B. Chisholm, Jr., *Handbook on the Prophets* [2002]; D. L. Petersen, *The Prophetic Literature: An Introduction* [2002]; E. W. Conrad, *Reading the Latter Prophets: Toward a New Canonical Criticism* [2003]; C. R. Seitz, *Prophecy and Hermeneutics: Toward a New Introduction to the Prophets* [2007]; D. B. Sandy and D. M. O'Hare, *Prophecy and Apocalyptic: An Annotated Bibliography* [2007]. See also the bibliographies under ELIJAH, ELISHA, and SAMUEL and the articles devoted to individual prophetic books.)

A. A. MACRAE

**propitiation.** The verb *propitiate* means "to (re) gain someone's favor, to appease," and thus the noun *propitiation* refers either to "the act of pacifying a person or deity" or to "something, such as a sacrifice, that brings about conciliation." The noun is used by the KJV and other versions (e.g., NASB, ESV) to render the Greek word *hilastērion G2663* in one passage (Rom. 3:25, where both the NIV and the NRSV have "sacrifice of atonement"), and in two other passages to render *hilasmos G2662* (1 Jn. 2:2 and 4:10, where both NIV and NRSV have "atoning sacrifice"). In all three passages, the RSV and other versions have "expiation."

Propitiation is closely related to EXPIATION. The difference in meaning may be summarized as follows: *a person* who is angry or offended is propitiated, that is, appeased; whereas *sin and guilt,* which weigh upon the conscience of the offender, are expiated, that is, removed or wiped away. A significant debate in biblical and theological studies concerns the question of whether or not the Bible ever speaks of God as being propitiated. This difference of opinion usually lies behind the choice of one term or the other in the translation of the passages mentioned above. In like manner, the same passages cited in an article on propitiation are in another article cited to illumine the idea of expiation. Behind this striking lack of consensus is a fundamental theological issue, namely, how shall one conceive of the WRATH of God?

In classic pagan usage the words *hilasmos* and *hilastērion* were used of averting the wrath of the gods. Renewed favor with heaven was won for the offender by his offering a gift or SACRIFICE to atone for his trespass. It is therefore argued that if we insist on speaking of God as being propitiated, we turn the loving God of the Bible into a capricious and vindictive deity who inflicts punishment on those who do not bribe him with their gifts and offerings (cf. C. H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks* [1935], 82-95). Obviously this is not the kind of God the Bible reveals, and thus some conclude that God cannot be propitiated. In its most consistent formulation, this view involves the denial of divine wrath altogether as incompatible with the truth that God is LOVE.

Whereas it is correct to say that the Bible never expressly makes God the object of the verb *propitiate,* it is quite another matter to say that the Bible knows nothing of divine wrath and propitiation. It is a fundamental datum of Scripture that because God is a holy God, he is angry with all who are guilty of wrongdoing. It is said that there are more than twenty different words used to express the wrath of God in the OT, with over 580 occurrences of these words. "I am about to pour out my wrath on you," says the Lord (Ezek. 7:8). Jeremiah affirms: "The anger of the LORD will not turn back / until he fully accomplishes / the purposes of his heart" (Jer. 23:20). The psalmist laments, "You have rejected us, O God, and burst forth upon us; / you have been angry—now restore us!" (Ps. 60:1). To be sure, wrath is God's "strange" work (Isa. 28:21) and MERCY his "proper" work; but wrath is nonetheless *his* work, even though God is "slow to anger, abounding in love" (Ps. 103:8).

The same is true of the teaching of the NT. Although the dark theme of the divine wrath is not so heavily underscored as in the OT, it was a real part of the earliest Christian concept of God. Some scholars have insisted that in the teaching of Jesus and the apostles, God's mercy becomes universal and the wrath of God is simply a figurative way of describing the impersonal law that is operative in a moral universe, a law that makes it impossible to sin with impunity.

Even a casual perusal of the NT, however, shows that its authors do not think in terms of impersonal law, but of divine activity (Rom. 1:18-19). The "law" that sin leads to more sin and finally to destruction is not enunciated in impersonal terms. It is God who gives up the sinner to "impurity" (v. 24), to "shameful lusts" (v. 26), and to a "depraved mind" (v. 28). This is the manner in which God reveals his wrath from heaven.

In this context of God's personal activity, the verb *hilaskomai G2661* and its derivatives, when used in the NT to interpret the work of Christ, should be understood in the sense of propitiation of the divine wrath. Perhaps the most important passage in this regard is Rom. 3:25, where PAUL states that God set forth Christ as a *hilastērion* for sinners. This Greek noun is used in the SEPTUAGINT to designate the "mercy seat," that is, the cover on the ARK OF THE COVENANT that was the "place of propitiation" in the Day of Atonement ritual (see ATONEMENT, DAY OF). Since in this passage Paul is not discussing the details of the sacrificial system, and since it is somewhat complicated to think of Christ as both the sacrifice and the place where the sacrifice was offered, many scholars prefer to

understand the passage to say that God presented Christ to be a "propitiation" or "propitiatory sacrifice" through faith in his blood. In any case, the general meaning is that those who are out of favor are restored to favor because of a changed response, not in those who by faith plead the blood, but in the One to whom it is offered. See ATONEMENT.

With this interpretation agrees the affirmation in Heb. 2:17, where it is said that Christ had to share in our human nature "in order that he might make propitiation with reference to the sins of the people" (author's trans.). There being no direct reference in this passage to the divine wrath, it would be possible to argue that the verb means "expiate," taking its meaning from its object, "the sins of the people." In the larger context of the epistle as a whole, however, Christ is the High Priest "in things pertaining to God," which gives the passage a Godward rather than a manward reference.

John wrote, "If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: and he is the propitiation for our sins" (1 Jn. 2:1-2 KJV). He further declares that God "loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins" (4:10 KJV). Here the case for "expiation" is less plausible than in Heb. 2:17, for Christ is called an "advocate with the Father" (1 Jn. 2:1; see PARACLETE). Now if God is so related to the sinner that the latter needs an "advocate," this implies that Christ does more than purge guilt; he stands between the sinner and God, which suggests propitiation. Furthermore, John in this letter alludes both to Christ's blood and to the fact that he is the "righteous one," which is reminiscent of the confluence of ideas (1:7; cf. Rom. 3:25).

Note should be taken of the important truth that this propitiation in Christ does not originate, as in heathen worship, with the one who brings the sacrifice. Rather it is God himself, motivated by love, who provides the propitiation as a free gift. In this teaching are preserved both the severity of the divine reaction against sin and the depths of the divine love for the sinner.

If one reduces the language of Scripture from "propitiation" to "expiation" in all instances, the question must still be answered, Why should sins be expiated? What would happen if no expiation were provided? Can one deny that, according to the teaching of Scripture, sinners will die in their sins? The logical implication of the denial of propitiation as unworthy of God is the teaching that God will ultimately manifest his forgiving love to everyone, regardless of how one is related to Christ—a point of view that is increasingly the vogue, but one that is contrary to Scripture.

Furthermore, the very idea of "canceling guilt" or "removing sin" implies a personal dimension. Unless one wants to reduce guilt to "guilty feelings," he cannot speak of removing guilt by expiation without implying a change in relationship between two persons, namely God on the one hand and the sinner on the other. In discussions that dismiss propitiation of "an angry and fickle deity" as characteristic of a primitive stage of Israelite religion, one sometimes finds the concession that perhaps expiation should be understood as necessary for turning away the anger of God.

In conclusion, the idea of the divine wrath is not due to Greek influence upon Christian theology. The Greek philosophers considered it unthinkable to predicate of the divine being the emotion of anger, or for that matter, any emotion. The only reason, therefore, that Christian faith continues to speak of propitiating the divine displeasure against sin is that this is an endemic strand of biblical revelation. (See further L. Morris, *The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross,* [1955]; C. Breytenbach, *Versöhnung: Eine Studie zur paulinischen Soteriologie* [1989], 84-95; *NIDNTT,* 3:148-66.)

P. K. JEWETT

**proselyte** pros'uh-l*i*t. The Greek *prosēlytos G4670* ("one who has come, sojourner, visitor") is the usual SEPTUAGINT rendering of the Hebrew noun *gēr H1731,* "one who lives in a foreign community, alien" (cf. the use of the Gk. term with its cognate verb, *ean de tis proselthē pros hymas prosēlytos,*

Exod. 12:48). The term came to be applied to those who wholly or partially joined themselves to the religious life of Israel. How the meaning shifted from "stranger" to "convert" is related to the history of JUDAISM, particularly just before the advent of Christianity.

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**I. The original OT meaning.** The term gēr was undoubtedly used at first for a resident alien, not necessarily committed to the faith of Israel, but it was also employed for Israelites living outside the land (Gen. 15:13; Exod. 23:9; see FOREIGNER). Aliens in Israel were obligated to observe the fast of the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16:29); they are also mentioned specifically in connection with other laws (cf. 24:16; 20:2). In OT times, the Israelites in general rule did not actively propagate their faith (JONAH is an exception), but the Hebrew word indicates an immigrant in the process of assimilation. In Semitic communities, rights were related to blood kinship; however, it was possible to arrange an artificial (legal) relationship. One without a relative to protect him could become a follower of a chief or tribe to insure himself of this advantage. The customs of hospitality also have application here. A guest, once inside the tent of his host, was protected. The honor of the leader of a tribe or group made it a matter of personal obligation to see that no harm came to the guest, for violation of hospitality was never condoned. Although this tie between guest and host was short, it could be made more permanent by agreement. In such cases, it obligated the whole group to observe the arrangement.

Sometimes an agreement could be made by COVENANT oath; for example, ABRAHAM and ISAAC as sojourners in GERAR made a covenant with ABIMELECH (Gen. 21:32; 26:28). Foreigners in Israel, for their own protection, needed to learn "what the god of the land requires" (2 Ki. 17:26-28). Examples of non-Israelites who are described as worshiping the Lord include HAGAR (Gen. 16:7-13), ELIEZER of Damascus (24:2; cf. 15:2), RAHAB (Josh. 2:1, 11), the Gibeonites (Josh. 9; see GIBEON), the Gittites OBED-EDOM and ITTAI (2 Sam. 6:10-11; 15:19-22; see GATH), URIAH the Hittite (11:11), and the widow of ZAREPHATH (1 Ki. 17:12).

Since political and religious life were so interrelated, immigrants had to participate in religious

rites to have full standing in the tribe. If they were refugees, removed from the worship of their own country, they would be expected to serve the gods of their new land (1 Sam. 26:19). The Gibeonites under subjection became permanent personnel at the worship center of Israel (Josh. 9:27). Ezekiel depicts a situation in which uncircumcised and evidently unconverted foreigners are not to be allowed entrance to sacred service (Ezek. 44:7-9).

From early days, different elements had attached themselves to the people of Israel (Exod. 12:38). In the periods before the EXILE, numbers of foreigners settled among Israel. When SOLOMON took a census of all aliens in his realm (a census distinct from that which his father had ordered and that may not have distinguished between native and foreign populations), their number was 153,600 (2 Chr. 2:17). He assigned more than half of them to labor on royal public projects. They may well have been descendants of the Canaanites, and thus were not first-class citizens.

OT references often link the alien with the poor, the widow, and the orphan; with them he was included in the third-year tithe (Lev. 19:10; 22:13; Deut. 14:29; 24:17). As laborer for wages (Lev. 19:13), he was sometimes wealthy (Deut. 28:43-44). The Mosaic law forbad the Israelite either to oppress him or withhold his livelihood (24:14; 27:19; Ezek. 22:29). At times, Israel was called upon to remember their former alien status in Egypt (Exod. 22:21; 23:9), which was sufficient motivation for them to treat the stranger kindly and with love (Lev. 19:34; Deut. 10:18-19). In essence, the foreigner was looked upon as a temporary resident, whereas the *gēr* was more or less permanent, in some measure accepted within Israelite society.

**II. The LXX usage.** The Greek word *prosēlytos* occurs more than eighty times in the LXX, almost


Openings that lead to chambers where storage jars were found containing the name "Gibeon." During the days of Joshua, the non-Israelite inhabitants of Gibeon were regarded as aliens who entered into a special relationship with the people of God.

always as a translation of *gēr*. It is not found in classical sources (except for an isolated occurrence in Apollonius of Rhodes), so it must have been brought into use from colloquial areas. Another term, *paroikos G4230,* is found in texts where the people of Israel are said to be strangers in a foreign land (Gen. 15:13; 23:4; Exod. 2:22; 18:3), or where a godly person is viewed as an alien on earth (1 Chr. 29:15; Ps. 39:12). The predominant use of *prosēlytos* in the LXX is for a non-Israelite who has assimilated into the Israelite culture and thus by implication is a convert from another faith. The proselyte, even if he is a circumcised convert, remains still a foreign resident in Palestine. In the LXX, the word never refers to converts to Judaism if they still live in a foreign country (cf. F. C. Porter in

*HDB,* 4:133). Here there is a distinction from the NT usage.

**III. The change in meaning.** There were several contributing factors in the shift in meaning from "sojourner" to "convert."

***A. Dispersion, a contributing cause.*** With the exile came a radical change in Israel's attitude and outlook. During the postexilic period, Judaism came to be characterized by a definite missionary spirit, which increased in intensity during the Greek and Roman periods but faded with the rise of Christianity. With the deportation of the northern kingdom to ASSYRIA in the latter part of the 8th cent. B.C., numbers of Israelites lived outside Palestine (2 Ki. 17:6). This condition was accelerated with the three Babylonian deportations of the southern kingdom by NEBUCHADNEZZAR. Already in Solomon's day, trade and commerce had stimulated the process of travel outside the land of promise (1 Ki. 9:26; 10:28). From archaeological sources, it is known there was a colony of Jewish mercenaries at ELEPHANTINE in Egypt in the 5th cent. They enjoyed religious freedom and had a temple to the Lord. The book of Esther reveals that Jews were settled throughout the provinces of the Persian empire (Esth. 3:8). Both exilic and postexilic writers speak repeatedly of gathering the dispersed of Israel and Judah from all quarters of the earth (1 Chr. 16:35; Ps. 106:47; Isa. 11:12; 56:8; Jer. 23:3; Ezek. 34:13; Zeph. 3:10; Zech. 10:10).

After the 6th cent. B.C., most of the Jewish nation did not live in Palestine. In addition to Assyria and Babylonia, Egypt became a place of their sojourn. This speeded up the process of Israel's acculturation, whereby many Jews adopted Hellenistic patterns of thought and attitude while adhering to the old faith in dietary matters and chaste manner of life. The prolonged struggle between the Ptolemies and Seleucids activated some movement of population again from Palestine, the center of the conflict. JOSEPHUS cites a number of instances where Jews accepted the paganism of Greece and forsook the religion of their people (cf. Jos. *War* 2.18.7-8; 5.1.6; 7.2.3).

ALEXANDER THE GREAT settled 8,000 Jews in Thebais, Egypt. One third of the population of ALEXANDRIA was Jewish. There was hardly a commercial center in ASIA MINOR, MACEDONIA, GREECE, or the AEGEAN area without a Jewish community. Josephus (*Ant. 14.7.2)* quoted Strabo as stating: "It is hard to find a place in the habitable earth that hath not admitted this tribe of men, and is not possessed by them." Numerous books on Judaism were written anonymously (like the SIBYLLINE ORACLES) to impress pagan readers. Many Gentiles, as a result, visited synagogues and even kept some of the Jewish customs.

***B. Inherent mandate in Judaism.*** This was every bit as significant for proselytizing as the factor just discussed. The accepted ideal in Judaism has always been that there should be no uncircumcised aliens in the Holy Land. Wherever the Jews went in foreign countries, they took with them their monotheistic faith. Furthermore, the prophets had emphasized again and again that Israel's mission in the world is to bring the nations to the knowledge of the true God. There was an inherent motivation in the messages of the prophets, who proclaimed a timeless and universal truth (e.g., Isa. 2:2-4; 49:5, 6; Jer. 3:17; 4:2; 12:16; Zeph. 3:9; Zech. 8:20-23; 14:16-19). These expectations are at times mingled with both eschatological and apocalyptic events. The case of NAAMAN the Aramean is one of conversion of a foreigner living outside Palestine to the worship of Israel's God (2 Ki. 5:15-19). Malachi gives the broad view of MONOTHEISM becoming the universal faith (Mal. 1:11). Thus the Jewish view was not altogether as narrow as some have claimed.

***C. Attractions in Judaism.*** Evidence is at hand that in postexilic times many foreigners were drawn to the Jewish religion and were assimilated to it. Intermarriage also aided the process. At one time the practice had so flourished that drastic steps had to be taken to oppose it as contrary to the will of God (Ezra 9-10; Neh. 13). Nothing in the canon of Scripture indicates any disfavor attaching to RUTH'S marriage with an Israelite and her position as ancestor of David and Messiah (cf. Deut. 23:3; Neh. 13:1). In her case is found the first use of the expression "to take refuge under the wings of the Lord" (Ruth 2:12; cf. Ps. 91:4; Matt. 23:37; Lk. 13:34). This phrase later became practically a technical term for conversion to Judaism. Isaiah 56:1-8 is important for its clear acceptance of the foreigner as a convert. Whether this passage warrants the belief that such aliens were subjected to discrimination is open to question. It is also a moot subject as to whether these individuals were required to undergo the rite of CIRCUMCISION.

**IV. The Persian period.** In the book of Esther is the first occurrence of a term for conversion, genuine or pretended, to Judaism (Esth. 8:17). It is stated that many "became Jews" or "professed to be Jews" (NRSV, NJPS). The verb form (hithp. of *yāhad H3366*) is said to point more to a pretended than genuine experience, especially when fear of the Jews was so general in the realm at that time (this verb occurs only here in the OT and rarely in later Hebrew). The rabbis spoke of the "Esther proselyte" and the "lion proselyte" (2 Ki. 17:25) as false experiences.

**V. The Maccabean era.** In the wake of the successful campaigns of Judas MACCABEE and his followers, compulsory conversion of subjugated peoples—largely motivated by political considerations—was adopted as a policy by the rulers of the HASMONEAN dynasty (Jos. *Ant.* 13.11.3; 13.15.4). Knowingly or unknowingly, they were following the practice of ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes. Actually, the rabbis never approved of compulsory conversions; in rabbinical law (*b. Yebamot* 48b) not even a slave is to be converted by force. Because the Hasmonean rule was not supported completely by the religious Jews, the truth of universalism inherent in Jewish ethical monotheism was not hindered in its development. The family of HEROD, a converted IDUMEAN, always insisted on conversion (with circumcision included) for those they married. This tradition, it can be seen, was politically motivated.

**VI. The Greek world.** Jewish proselytism went on apace in the Greek period (Tob. 1:8; Jdt. 14:10). As a minority in the Mediterranean world, the Jews became intensely self-conscious. The Greeks and others were quite curious of Jewish customs and rites and were fascinated by them. The great attraction was the Jewish morality founded on ethical monotheism. Seeking minds among Greeks who had cast off pagan ways were drawn to the Jewish doctrine of God with all its exalted implications for thought and life. Both the theology and ethics of the Jewish faith appealed to the Greek interest in ideas. The tolerance of the Greeks toward them led the Jews to emphasize the universal elements in their religion and soften those that might trouble the Greek mind. In this atmosphere, the Jew felt himself superior religiously to other nations (Rom. 2:19-20). The result was a vigorous propagation of Judaism in cities where Jews resided in large numbers, as in Alexandria. The translation of the OT into Greek not only benefited the Jews, but made it much easier to spread Judaism among Gentiles. The Jews prepared an extensive literature in Greek. For example, a great portion of the literary activity of PHILO JUDAEUS was intended to make Judaism respectable and acceptable to the Greeks. Even Josephus in exile was an apologist for Judaism in the latter part of his life. Converts needed instruction before and after admission to Judaism. Manuals for instruction were probably composed,

and various passages (such as Pss. 15; 24; 34:13-15; Isa. 33:14-16) may have been employed for catechumens.

**VII. The Roman period.** Jews had settled in Rome as early as the 2nd cent. B.C. The first immigrants to Rome were so intense in their zeal to proselytize that they incurred the fear and displeasure of the Roman authorities, who expelled the chief participants in 139 B.C. By the early part of the 1st cent. B.C., numerous Jews were in ROME and throughout Italy. They were especially numerous in EGYPT and CYRENE, where even non-Jews often followed their mode of living. Jewish quarters sprang up in different cities, and in some cases they were permitted self-rule and their own courts. When POMPEY gained his victory in 63 B.C., he took many Jews captive to Rome where they were sold into slavery; later they would gain their freedom and become Roman citizens.

***A. Reaction against the Jews.*** Writers like Cicero, Tacitus, Juvenal, and Horace spoke derogatorily of the Jews and their customs and defamed their religion. They were accused of being opposed to strangers, an argument the Jews refuted by reference to the humane legislation of the Mosaic law with regard to foreigners and aliens. Anti-Jewish feelings broke into violence at times, notably in Alexandria and Damascus.

***B. Philo and proselytes.*** PHILO JUDAEUS mingled the Jewish and Greek cultures. In many ways he approximated Hellenistic thinking, but he was tireless in behalf of Judaism, always seeking to influence non-Jews to follow his faith. Since Israel had lost all political existence, he stressed the religious factors in Jewish life rather than the national. He labored to demonstrate the ethical superiority of Judaism over pagan immorality. He often praised the converts in Alexandria. It was difficult in the extreme for the proselytes to turn from their ingrained paganism to the new way of life. He asked for special treatment for them from the Jews (Lev. 19:34). The proselyte, to his thinking, was as good or better than the native Jew, because he had come to the truth not by birth but by a deliberate choice.

Philo had an intermediate category for those who were neither born Jews nor full converts. He employed the term *metoikos* ("settler, immigrant") for them, and they were permitted to settle with limited privileges among Palestinian Jews (cf. Lev. 22:10; 25:47). The rabbinic literature recognizes those who, though uncircumcised, do obey the ethical requirements of the laws of Moses (*b. ʿAbodah Zarah* 64b). The rabbinic distinction was between the full convert, *gēr ṣedeq* ("alien of righteousness"), and the intermediate follower, *gēr tôšāb* ("resident alien"). The latter accepted monotheism and the Jewish practices, but not the ritual of Judaism. He was uncircumcised and had no formal link with the Jewish community. The former entered into all the duties and rites of the congregation. His descendants of the third generation attained full status as Jews. Philo seems to have made no hard-and-fast distinctions between the two classes of proselytes, but his view is not clear.

***C. Josephus and proselytes.*** JOSEPHUS does not use the term *prosēlytos,* but he speaks of converts as those who renounce their former way of life, follow the Jewish customs, and worship God according to the Jewish faith, whom the Jews have accepted among themselves *(Ant.* 20.2.1-3; *War* 7.3.3). For Josephus, they were Jews who kept the Mosaic laws and lived a Jewish life.

**VIII. The spread of Judaism.** The success of Jewish missionary activity is abundantly attested. Roman writers referred repeatedly to the presence of Jews and their followers everywhere. Before

the Christian era, Judaism had sympathizers and converts throughout the Roman empire. In writing *Against Apion* (2.40), Josephus boasted that there was no city where Jewish customs and virtues were not observed and imitated. In Palestine, as well as in Rome, proselytes were important in numbers and position. The Tannaitic rabbis (see MISHNAH) would not have discussed their reception so thoroughly otherwise.

***A. Women converts.*** Women outnumbered by far the male converts. This is explained in large part by the fact that CIRCUMCISION, which was always a formidable hindrance to a potential male convert, was not applicable to women. The famous conversion of the house of Adiabene (E of the Euphrates) through Helena, the queen mother, was one of the most significant successes of Jewish missionary effort. Loyal to Judaism, this dynasty fought alongside the Jews against the Romans in A.D. 67-70. Josephus (*War* 2.20.2) speaks of the women of Damascus, who all but a few had come to the Jewish religion.

***B. Types of converts: God-fearers and worshipers of God.*** There are those who hold to only one type of convert, the one who is a circumcised foreigner but who has obligated himself to keep the whole law (Gal. 5:3). Some argue that "proselytes of the gate" have nothing to do with the "worshipers of God." Emil G. Hirsch *(in JE,* 20:220-24) claims that, whatever may have been the connotations of *gēr,* biblical writers refer to proselytes by paraphrases and circumlocutions (e.g., Exod. 12:48, the alien who is circumcised; Isa. 14:1, strangers who "unite with the house of Jacob"; Deut. 23:8, "may enter the assembly of the LORD"; Isa. 56:3, 6, those who "bind themselves" to the Lord). W. Robertson Smith and W. H. Bennett (in *EncBib,* 3:3901-05) maintain that synonymous with proselyte are the God-fearers and worshipers of God (Acts 10; 13:16, 26, 50; 16:14; 17:4, 17; 18:7). Kirsopp Lake (in *BC,* 5:80-84) held that "fractional proselytes are impossible," but this does not deal adequately with the facts of the case. There is ample evidence of those who did not submit to all the procedures of full conversion to Judaism.

It is undoubtedly true that for every full convert to Judaism there were many partial converts who accepted almost all of Judaism in the realm of belief and practice with the exception of circumcision. They were referred to in the 1st cent. as "those who fear [worship] God." On the ground of Acts 13:16, 26, 43, some have equated "God-fearer" with "proselyte." This cannot hold, because, when PAUL left the Corinthian Jews to go to the Gentiles, he proceeded to the home of Titius JUSTUS, who was called a "worshiper of God," though evidently an uncircumcised Gentile (18:7). According to the strict Jewish view, no one was considered a proselyte if he did not keep all the law, and this was impossible without circumcision. A similar case is the godly Gentile CORNELIUS (10:28; 11:3 with 10:2, 22). Acts 2:10 cannot be used to mean proselytes were not also Jews. The intent is apparently to state that there were born Jews and converts to Judaism, yes, even godly individuals who were not full converts.

Discussing the categories of proselyte of righteousness and proselyte of the gate, W. Robertson Smith denies any such group as the second. He cites Emil Schürer as authority that proselytes and fearers (worshipers) of God are all synonymous. His reasoning is that in his polemic against the Judaizers, Paul always assumed that circumcision was indispensable to converts to Judaism.

**IX. Proselytes in the NT.** The *term prosēlytos* occurs in the NT only four times (Matt. 23:15; Acts 2:10; 6:5; 13:43). The first text speaks of the

Reconstruction of 1st-cent. Jerusalem showing two buildings constructed by Queen Helena of Adiabene, who converted to Judaism.

zeal of the PHARISEES in proselytizing. Proselytes were present at PENTECOST (Acts 2:10). NICOLAS of Antioch was a proselyte (6:5) and was appointed one of the seven deacons in the early church. The ETHIOPIAN EUNUCH under Queen Candace was doubtless a proselyte (8:27). There were many such in ANTIOCH OF PISIDIA who followed Paul and Barnabas (13:43).

The words of Christ in Matt. 23:15 have puzzled many because of the well-known indifference of Jews to proselytizing. It has been referred to as an unusual incident, but there is other corroboration that Christ's statement was not overdrawn. Others understand 23:15 in the light of Paul's Jewish-Christian opponents and their proselytizing activity (Gal. 1:6-10; 3:1; 5:2-12).

The strong Jewish Christian community in Jerusalem, committed to the strict view of circumcision, continued the customary treatment of partial converts. Their deliberations resulted finally in the formula sent to Antioch (Acts 15:20-29; 21:25). Practices especially repulsive to Jews were prohibited to promote harmony. It is interesting to notice that these regulations were parallel with those in the TALMUD that were applicable to the resident alien. Complete satisfaction was not brought about for either party, and circumcision continued as an issue for some time. The events at Cornelius's home convinced Peter and the Jews accompanying him that the Holy Spirit recognized no value of circumcision in salvation (10:44-48). Paul refused to circumcise TITUS in spite of the legalizers (Gal. 2:3-5). The case of TIMOTHY was different (his mother was Jewish), so he was circumcised to give him greater acceptance among the Jews of Asia Minor (Acts 16:1-4). The problem of circumcision troubled Paul throughout his ministry, but his stand is clearly stated (Gal. 5:6).

**X. Admission and standing of proselytes.** Among the rabbis there was divergence of views here as on practically all other questions. Some viewed it of merit and in God's will to recruit proselytes. "Every one who brings a proselyte near, it is as though he had created him" (*Genesis Rabbah* 84:4). HILLEL, with his liberal attitudes, favored easing requirements for proselytes *(b. Šabbat* 31a), whereas Shammai, a strict constructionist, counseled vigorous testing. The process carried out for prospective proselytes was: (1) instruction by a scribe, (2) circumcision, (3) immersion (Lev. 11-15; Num. 19, which was ordered in cases of impurity). When the temple stood, a sacrifice was added.

There has been some opinion that proselytes were not required to be baptized after the destruction of the temple. It is generally held that baptism was part of the procedure from the

beginning. The baptismal ceremony indicated a new status, the beginning of a new life. In keeping with this concept, the convert took a new name. Many proselytes outstripped their teachers in zeal (Matt. 23:15). Some of Israel's greatest scholars (such as Rabbi AKIBA) were said to be proselytes or the children of such.

The rabbis were not agreed on the matter of circumcision. Some considered circumcision the main rite in conversion; others, baptism. In the 2nd-3rd centuries, when the polemic with the church was strong, the attitude stiffened toward the partial convert, although evidence points in the direction of acceptance in the period before Christianity.

When the prospective convert first approached a rabbi to express his desire to embrace Judaism, he was asked his reason for desiring to do so. He was informed of Israel's abject position in the world. If he indicated he knew this fact but was unworthy to bear these burdens, he was accepted. Then followed a period of instruction, which moved from easy to difficult commandments of the law. If willing to comply with the Mosaic law, he underwent circumcision. After recovery, he was immediately immersed. Coming forth from immersion, he was addressed by the congregation in this manner: "Unto whom hast thou given thyself? Blessed art thou, thou hast given thyself to God; the world was created for the sake of Israel, and only Israelites are called the children of God. The afflictions of which we spoke, we mentioned only to make thy reward the greater." After baptism, as a new person he was given a new name. From that time on his past was forgotten, even ties of marriage and kinship (*b. Sanh.* 58b).

Some became proselytes from less than worthy motives: fear (2 Ki. 17:25; Esth. 8:17); profit (in Alexandria the Jews enjoyed a privileged status); propaganda and force (under the Maccabean rulers). Others were motivated by the prevailing dissatisfaction with and skepticism of the national religions, which left a void. Some came because of superstition through an interpreter of dreams. Still others were moved by family ties and pressures.

What was the standing of the convert in Judaism? It was an awkward position, and attitudes toward him varied from time to time. Theory and practice did not tally. Many accorded equal privileges to converts in theory only. The convert could not speak of God as the "God of our fathers," only as "God of the fathers of Israel" *(m. Bikkurim* 1:4). This prohibition was later rescinded. Children of proselytes were considered full Jews when married to a Jew. Some rabbis were quite lenient and disposed toward them; others spoke most disparagingly of them (*b. Yebamot* 109b). Many doubt that the proselyte ever attained to actual, rather than theoretical, equality with Jewish-born adherents to Judaism. Some rabbis considered them actually inferior to a native Jew. Rabbi Chelbo said: "Proselytes are as injurious to Israel as a scab" (*b. Yebamot 47b; b. Qiddušin* 70b). It must be pointed out, however, that antipathy to proselytes, due in part to aversion for Herod who was a proselyte, was not shared by everyone in Judaism.

**XI. Decline in proselytizing.** The decline came with the increase in feeling against foreigners, resulting from the Jewish rebellions against Rome, the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, and the advent of Christianity. These attitudes were present in the 1st century but became pronounced in the 2nd to the 4th centuries. It appears there was a fairly high proportion of converts, full and partial, who reverted to their old way of life (*b. ʿAbodah Zarah* 41a). Some even blamed the delay of Messiahs advent on proselytes who were not careful in their practices. After the revolt of A.D. 132-135 under HADRIAN (see WARS, JEWISH), when many proselytes forsook the ranks, missionary zeal in Israel cooled considerably. Because of the bitterness rife at the time, the rabbis decided to make conversion as difficult as possible. Roman emperors issued unfavorable laws against Gentiles who

underwent circumcision, and conversions to Judaism were forbidden. On occasion, even the rabbis reported possible converts to the government. Jewish proselytizing did not stop entirely at any time. Outside the Roman empire the process went on, and notable successes were reported. It has even been suggested that the proselyte to Judaism never formed a mediating link between Jews and Gentiles; rather, he widened the difference.

**XII. Influence on Christianity.** Judaism's attacks on idolatry paved the way for the message of Christianity. Many credit the greater successes of Christianity to the fact that Paul announced freedom from the ritual laws including circumcision. Christianity's proclamation of a universal gospel not limited to any people or set of rules was the fulfillment of the message of the OT and the realization of the objective of God for which Israel was scattered among the nations. In conclusion, the proselytes surely paved the way for Christian witness to the Gentiles (as at Corinth, Acts 18:7).

(See further F. M. Derwachter, *Preparing the Way for Paul: The Proselyte Movement in Later Judaism* [1930]; L. Finkelstein in *JBL* 52 [1933]: 203—21; S. H. Hook in *Judaism and Christianity,* ed. W. O. E. Oesterley et al., 3 vols. [1937-38], 1:213-33; B. J. Bamberger, *Proselytism in the Talmudic Period* [1939]; S. Belkin, *Philo and the Oral Law* [1940], 44-48; J. Klausner, *From Jesus to Paul* [1944]; T. F. Torrance in *NTS* 1 [1954]: 150-54, with reply by T. M. Taylor, 2 [1956]: 193-98; N. Levison in *Scottish Journal of Theology* 10 [1957]: 45-56; S. Zeitlin in *JQR* 49 [1959]: 241-70; *HJP,* rev. ed. [1973-87], 3/1:150-76; L. H. Schiffman, *Who Was a Jew? Rabbinic and Halakhic Perspectives on the Jewish Christian Schism* [1985]; S. J. F. Cohen in *HTR* 82 [1989]: 13-33; S. McKnight, *A Light among the Gentiles: Jewish Missionary Activity in the Second Temple Period* [1991]; G. G. Porton, *The Stranger within Your Gates: Converts and Conversion in Rabbinic Literature* [1994]; M. Goodman, *Mission and Conversion: Proselytizing in the Religious History of the Roman Empire* [1994]; C. E. Hayes, *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Intermarriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud* [2002]; M. Finkelstein, *Conversion: Halakhah and Practice* [2006]; *TDNT,* 6:727-44; *ABD,* 5:503-5.)

C. L. FEINBERG

**prostitution.** A term connoting, in the broadest sense, the turning of an object or process from its rightful or natural use to a base one. In the narrower sense, it is the term for sexual relations engaged in outside of marriage for professional reasons, either mercenary or religious.

**I. Terminology.** The Bible uses three words to denote the prostitute. The most common OT word is *zōnâ H2390* (Gen. 34:31 et al.). It describes the secular prostitute who offers herself for money. In certain instances it appears to be a more general term encompassing the cult prostitute as well. There appears to be, however, a distinct term for the cult or religious prostitute, male or female: *qādēš H7728* (Deut. 23:17 et al., where KJV has "sodomite"; fem. *qĕdēšâ,* Gen. 38:21 et al.; the word comes from a root meaning "holy," i.e., "set apart for the use of the deity"). In addition, the term for "dog," *keleb H3978,* seems to be used with reference to cultic sodomites (v. 18; *HALOT,* 2:476, gives the meaning "pederast," but it may be more accurate to say "catamite," that is, a man or boy used by a pederast). It should be noted, however, that some scholars dispute the cultic interpretation of these terms (see *ABD,* 5:507-9, and section IV below). The NT word for "prostitute" is Greek *pornē G4520* (Matt. 21:31 et al.); in 1 Cor. 6:9, the NIV and NRSV use the debatable rendering "male prostitute" for *malakos G3434,* a word that means "soft," but also "effeminate," possibly referring to a catamite (see the discussion by A. C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians,*

NIGTC [2000], 448-51).

**II. Biblical attitudes toward prostitution.** In the OT, the practice of prostitution is clearly frowned upon, with numerous statements and statutes against it (see below); yet it is not absolutely condemned, and there are several instances where it is reported in a rather neutral atmosphere. JUDAH'S relations with TAMAR are spoken of without judgment (Gen. 38:6-24): it was his failure to comply with the law of LEVIRATE marriage that is depicted as the serious sin. The penalty of burning that Judah pronounced upon Tamar (before he knew his own part, 38:24) probably relates to the act of adultery more than to prostitution. (Cf. M. C. Astour in *JBL* 85 [1966]: 185-96.)

Similarly, SAMSON'S relations with a prostitute (Jdg. 16:1) are not condemned explicitly. Neither is RAHAB'S profession spoken of harshly; indeed, she is known in Scripture as "Rahab the prostitute" (Josh. 6:17, 25; Heb. 11:31; Jas. 2:25). During the united kingdom, it was two prostitutes who brought the baby to SOLOMON for adjudication (1 Ki. 3:16), and no word of condemnation is recorded. During the divided kingdom, prostitution continued to exist, for when HOSEA was ordered by God to marry a prostitute (lit., "woman of fornication," Hos. 1:2), he apparently had no difficulty in finding one (cf. also 1 Ki. 22:38). Finally, Jesus mentioned that harlots were among those who repented at John's preaching (Matt. 21:32; cf. Lk. 7:37, 39, where "sinner" prob. implies "harlot"). These references indicate that prostitution continued to be practiced within the Jewish community throughout the entire biblical period.

Nevertheless, the Bible makes it plain that while prostitution exists, it is not desirable. At the lowest level, a personal and social stigma was attached to the practice. DINAH'S brothers justified their attack upon Shechem because he had used their sister like a prostitute (Gen. 34:31). JEPHTHAH'S brothers drove him out of the family home because he was a prostitute's son (Jdg. 11:2). Part of AMAZIAH'S punishment for contradicting Amos's prophecies was that his wife would become a prostitute (Amos 7:17). On a deeper level, prostitution was not acceptable in God's sight; in particular, it was forbidden to offer the wages of a prostitute in "the house of the LORD" (Deut. 23:19).

One of the reasons prostitution was abhorrent to God was its direct relationship to all types of evil. The book of Leviticus condemns the making of one's daughter a prostitute because it leads to an increase of general wickedness in the land (Lev. 19:29; cf. Prov. 23:28). Conversely, God declares that prostitution is rampant in the land because of Israel's rejection of God (Hos. 4:13-14); the depths of this corruption are seen where children are made payment for wine and a prostitute's services (v. 13). Because of this connection between prostitution and general wickedness, priests were sternly forbidden from associating with the practice in any form (Lev. 21:7, 14). Should a priest's unmarried daughter be convicted of prostitution, she was to be burned (v. 9), and any other man's unmarried daughter was to be stoned (Deut. 22:21). (This strong reaction is undoubtedly due to the close links between prostitution and the pagan nature religions; see below.)

The attitude of the apostle PAUL is no less strong. In an era of general moral collapse it was imperative that young Christians be warned of the pitfalls of the practice. He argued that the Christian who has relations with a prostitute is indeed joining Christ to the prostitute (1 Cor. 6:15-16). In numerous places he states categorically that those who engage in sexual relations outside of marriage (Eph. 5:5; 1 Tim. 1:10) are excluded from heaven (1 Cor. 5:9-11; cf. previous refs. and also Heb. 13:4). The Revelation of John explicitly consigns such persons to hell (Rev. 21:8; 22:15).

**III. The biblical image of a prostitute.** The Bible depicts the prostitute as an adventuress who

entices a man to ruin (Prov. 23:27; cf. Rev. 17:5, 15-17, where BABYLON is pictured as a prostitute who has ensnared and debauched the whole world with her charms). She is shown to be a faithless lover who will use her "sorceries" and "witchcraft" not only to entrap but to betray (Nah. 3:4, speaking of NINEVEH; cf. also Isa. 23:15-17, speaking of TYRE). Relations with harlots are looked upon as the height of folly. Characteristically, the book of Proverbs contrasts the love of wisdom with keeping a prostitute, for the prostitute will leave a man bankrupt (Prov. 29:3; Lk. 15:30).

The techniques of prostitution as seen in the Bible are little different from those of today. The prostitute was found especially in public places (1 Ki. 22:38; Prov. 7:12). She was noted for exotic dress (Prov. 7:12; Isa. 3:16), an obtrusive and unrestrained manner (Prov. 7:11, 13; Isa. 3:16; Jer. 2:23-25; 3:3), and the gift of a smooth tongue (Prov. 6:24). With matchless clarity Prov. 7:10 depicts the harlot (in this case, also an adulteress) plying her trade. In this connection, it should be pointed out that while the biblical opinion of the prostitute is low, that of the adulteress is much lower, for the relation with the prostitute is a dalliance while the adulteress seeks an affair of longer and more damaging duration (Prov. 6:26).

**IV. Cult prostitution.** As indicated above, one of the reasons the biblical faith, especially in OT times, often reacted strongly against prostitution was the intimate association of this practice with the FERTILITY CULTS of antiquity. Virtually all of the ANE religions had as their chief purpose the maintenance of the natural cycles, including protection from the unusual and the catastrophic. They viewed the great natural forces as persons who were guilty of all the foibles and arbitrariness of humanity. The problem, then, was to devise a means by which these fickle superhumans could be made to perform their appropriate functions at the appropriate times. While worship and personal devotion were helpful, they were not infallible.

At this point, sympathetic MAGIC was turned to. The ancients viewed the universe as a closed system, where the actions of human beings, nature, and deity were totally interlocked. Thus, if someone wished the deities to perform certain actions, he could insure that they would do so if he would perform those actions himself in a cultic setting. The most important natural cycle for human life was the reproductive cycle. If one's animals or plants did not reproduce themselves, starvation resulted. If such a failure did occur, it was because the respective deities had not copulated. From this point of view, a man's most important act in a year could be his copulation with a dedicated prostitute, for this would produce the desired divine result, and thus the desired natural result. (Some recent scholars, however, have argued that although prostitution may have been practiced in some connection with the temple cult, there is no clear evidence that such activity involved fertility rituals. See *ABD,* 5:510-13; C. A. Faraone and L. K. McClure, eds., *Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Ancient World* [2006]. For a denial that the Asheroth cult involved prostitution, see C. Stark, *«Kultprostitution» in Alten Testament?* [2006]; cf. also S. Budin, *The Myth of Sacred Prostitution in Antiquity* [2008].)

The OT resolutely attacks this worldview. God absolutely transcends his CREATION. He cannot be related to in a mechanical way. Rather, he is to be related in moral and ethical ways that are in keeping with his own nature. Maintenance of the natural cycles is not to be looked upon as an end in itself. Rather, a deepening relationship to God is most to be desired. It is not the mystery of reproduction, but the mystery of grace, that is at the heart of the universe. The use of a cult prostitute, then, was a repudiation of all that was unique to God and his revelation, and the practice is viewed in the Bible as an abomination.

Even more abominable, from the Bible's point of view, was male cult prostitution, since this

practice

The cult prostitutes of Corinth lived on top of this mountain, the Acrocorinth.

involved the twin horrors of paganism and homosexuality. One means of expressing this abhorrence was by calling the male cult prostitute a dog. After prohibiting male or female cult prostitution in Israel, Deut. 23:18 further stipulates that neither the wages of a harlot or a "dog" may be offered in the house of the Lord. In addition to the above discussion of this verse, it may be that the bringing of money into the temple to pay a cult prostitute within the temple is being prohibited. (Cf. the use of "dog" in Rev. 22:15.)

Cult prostitution was especially prevalent in Judah and Israel during the divided monarchy. It came into Judah as early as REHOBOAM (1 Ki. 14:24) and was not finally exterminated until the reign of JOSIAH (2 Ki. 23:7). Both ASA and JEHOSHAPHAT are credited with taking part in the gradual uprooting of the practice (1 Ki. 15:12; 22:46). In all four of these cases it is male cult prostitution which is referred to apparently as epitomizing the worst of apostasy.

A pun is probably intended in 1 Ki. 22:38, which states that, in fulfillment of a prophetic message, "the dogs licked up his [Ahab's] blood, and the prostitutes washed themselves in it" (NRSV). Along with the literal event, the prophetic word probably was linking AHAB'S death to his and JEZEBEL'S establishment of the pagan BAAL worship with its cult prostitution in Israel. In bitter words God says through Hosea that he cannot punish Israelite women for prostitution when their men go in to the cult prostitutes (Hos. 4:14; cf. also Jer. 5:7). Likewise Amos probably has this practice in mind when he speaks of father and son going in to the same maiden and lying beside an altar on a pledged garment (Amos 2:7-8).

It may be that cult prostitutes were itinerant as well as being attached to local shrines. Tamar probably was playing the part of such an itinerant. Judah's servants who were sent to pay her with a young kid asked for the "shrine prostitute" (Gen. 38:21-22). In addition, the wearing of a veil (v. 14) was the mark of such a woman in Mesopotamia. That Judah had relations with her while he was on the way to shear his flocks suggests that he wanted to insure the fertility of those flocks during the coming season. Hosea speaks of loving the prostitute's wages on all the threshing floors (Hos. 9:1).This suggests cult orgies following the harvest in preparation for the coming year's fertility. Apparently cult prostitutes traveled from threshing floor to threshing floor. These floors, however, have more than ordinary significance in Ugaritic literature, and it may be that some floors were

established worship places. (Note that DAVID built an altar on a threshing floor [2 Sam. 24:16; 1 Chr. 21:18], and that early Christian churches were sometimes built over pagan sites in order to obliterate them. See further B. A. Brooks, "Fertility Cult Functionaries in the Old Testament," *JBL* 60 [1941]: 227-53; W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel [1942],* 84-94; J. P. Asmussen, "Bemerkungen zur sakralen Prostituten im Alten Testamentum," ST 11 [1957]: 167-92. For a different approach, see K. van der Toorn, "Female Prostitution in Payment of Vows in Ancient Israel," *JBL* 108 [1989]: 193-205.)

**V. Symbolic use of the term.** Fully half of the references to prostitution in the OT are symbolic: no literal sexual act has taken place, but a person or persons have forsaken their rightful relationship and have broken a trust with someone. In the majority of these cases, it is Israel's refusal to serve God and her going after other deities that is in view. This terminology was especially meaningful because service of the pagan deities, as noted above, normally included activities of a sexual nature (note, e.g., Exod. 34:15-16 and Lev. 18:24-25).The covenant between Israel and God was looked upon as a marriage vow that Israel broke to play with other lovers. This is nowhere more poignantly expressed than in the book of Hosea, where the prophet literally plays out God's love to his faithless wife. In numerous places Israel is painted as a lust-driven woman who rushes from lover to lover, thrusting herself upon them (Isa. 57:3-5; Jer. 2:23-25; 3:1-2, 6-9). Excepting Hosea, Ezekiel uses the term symbolically most often, nearly all of the references occurring in two chapters (Ezek. 16 and 23).The prophet paints in powerful pictures the total dependence of Judah and Israel upon God and their utter faithlessness to him. He adds to the symbolism the idea of trust in other nations instead of God. See also ADULTERY; FORNICATION; SEX.

J. OSWALT

**Protennoia.** See TRIMORPHIC PROTENNOIA.

**protevangelium** proh'ti-van-jel'ee-uhm. Also *protoevangelium.* This Latin term (from Gk. *prōtos G4755,* "first," and *euangelion G2295,* "gospel") is sometimes used to refer to Gen. 3:15 as the initial promise of a MESSIAH. See also JAMES, PROTEVANGELIUM OF.

**proto-.** This prefix (from *Gk. prōtos G4755,* "first") is frequently used to refer to a conjectured early form, or to the supposed original source of a document or language. For example, the term *Proto-Luke* refers to a theoretical first draft of a document that later became the canonical Gospel of Luke (after the author added material taken from Mark). Similarly, the label *Proto-Semitic* is applied to a reconstructed language (or language group) from which the Semitic languages are thought to have derived. Sometimes the equivalent German word *Ur* is used instead; thus, *Ur-Markus* refers to an early version of the Gospel of Mark that supposedly was used by Matthew and Luke.

**provender.** Dried grains and grasses used to feed domestic animals. It is used a few times by the KJV and the RSV, but more recent versions prefer the terms *fodder* and *feed.* The Hebrew noun *mispôʾ H5028* (Gen. 24:25 et al.) is formed from a root meaning "to eat, feed" and appears to be a general term, whereas *bĕlîl H1173,* derived from a root meaning "to mix," referred to a savory provender, possibly mixed with salt or aromatic herbs (Isa. 30:24, which refers to a "salted" [RSV, NJPS] or fermented mixture). The simple provender was chopped straw or chaff, as used extensively in Palestine even today. Often grasses and grains (barley, wheat) were mixed into a type of dry roughage

or hay. The term *mispôʾ* could also describe a concentrated mixture of grain (Gen. 42:27).

B. VAN ELDEREN

**proverb.** A terse expression of some generally acknowledged truth or experience. Sententious sayings or proverbs are common to all peoples and undoubtedly antedate written language. Not only the OT and NT, but many other ancient literatures, such as Sumerian, Babylonian, Egyptian, and Greek, contain proverbs. From the Icelanders to the Chinese, and from the ancient Hebrews to the modern Russians, proverbs have been part of everyday language (cf. S. G. Champion, *Racial Proverbs: The Eleven Religions and Their Proverbial Lore* [1963], esp. xxxviii-xciv).

**I. Varieties of proverbs.** Two main classes are folk and literary proverbs. In the former, some succinct saying (the origin of which has been long forgotten) impressed itself so forcibly upon the common consciousness that it entered ordinary usage as the anonymous voice of the people. In the case of literary proverbs, which are sometimes called *gnomes,* a writer or speaker distilled into a maxim a keen observation or statement of truth in an especially memorable way. Within these two classes, proverbs are of various kinds. Some are deliberately perplexing and stimulate thought by their riddle-like quality. Others are essentially condensed parables, whereas still others (extrabiblical) may be called anti-proverbs, or lying proverbs, in that they distort the truth. Still others have a satiric or ironic twist.

**II. Didactic function of proverbs.** That proverbs have a didactic function is undeniable. Among primitive peoples, they help transmit the wisdom of the years and are thus a source of practical, moral, and political guidance. The influence of proverbs in highly civilized cultures is by no means negligible. They exert a quiet and often unrecognized influence upon standards of life; and, in the hands of skilled writers or speakers, they are an effective means of driving ideas home. Indeed, proverbs continue to be a living force even in the most sophisticated societies.

**III. Proverbs in the Bible.** In Scripture, proverbs have an important place; both folk and literary proverbs are found in it. The ancient Hebrew mind, being essentially intuitive rather than formally logical, had an affinity for the proverbial. The basic Hebrew word for "proverb," *māšāl H5442* (1 Ki. 4:32 et al.), is used also for PARABLE. Inherent in the term is the characteristic element of the proverb, namely, its being essentially a similitude; indeed, a proverb is often a brief parable capable of expansion. Another Hebrew word sometimes translated "proverb," *ḥîdâ H2648* (Ps. 49:4 et al.), points to the characteristic of the proverb to arouse the hearer's or reader's curiosity and help him sharpen his wits; thus it is better translated as "riddle." Many of the OT proverbs, particularly those in the book of PROVERBS, follow the parallelism distinctive of HEBREW POETRY.

The relevant NT words are Greek *parabolē G4130* and *paroimia G4231.* The former occurs frequently in the synoptics as the regular term for Jesus' parabolic teaching and is regularly translated "parable," but in Lk. 4:23 the meaning is clearly "proverb" (cf. also 6:39; in Heb. 9:9 and 11:19 it means "figure, illustration"). As for *paroimia,* it occurs several times in John with the meaning "figure of speech" (Jn. 10:6; 16:25, 29), but it means "proverb" in 2 Pet. 2:22.

Proverbs occur throughout most of the Bible. Except for those compiled in the book of Proverbs, the number of instances in the OT and NT where sententious sayings are explicitly identified as proverbial is not large. Nonetheless, the occurrence of genuinely proverbial material, not specifically identified, is considerable. Although there are ancient collections of proverbs outside the Bible and

antedating the OT (e.g., the Egyptian compilation *Precepts of Ptah-hotep,* c. 2500 B.C.), the OT book of Proverbs stands above them all.

**IV. The OT use of proverbs.** Illustrative of the occasional OT proverb labeled as such is 1 Sam. 10:11-12: "When all those who had formerly known him saw him prophesying with the prophets, they asked each other, 'What is this that has happened to the son of Kish? Is Saul also among the prophets?' A man who lived there answered, 'And who is their father?' So it became a saying [NRSV, proverb]: 'Is Saul also among the prophets?'" (The passage is significant as showing how a saying became a proverb.) Another example of a "labeled" proverb occurs in DAVID'S address to SAUL after sparing the king's life in EN GEDI, when he explicitly quoted a proverb: "As the old saying [NRSV proverb] goes, 'From evildoers come evil deeds,' so my hand will not touch you" (1 Sam. 24:13). One of the best known OT proverbs is Ezek. 18:2: "What do you people mean by quoting this proverb about the land of Israel: 'The fathers eat sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge'?" (Cf. Jer. 31:29-30.)

Sometimes a dramatic action or awful calamity or sin can make a person or even a nation "a proverb," or "a reproach and a byword" (cf. Jer. 24:9). Thus an individual or a whole people might become a proverb personified. Deuteronomy provides a classic example of the "action" proverb applied to a nation: if the Israelites fail to obey the Lord, they will be cursed (Deut. 28:15-16), and they "will become a thing of horror and an object of scorn *[māšāl]* and ridicule to all the nations where the LORD will drive you" (v. 37). An individual illustration of the "action" proverb concerns Saul: after he prophesied before Samuel and lay naked all day and all night, people began to say. "Is Saul also among the prophets?" (1 Sam. 19:24). Another example comes from the Psalms: "When I humbled my soul with fasting, / they insulted me for doing so. / When I made sackcloth my clothing, / I became a byword to them" (Ps. 69:10-11 NRSV).

**V. Jesus' use of proverbs.** In the NT, the proverbial mode of expression reaches its height in the words of Jesus. The greatest of all teachers, he is the incomparable master of the proverb both in its strict sense and in its expanded form as parable. At the beginning of his public ministry he made use of a current proverb in his sermon in the NAZARETH synagogue: "Surely you will quote this proverb to me: 'Physician, heal yourself!'" (Lk. 4:23). On some other occasions Jesus quoted proverbs current in his time (e.g., Matt. 24:28).

Many of Jesus' sayings are so packed with wisdom and pointed in expression that they have entered into common speech. Thus, much of the SERMON ON THE MOUNT has become proverbial, as in common parlance one speaks of "going the second mile," or "turning the other cheek," or "taking no thought for the morrow"; or when one uses as maxims such words as "Judge not that you be not judged" or "By their fruits you shall know them." What is true of the Sermon on the Mount applies, though perhaps in not quite so concentrated a manner, to many others of Jesus' words. Consider sayings like these: "They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick" (Matt. 9:12 KJV), or the saying about new wine and old bottles (9:17), or about straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel (23:24), or about the camel and the needle's eye (Lk. 18:25). John's gospel, no less than the synoptics, contains words of Jesus that have become proverbial: "night comes, when no man can work" (Jn. 9:4 KJV); "Greater love has no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends" (15:13 KJV).

Certainly James A. Kelso (in *ERE,* 10:412) is right in saying, "In the sphere of religion the proverbial sayings of Jesus have exercised the widest and most pervasive influence of any group of

proverbs." Indeed the words of Jesus provide the richest mine of profoundly spiritual proverbs in world literature. And it may be true that in proportion to their total number more of his recorded words have entered the common heritage of proverbial sayings than those of any other figure of the past.

**VI. Apostolic use of proverbs.** Proverbs occur elsewhere in the NT, although not so frequently as in the Gospels. Paul's reference to heaping coals of fire (Rom. 12:20) is certainly proverbial (cf. Prov. 25:21-22), as is 1 Cor. 15:33, "Bad company corrupts good character," an aphorism of the Greek poet Menander. Such words of the apostle as "If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?" (1 Cor. 14:8 KJV) and "To the pure, all things are pure" (Tit. 1:15a) have become proverbial. His dual quotation of Epimenides of Crete and Aratus of Cilicia in his sermon on Mars' Hill (Acts 17:28) may represent the use of poetical statements so familiar as to be proverbial. The same might be said of his quotation of the line of Epimenides in Tit. 1:12.

As might be expected, the epistle of James, in which one of Jesus' brothers writes in a manner similar to that of the Sermon on the Mount, contains words of proverbial nature. Among these are such expressions as "doers of the word, and not hearers only" (Jas. 1:22 KJV) and "faith without works is dead" (2:20 KJV). Peter's word, "love covers a multitude of sins" (1 Pet. 4:8 KJV), is one of the most familiar biblical proverbs, and in 2 Pet. 2:22 he concludes his scathing denunciation of false teachers by referring to two maxims, the first being from Prov. 26:11, although the source of the second is unknown. It is significant that Peter introduces this reference by calling it "the true proverb" (NRSV).

**VII. Distortion of proverbs.** Sometimes long usage changes a proverb from its original meaning, not always to its improvement. Proverbs drawn from Scripture are not exempt from this distortion. Paul's statement, "The love of money is the root of all evil" (1 Tim. 6:10 KJV), has often been shortened to "Money is the root of all evil," thereby radically altering the meaning. And Jesus' words, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free" (Jn. 8:32 KJV), are applied proverbially to truth in general—philosophical, scientific, historical, etc.—whereas the context (cf. v. 36, "If the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed") shows that his reference was to himself as the truth (cf. Jn. 14:6). Biblical proverbs, therefore, are not to be used carelessly, but should be verified in their original context. (See further G. B. Levi, *Gnomic Literature in the Bible and Apocrypha* [1910].)

F. E. GAEBELEIN

**Proverbs, Book of.** One of the poetic books of the OT, consisting of admonitions and sayings about WISDOM. Its title in the Hebrew Bible, taken from the first two words of the book, is *mišlê šĕlōmōh,* "The Sayings of Solomon." See also PROVERB.

1. Background
2. Unity
3. Authorship
4. Date
5. Place of origin and destination
6. Purpose
7. Canonicity
8. Text
9. Special problems
    1. The figure of wisdom
    2. Relationship of Proverbs and the *Wisdom of Amenemope*
10. Content and outline
    1. Content
    2. Outline
11. Theology

**I. Background.** Whether or not Solomonic authorship is accepted, one can agree that the background of Proverbs seems to be the royal court at Jerusalem. Although wisdom literature in the ANE antedates Proverbs by more than a thousand years, the particular form of instructions addressed to "my son" seems more like such Egyptian works as *The Instructions of Ptahhotep, The Instructions of Meri-ka-Re, The Instructions of Amen-en-het,* and *The Instructions of Ani*. The marriage of SOLOMON to Pharaoh's daughter (1 Ki. 3:1) may have led to his interest in such instruction. Individual literary features, such as the pattern X, X + 1 and the long, connected discourses, have parallels in earlier Semitic literature. The work appealed to readers already familiar with that literary form.

**II. Unity.** Since the book itself indicates that it is a collection, its unity is not bound up with its authorship. Rather, its unity is found in the general nature of its contents. The work belongs to the general category of wisdom literature; it extols the virtues of wisdom and condemns the vices of folly.

**III. Authorship.** Traditionally, the bulk of Proverbs has been attributed to Solomon (cf. Prov. 1:1; 10:1; 25:1). The book itself mentions two other authors: AGUR (30:1) and LEMUEL (31:1). There are two extreme positions: (1) Solomon wrote the entire work, or (2) he had no connection with it (except as the traditional "patron saint" of wisdom literature). A third viewpoint, more in keeping with the biblical testimony, is that most of the book derives from Solomon and that the work of others was added to his. J. Paterson's statement, "Proverbs have no father" (*The Wisdom of Israel [1961],* 62), is only a partial truth. Whereas wisdom sayings often originate among ordinary folk, some one person must have been the first one to utter the epigrammatic statement.

One objection to Solomonic authorship has been that Solomon did not practice the virtues Proverbs inculcated (cf. Prov. 7:6-23). The same objection, however, could be used against Benjamin Franklin's authorship of *Poor Richard's Almanac.* Writing wisdom and living wisely are two different things.

The account of Solomon in the Bible (esp. 1 Ki. 3; 4:30-34; 10:1-9; 2 Chr. 9:1-24) indicates his traditional wisdom and versatility in composing wisdom sayings. Hence the assertion that the superscriptions (Prov. 1:1; 10:1; 25:1) are merely honorific fails to do justice to Solomon. Also, one

would expect to find the equivalent of "the men of Hezekiah" (25:1) at 1:1 and 10:1. The argument of S H. Blank (in *IDB,* 3:936-40, esp. 937) that the doublets within a section or in two sections rule out a single authorship overlooks the fact that authors repeated themselves and editors of collections retained duplicate passages (cf. Ps. 14:1 with Ps. 53:1).

The question of the authorship of Prov. 22:17—24:34 is bound up with the problem of the section's relationship to *The Wisdom of Amenemope,* which is discussed below. In the Jewish discussions concerning the CANON in the 1st cent. A.D., Proverbs was classed with ECCLESIASTES and SONG OF SOLOMON as "Solomonic"(cf. *b. Šabbat* 30b). The book as it now exists must come after the time of HEZEKIAH (Prov. 25:1). C. T. Fritsch (in *IB,* 4:775) thinks the final form may be later than 400 B.C. Others assert that the final collection was assembled sometime between the days of Hezekiah and the early postexilic period.

**IV. Date.** Two distinct questions are involved in the dating of Proverbs. The first concerns the date of the writing of each section. The second deals with the date of the collection or "editing" of the various sections into one book (scroll). Conservative scholars have followed the traditional view of Solomonic authorship of all except Prov. 30-31. Therefore they date the bulk of the book in the 10th cent. B.C., probably from Solomon's later years. The collection of the various sections usually is dated by conservatives between 700 and 400 B.C.

Critical scholars reject the Solomonic authorship and therefore date each section separately, usually much later than the traditional date. This, in turn, leads to a dating of the entire collection in the late Persian or Greek period. Archaeological and linguistic discoveries have caused some to retreat from the extreme late dates in vogue in the first half of the 20th cent. One of the major factors leading to earlier dating has been the discovery of other Canaanite wisdom sayings and Canaanite linguistic patterns in the literature from UGARIT.

The first section (Prov. 1-9) has been dated quite late, since it was supposed to have been written as an introduction to the entire collection. R. E. Murphy *(Seven Books of Wisdom* [1960], 11) thinks it is postexilic, whereas Paterson *(Wisdom of Israel,* 59) thinks the personification of wisdom in ch. 8 makes a 3rd-cent. date likely. Others, however, have shown that such personification, or more accurately, hypostatization, is a feature of Mesopotamian and Egyptian religion. The numerical formula of X, X + 1 (found in 6:16-19) occurs in the Ugaritic texts from the 2nd millennium B.C. (cf. C. H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Manual* [1955], 34, 201). W. F. Albright (in *Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East,* ed. M. Noth and D. Winton Thomas [1955], 1-16) thinks this section antedates *The Proverbs of Ahiqar* (7th cent. B.C.). Fritsch follows the trend toward early dating when he says there are strong Ugaritic and Phoenician influences in this section, and chs. 8 and 9 comprise "one of the oldest parts of the book."

One example of Ugaritic (hence early) linguistic usage is the term *laḥima,* "to eat"; its Hebrew cognate, *lāḥam H4310,* is found only six times in the OT, four of them in Proverbs (Prov. 4:17 et al.). When this evidence is combined with the widely held view that chs. 1-9 were written as the introduction to a preexisting unit (chs. 10-31), the probable early (at least preexilic) date for the first section makes a Solomonic date for the other sections attributed to him quite plausible. The long discourse of this section (in contrast to the aphoristic style elsewhere) is paralleled in early Egyptian and Akkadian wisdom literature. The Aramaisms argue for an early date, rather than a late date as was formerly supposed.

The second section (Prov. 10:1—22:16) is viewed by critical scholars as a gradual collection, perhaps with a Solomonic nucleus, that reached its present state in the 5th or 4th cent. B.C. Paterson

*(Wisdom of Israel,* 60) considers it the oldest part of the book. Dating the following two sections (22:17—24:22 and 24:23-34) is involved with the question of literary indebtedness to *The Wisdom of Amenemope,* a matter that will be discussed below. The view that the section borrows from the Egyptian work makes possible a date between 1,000 and 600 B.C., depending on the dating of the Egyptian work. Paterson *(Wisdom of Israel,* 61) thinks this part is preexilic, but later than 700.

The fifth section (Prov. 25-29), according to its superscription, comes from the times of Hezekiah; the actual authorship, however, would have been in the 10th cent. The last three sections of the book (ch. 30; 31:1-9; 31:10-31) occupy different positions in the SEPTUAGINT than in the MT. Hence Paterson *(Wisdom of Israel,* 61-62) states that originally they were separate collections. On the basis of alleged artificiality he would date them late. The acrostic form, regarded by some moderns as artificial, was a favorite device of the ancient Hebrews.

"Lazy hands make a man poor, but diligent hands bring wealth" (Prov. 10:4).

Some say the acrostic appeared long before the 6th-cent. EXILE. Since wisdom literature transcends national boundaries, international political history offers little help in fixing a date for these sections.

**V. Place of origin and destination.** The book probably originated in palace circles in Jerusalem. The Solomonic portions (except that section "copied by the men of Hezekiah") may have been recorded by his scribes. To these Hebrew collections, royal scribes added the last three sections. The content indicates that the book was intended for the instruction of the sons of upper class families. Although this instruction is addressed frequently to "my son," a much broader audience was intended. The wisdom of the sages was for "everyman" (Paterson, *Wisdom of Israel,* 54).

**VI. Purpose.** The author of Prov. 1:2-4 clearly states his aim, namely, to impart wisdom and discretion, especially to the simple. This also may be the purpose of the entire collection. It is designed to guide the reader in practical everyday conduct. Such wisdom is needed for the formulation of sound character. The collection would be a useful sourcebook for public or private study. It inculcates personal morality and plain "horse sense." Paterson aptly states its aim thus: "to subtract from the number of fools and add to the number of the wise" (*Wisdom of Israel,* 54).

**VII. Canonicity.** In *b. Šabbat* 30b, Proverbs is listed as a disputed book at the close of the 1st cent. A.D. along with Ecclesiastes and Song of Solomon. Its association with other reputedly Solomonic works in this statement would argue that the book was canonical. Moreover, in *m. Yadaim* 3:5, where

the different opinions are recorded regarding the canonicity (i.e., the books that render the hands unclean) of Ecclesiastes and Song of Solomon, there is no debate about Proverbs. The LXX and English versions agree in placing together all the books attributed to Solomon. According to the Talmud (*b. Baba Batra* 146), Proverbs is placed after PSALMS and JOB; according to *b. Berakot* 57b it should be placed between Psalms and Job (an order followed by the NJPS). The modern English order may be based on a rabbinical tradition that said that Moses wrote Job, David wrote Psalms, and Hezekiah compiled Proverbs (*b. Baba Batra* 14b-15a).

The NT refers to Prov. 3:34 (in Jas. 4:6) in such a way as to show that it was considered as canonical in the 1st cent. A.D. In addition, the NT frequently refers to the section of the OT containing Proverbs (the KETUBIM, "Writings") as "Scripture." Its inclusion in the LXX favors an early acceptance of Proverbs as Holy Writ.

**VIII. Text.** For the most part, Proverbs is written in clear, classical Hebrew. There are a few difficult places in the text in most of the major sections, due mainly to uncertainty regarding the meaning of some words (e.g., Prov. 8:30; 12:20; 23:34; 29:21; 30:15; 30:31). Most emendations proposed to solve textual problems are conjectural. Recent linguistic discoveries have shown the value of awaiting further information rather than resorting to conjectural emendations.

The LXX gives a loose, almost paraphrastic translation, showing marks of the translator's viewpoint. In places it is clearly corrupt. It includes nearly one hundred doublets of words, phrases, lines, and verses that appear once only in the MT. It omits sections and adds sections. In the LXX, Prov. 30:1-14 comes after 24:22, and 30:15—31:9 comes after 24:24 (thus 31:10-31 follows immediately after ch. 29). These anomalies lead some to believe the text was still fluid at the time the LXX was translated.

**IX. Special problems.** Two items deserving special attention are (1) the figure of wisdom in Prov. 8 and (2) the relationship of Proverbs to the Egyptian *Wisdom of Amenemope.* Both items relate directly to critical approaches to the authorship and date of Proverbs.

***A. The figure of wisdom.*** Whereas wisdom is extolled as a virtue throughout the opening section and elsewhere in the book, Prov. 8 stands out in its treatment of "wisdom" as a hypostatization. It would seem that a divine characteristic—wisdom—has been elevated to a being who interacts with human beings. In 1:20-33; 8:1-3b; 9:1-6, 13-18, "wisdom" is opposed to a similar being, "the woman Folly." Wisdom is likened to a prophet crying in the street (cf. Jer. 11:6; 17:19-20).

There is no trace of polytheism in Proverbs. Hence any attempts to trace the background of Wisdom to Ma)at, Ishtar, or Siduri Sabatu are not convincing. The question remains whether "wisdom" is a true hypostatization, that is, an attribute or activity of deity that has been given a personal identity. Some have felt that Prov. 8 simply presents a vivid personification.

The close correspondence between the activities of wisdom in Proverbs and those of Yahweh in the rest of the OT is striking. Wisdom pours forth the spirit (Prov. 1:23; cf. Isa. 44:3). God calls but Israel does not answer (Prov. 1:24-26; cf. Isa. 65:1-2, 12-13; 66:4). Wisdom promotes justice (Prov. 8:15-16; cf. Isa. 11:3-5). Just as wisdom prepares her banquet (Prov. 9:5, as opposed to the foolish woman's feast, vv. 13-18), so does Yahweh (Isa. 25:6; 55:1-3; 65:11-13).

Later Jewish and Christian writings speak of the role of wisdom in CREATION—a role closely paralleled by hypostatized wisdom in Proverbs. The apocryphal work WISDOM OF SOLOMON identifies wisdom as "the fashioner of all things" (Wis. 7:22), "an associate in his works" (8:4), and

"fashioner of all that exists" (8:6). PHILO JUDAEUS *(De sacerdota* 5) says wisdom was the fabricator of the universe. Some have sought to trace the LOGOS of Jn. 1 and the gnostic *Sophia* back to the hypostatized wisdom of Proverbs, but their conclusions have not won any general agreement.

Although some critics have dated Proverbs in the Hellenistic period (on the grounds that the tendency toward hypostatization was strong at that time), many parallels exist from the ANE world of the 2nd millennium B.C. or earlier. Among them may be cited the following: (1) The Egyptian deity Ptah of Memphis, created by his word and thought. (2) In Thoth of Hermapolis, divine wisdom and the creator god were personified. (3) The Sumerian Ea-Enki was called "the very knowing one." (4) The Babylonian god MARDUK, entitled "the wisest of the gods," conquered TIAMAT and created earth and man. (5) The high god EL of the Ugaritic pantheon is described as one whose "wisdom is eternal." These and other pre-Hebraic examples (Pss. 74:13, 14; 82:1; Isa. 14:12-14; 27:1) clearly demonstrate that hypostatization occurred earlier than the time of Solomon.

To summarize, one can refer to Paterson's statement *(Wisdom of Israel,* 70) that Prov. 8:22-23 is a bold restating of the doctrine of Gen. 1-2. God's creation is not a chaos, but a cosmos. Wisdom is the essence of the being of God. The universe did not just happen, nor does it stand alone. The WORLD has a teleology because there is a theology (Prov. 3:19; 20:12).

***B. Relationship of Proverbs and the Wisdom of Amenemope.*** Ever since Adolph Erman pointed out the similarities between the *Wisdom of Amenemope* (or *Amenemapet)* and Prov. 22:17—23:14, there has been a general tendency to view the biblical passage as directly indebted to the Egyptian work. Defenders of the independence (or even priority) of the biblical book, however, have not been lacking. Although the preponderance of scholarship views Proverbs as in some way dependent upon *Amenemope,* enough solid arguments have been advanced against such dependency that serious students need to pause to examine all the evidence.

Funerary mask of Amenemope, an Egyptian sage of the early 10th cent. B.C. The work known as the Wisdom of Amenemope is thought by many scholars to have influenced the style of writing found in Proverbs.

**1. The Egyptian document.** *The Wisdom of Amenemope* was first made known in 1922 by Sir E. Wallis Budge; one year later he published the full text with photos and translation. Other scholars, including Lange, Erman, Griffith, and Wilson (in *ANET)* followed with variant translations. It was Erman who first suggested that the word translated "excellent things" by the KJV (Prov. 22:20) might be rendered "thirty" on the basis of the division of *Amenemope* into thirty chapters. This translation involves no textual change, only a corrected vocalization from *šālîšîm (Qere)* to *šĕlōšîm* (the *Ketib* is *šilšôm).* The inference is that the biblical writer had before him the thirty chapters of *Amenemope* and selected from them thirty sayings to incorporate into his own book of wisdom. Whereas Oesterley and others see at least twenty-three of the thirty sayings in the Proverbs passage as being derived from *Amenemope,* Scott says only nine are from that source. The preamble of 22:17-21 seems to be a recasting of the conclusion of *Amenemope.*

The Egyptian work is by Amen-em-apet, a native of Panopolis in Akhmim. He was a land superintendent, evidently an important position. He was also a sage and a scribe. Due to this occupational status, some date his work to the postexilic period (cf. Ezra and Ben Sirach). The scribe and the wisdom literature genre, however, were both well-established ANE institutions much earlier than the time of Solomon.

*Amenemope* has been assigned various dates, ranging from 1300 (Plumley) or 1200 B.C. (Albright) to dates in the 7th cent. (Griffith, Oesterley) or the Persian-Greek period (Lange). The early date is based on an ostracon containing an extract of *Amenemope.* If accepted, this dating would make the borrowing of Proverbs *from Amenemope* almost a certainty. The possibility exists that the ostracon represents a common source used by both *Amenemope* and Proverbs. In any event, it does not affect the INSPIRATION of Proverbs, for inspiration extends to the selection of materials as well as composition of original materials.

**2. Lexical relations.** Various studies of the lexicography of *Amenemope* tend to indicate the Egypto-Semitic vocabulary belongs to the late stage of the Egyptian language. There are some indications that *Amenemope* is closer to the LXX than to the MT. Although debated by some, the use of Semitic idioms could also indicate the precedence of Proverbs. The section Prov. 22:17—23:14 has verses that have close affinities to passages in other sections. If Proverbs seems to collect sayings scattered in *Amenemope,* some scattered passages in Proverbs seem to be collected in *Amenemope.* Thus the arguments pro and con seem about evenly balanced. A mediating position—that the Egyptian work and Proverbs both used a common ANE oral tradition or perhaps even a common *Vorlage*—is a possibility. Father Murphy's view *(Seven Books of Wisdom,* 21) that the Hebrew passage may simply be using the Egyptian "thirty chapters" as a model rather than a direct source also merits consideration. R. B. Y. Scott *(Proverbs, Ecclesiastes,* AB 18 [1965], 20) expresses a similar view. (See further *ABD,* 5:516.)

**X. Content and outline.** The content of Proverbs can be classified by literary genres, by subject matter, by authorship, and by theological motifs. The following discussion focuses on the first two of these.

***A. Content.*** The two most prevalent literary forms in Proverbs are: (1) the short, pithy sayings used to impart wisdom (the true "proverb") and (2) the long didactic discourse. Examples of the latter are the first section (Prov. 1-9) and the last two (chs. 30-31); practically all of the rest of the book falls

into the category of short sayings. Typically a proverb is anonymous, traditional, and epigrammatic; it is characterized by "shortness, sense, and salt." In the words of Lord John Russell, a proverb contains "the wisdom of many and the wit of one." In the second section there are 375 such sayings. Of 139 verses in the fifth section (chs. 25-29), 128 are proverbs. Frequently the proverb takes the form of a graphic simile (cf. chs. 25-26).

Most of Proverbs (excepting chs. 1-9; 30-31) was written in balanced couplets, or distichs. This parallelism—a typical feature of HEBREW POETRY—occurs in a variety of forms. The synonymous parallelism, wherein the second line repeats or reinforces the first, is the form usually found in 16:1—22:15 (cf. 20:13).The antithetic parallelism, wherein the second line represents a contrast to or reversal of the idea of the first, is the form usually found in chs. 10-15 (cf. 15:1). Occasionally Proverbs uses the form of parallelism in which the second (or third) line adds to the thought of the first line. This synthetic parallelism is found at 10:22. One subsection (chs. 25-26) is replete with this type of parallelism.

With regard to subject matter, three broad categories of materials are present in Proverbs: (1) instruction to leave folly and pursue wisdom (Prov. 1-9); (2) specific examples of wise or foolish conduct (the gnomic sayings of chs. 10-29); and (3) the vivid description of a virtuous woman (ch. 31, perhaps as counterbalance to the motif of a wise son in chs. 1-9).

Additionally, the content of Proverbs can be grouped according to topics discussed such as sayings dealing with social evils (Prov. 22:28; 23:10; 30:14); social obligations (18:24; 22:24, 25; 23:1-2; 25:6-7, 17; 27:6, 10); poverty (17:5; 18:23; 19:4, 7, 17); concern for the poor (14:31; 17:5, 19; 18:23; 19:7, 17; 21:13; 22:2, 28; 23:10; 30:14); laziness (12:27; 20:13; 26:14-15); wealth as secondary (11:4; 15:16; 16:8, 16; 19:1; 22:1), but important (10:22; 13:11; 19:4). Domestic life is a frequent topic (18:22; 21:9, 19; 27:15-16; 31:30); relationships between parents and children are discussed (10:1; 17:21, 25; 19:1, 26; 20:7; 23:24-25); the importance of friendship is stressed (18:24; 22:24-25; 25:17).

The subject of wisdom has been discussed above. In contrast to the wise man is "the fool." No less than four types of fools can be discerned in Proverbs: (1) The simple fool who is still teachable (Prov. 1:4, 22; 7:7-8; 21:11); he is Shakespeare's "Lackbrain." (2) The hardened fool (1:7; 10:23; 12:23; 17:10; 20:3; 27:22), who is obstinate. (3) The arrogant fool, the scoffer who rejects all attempts to enlighten him; as D. Kidner observes *(The Proverbs,* TOTC [1964], 141), it is the person's "mental attitude, not mental capacity," that is at fault (3:34; 21:24; 22:10; 29:8). (4) The brutish fool who is "a churl dead to all decency and order" (17:21; 26:3; 30:22; cf. Ps. 14:1).

Royal conduct is a topic (Prov. 16:12-14; 19:6; 21:1; 25:5; 28:15; 29:14). Cheerfulness is enjoined (15:13-15; 17:22; 18:14). The use of the tongue is discussed (10:20; 15:1; 16:28; 21:23; 26:4, 23). Other personal habits or characteristics are mentioned (11:22; 13:7; 22:3; 25:14; 26:12; 30:33). Finally, some aspects of the concept of "life" are discussed—its fountain (10:11; 13:14; 14:27; 16:22); its path (6:23; 10:17; 15:24); and the concept of life itself (11:30; 12:28; 13:4, 12).

***B. Outline.*** Most outlines of Proverbs contain from four to ten major sections. The natural divisions of the book would seem to indicate an eight-point outline on the basis of probable authorship and stages of collection of separate units that were later collected into one Hebrew scroll.

1. A Father's instruction: wisdom vs. folly (Prov. 1-9)
2. The proverbs of Solomon: first collection (10:1—22:16)
3. Sayings of the wise: first collection (22:17—24:22)

4. Sayings of the wise: second collection (24:23-34)
5. The proverbs of Solomon: second collection by Hezekiah's men (chs. 25-29)
6. The words of Agur (ch. 30)
7. The words of Lemuel (31:1-9)
8. The virtuous wife (31:10-31)

Some of these sections may be subdivided. Scott, for example *(Proverbs, Ecclesiastes,* 9-10), sees ten admonitory discourses and two poems, plus some gnomic sayings in the first section. In the second section, the difference in parallelism between Prov. 10-15 and 16:1—22:16 may indicate a natural division. Section 2 as far as 23:14 seems to be closely related to *Amenemope,* but the rest of that section does not have this relationship, which may indicate a natural division. In section 5, perhaps (with Scott, 21), one should note a difference between chs. 25-27, mainly precepts and similes, and chs. 28-29, chiefly gnomic sayings like 10:1—22:16. Most of the doublets in the book are in section 2 and chs. 28-29. Again, Scott subdivides section 6 into a "Dialogue with a Skeptic" (presumably Agur, 30:1-9) and "Warnings and Numerical Proverbs" (30:10-33), whereas Murphy divides the section after v. 14.

**XI. Theology.** Although some regard Proverbs as a book of worldly wisdom, a careful examination of its content reveals it is very theological. The SOVEREIGNTY OF GOD is stressed (Prov. 16:4, 9; 19:21; 22:2). God's OMNISCIENCE is set forth (15:3, 11; 21:2). God is seen as the Creator (14:31; 17:5; 20:12). He rules over the moral order (10:27, 29; 12:2). Human actions are judged by God (15:11; 16:2; 17:3; 20:27). Even in this life virtue is rewarded (11:4; 12:11; 14:23; 17:13; 22:4). Moral judgment is more important than prudence (17:23).

The Hebrews had no generic term for religion. However, Proverbs expresses the idea in the phrase "the fear of Yahweh" (Prov. 1:7; 9:10; 15:33; 16:6; 22:4) and in the phrase also found in the prophets, "the knowledge of God." The two ideas are synonymously parallel (2:5; 9:10). The book almost completely ignores the temple and cultus (a telling argument against late authorship) except for several oblique references (3:9-10). Two passages (16:6 and 21:3) seem to deny the necessity for Levitical sacrifices (but cf. 15:8; 21:27). Revealed truth is vital (28:4; 29:18).

Although the word COVENANT occurs only once (Prov. 2:16-17), the concept definitely is present. Trust, the basis of all covenant relationships, is a *sine qua non* (3:5, 7, cf. 22:19; 29:25). Most frequently, God is mentioned by his covenant name of Yahweh. The father-son relationship typical of the covenant (cf. Hos. 11:1) is evident in Prov. 3:12.

(Significant commentaries include C. H. Toy, A *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Proverbs,* ICC [1902]; W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Book of Proverbs* [1929]; D. Kidner, *The Proverbs, TOTC* [1964]; R. B. Y. Scott, *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes,* AB 18 [1965]; W. McKane, *Proverbs: A New Approach,* OTL [1970]; O. Plöger, *Sprüche Solomos,* BKAT 17, 3 vols. [1981-84]; D. A. Hubbard, *Proverbs* [1989]; D. A. Garrett, *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs,* NAC 14 [1993]; R. E. Murphy, *Proverbs,* WBC 22 [1998]; R. J. Clifford, *Proverbs,* OTL [1999]; M. V. Fox, *Proverbs,* AB 18A-18B, 2 vols. [2000-]; H. F. Fuhs, *Das Buch der Sprichwörter: Ein Kommentar* [2001]; B. K. Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs,* NICOT, 2 vols. [2005]; T. Longman III, *Proverbs* [2006].

(See also R. N. Whybray, *Wisdom in Proverbs* [1972]; J. G. Williams, *Those Who Ponder Proverbs: Aphoristic Thinking and Biblical Literature* [1981]; P. J. Nel, *The Structure and Ethos of the Wisdom Admonitions in Proverbs* [1982]; B. Lang, *Wisdom and the Book of Proverbs* [1986];

R. C. Van Leeuwen, *Context and Meaning in Proverbs 25—27* [1988]; S. L. Harris, *Proverbs 1—9: A Study of Inner-Biblical Interpretation* [1995]; R. N. Whybray, *The Book of Proverbs: A Survey of Modern Study* [1995]; C. R. Yoder, *Wisdom as a Woman of Substance: A Socioeconomic Reading of Proverbs 1-9 and 31:10-31* [2001]; J. E. Miles, *Wise King—Royal Fool: Semiotics, Satire and Proverbs 1-9* [2004]; T. J. Sandoval, *The Discourse of Wealth and Poverty in the Book of Proverbs* [2006]; S. Weeks, *Instruction and Imagery in Proverbs 1—9* [2007]; and the bibliography compiled by W. E. Mills, *Proverbs* [2002].)

A. K. HELMBOLD

**providence.** God's support, care, and supervision of all CREATION, from its beginning to all eternity. Jesus Christ said, "My Father is always at his work to this very day, and I, too, am working" (Jn. 5:17). Providence is God's activity through his unlimited power and knowledge to fulfill his purpose for the whole creation, including human beings. "God, the great Creator of all things, doth uphold, direct, dispose, and govern all creatures, actions and things, from the greatest even to the least, by his most wise and holy providence, according to his infallible foreknowledge, and the free and immutable counsel of his own will, to the praise of the glory of his wisdom, power, justice, goodness and mercy" (*Westminster Confession of Faith* 5.1).

Two points are to be observed in the study of providence. God's control is all-inclusive and certain, yet God does not violate the freedom of rational and moral creatures. It may be hard to understand how this can be because there are no personal experiences to which one can compare God's providential working, but the Scriptures clearly teach both these points. JOSEPH insisted that God had sent him to Egypt, and indeed this confidence had doubtless supported him through all his adversity. Yet he said, "I am your brother Joseph, the one you sold into Egypt" (Gen. 45:4). Isaiah likewise declared that God sovereignly brought the Assyrian invader to punish Israel, yet the Assyrian came in the pride of his own heart and therefore would be punished when he had finished God's assigned task (Isa. 10:6-7, 12). The PHARAOH of Moses' day was raised up by God to show God's power (Exod. 9:16). Yet the pharaoh acted in his own human will and pride. The broader context (Exod. 5-11) has an interesting alternation between the statement that God hardened Pharaoh's heart and that Pharaoh hardened his own heart. Both were true. See HARDENING, SPIRITUAL.

Both divine foreordination and human freedom are plainly stated also in the prayer of the early church: "Indeed Herod and Pontius Pilate met together with the Gentiles and the people of Israel in this city to conspire against your holy servant Jesus, whom you anointed. They did what your power and will had decided beforehand should happen" (Acts 4:27-28). Very specifically Peter said that Christ "was handed over to you by God's set purpose and foreknowledge; and you, with the help of wicked men, put him to death by nailing him to the cross" (2:23).

**I. Creation and providence.** It is easy to confuse creation and providence, for both deal with the activity of God. Creation is the bringing into existence of something new that had no prior being or existence. Providence is God's continuing activity in relation to what was already created. Providence embraces God's activity not merely in regard to the big things in the universe, but also in regard to every single item, no matter how microscopic it may be. Providence affects not only the "material" universe and the "inanimate" objects in the universe, but includes all forms of life, especially human beings. The human mind sees problems in the relationship between God's activity in providence and free agency, and between God's providence and moral evil and sin, but these will be discussed below. However difficult it may be to understand, God's providence extends over every

single item in the whole universe.

How should one classify every "new" item that appears in the universe, either apart from human agency or as the product of human ingenuity? Just where is the line between creation and providence? On the whole it seems best to restrict creation to the first creation of the universe and everything in it, including all energy, atoms, and subatomic particles, and to regard everything that has happened since the creation under the realm of providence.

**II. Scope of providence.** A basic concept of providence is that all "chance" is ruled out of the universe. Nothing happens by chance. Chance implies that there is a realm in which even God cannot enter. Such a view denies the SOVEREIGNTY OF GOD over the whole universe. Even the casting of LOTS was not by chance; according to Scripture, it was under the disposition of God (Prov. 16:33). The idea of blind fate is also excluded in the light of the Word of God. Men and women are not under the control of mechanistic forces that operate in the whole universe inexorably, as the atheist would claim, but are in the hands of a loving heavenly Father who so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son to die in the place of his people on the cross of Calvary.

***A. Providence and means.*** In the created universe there are objects brought into a real existence by God, whether their inner essence be spiritual or energistic, which are relatively separate from God though subject to his constant sustaining power and control. God, in the exercise of providence, usually uses created objects and forces as his *means* of accomplishing his eternal purposes. God, however, is not bound to act through such means. God acts independently of them when it pleases him so to act.

Secondary causes or natural laws are merely the properties with which the Creator has endowed


Mound at Tell el-Dabʿa, in the region where the Israelites settled at the time of Joseph. The Lord, in his providence, brought Joseph to Egypt to preserve the family of Jacob.

matter and force. God "endowed matter with these forces and ordained that they should be uniform… He is independent of them. He can change, annihilate, or suspend them at pleasure. He can operate

with or without them. The 'Reign of Law' must not be made to extend over him who made the laws" (Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology,* 3 vols. [1871-73], 1:607).

The Scripture speaks of many signs and wonders that may be classed under the term MIRACLES. Strictly speaking, however, it seems better to limit this term to the *change in the mode of God's activity apart from means.* For example, in the exodus from Egypt God "drove the sea back with a strong east wind" (Exod. 14:21). God used means (the wind) to accomplish his purpose. On the other hand, the changing of the water into wine (Jn. 2:1-11) was a miracle, since it was accomplished without means, for the water in the jars was not a means in the production of the wine.

***B. Providence and prayer.*** What is the relationship between providence and the answers God gives to prayers? The problem is this: If God has from all eternity foreordained whatsoever comes to pass, as the Bible teaches, then both the prayers and their affirmative answers must also have been foreordained. In that case, why should people pray, since praying cannot change God's plan or persuade him to do what would be contrary to his eternal plan?

The answer to this problem is that the individual steps producing both the prayer and the answer are also foreordained. The one making the prayer is conditioned by God's Holy Spirit in providence so that at the given moment he or she desires to pray for the particular object for which the prayer is uttered. The prayer is uttered freely by the individual, but the Holy Spirit conditions the soul so that the desire to pray that prayer freely arises in the mind of that individual. Experience indicates that prayers are answered by God and believers are commanded by Christ to pray. The prayers of believers are heard by God and are answered affirmatively if they are according to the will of God. God's providence supervises the whole process of the prayer and its answer, without infringing on the freedom of the one who prays.

***C. Providence and free agency.*** Human beings are not created as automatons. They have freedom to act according to their natures, but that does not mean that they can defeat the plans, or the providence, of God. Although they act freely, the springs of their desire and activity are supervised by the providence of God, so that all actions are included in his active or permissive providence. God never forces individuals to act contrary to their desires. In his OMNIPOTENCE and OMNISCIENCE, God's providential supervision acts upon the springs of those desires so that people act freely, but yet in accordance with the providence of God.

***D. Providence and personal responsibility.*** The question of personal responsibility is, of course, linked with the matter of free agency and God's providence. The Word of God declares that human beings are personally responsible for their actions, both good and bad. They will be held responsible for their actions on the judgment day. Only those whose names are written in the BOOK OF LIFE will escape punishment for their evil actions (Rev. 20:15). If God has foreordained whatsoever comes to pass, how can he justly hold people responsible for their actions?

The answer is that the Spirit of God never coerces any human being to commit sin. He simply does not prevent the evil action if God has foreordained to permit it for reasons that God alone knows. Some hints have been given as to why God permits sin. Unbelieving Assyrian kings were used to punish the Israelites for committing idolatry. That in no way excused those Assyrian kings for the wicked acts that they freely committed, though those acts were overruled to further God's plan (Isa. 10).

In the case of God's elect individuals, the HOLY SPIRIT regenerates them and so changes their

natures that they freely repent and believe in Christ as Savior and Lord, and as an expression of their redeemed natures, they perform acts that please God. Those free acts are not forced by the Holy Spirit, but are committed because the child of God wants to please his Savior and God. Thus the free acts of both the elect and the nonelect are governed by the providence of God without taking away the freedom of action according to their natures.

***E. Providence and sin and evil.*** The Scriptures forbid regarding God as the author of SIN and EVIL, however difficult it may be for human minds to reconcile the permission of moral evil with the goodness of God. God has not revealed all the reasons for this permission, but a glimpse of the divine motives may be discerned in one of the greatest sins ever committed: the betrayal of Christ by JUDAS ISCARIOT. Judas was a man chosen by Christ himself to be one of his twelve most intimate companions. He was even given supernatural powers (Mk. 3:14-15). For over three years he accompanied Christ. The other disciples thought highly enough of him to appoint him as treasurer of the Twelve. Apparently they did not suspect his evil nature, even on the night of the Lord's Supper. Yet Judas sold his Master for thirty pieces of silver.

The providence of God permitted this betrayal as a necessary link in the redemption of God's people by the death of Christ on the cross. That was the motive for God's permitting one of the worst sins in history. If God could permit that sin—one of the greatest sins in history—can he not be trusted (though he condemns and usually punishes sin in this life) with the sins of even his elect, which he permits for reasons that are not fully understood? Evidently he allows those sins to train the sinner in humility or to prepare him to help others similarly tempted, but that in no way condones the sin or excuses the sinner. He permits the sins of the non-Christian, even though those sins are links in the chain that drags the sinner into eternal death.

***F. Providence and eternal punishment.*** "How can a good God condemn any of his creatures to eternal punishment?" is the question that unbelievers and some Christians ask in bewilderment. There is no completely satisfactory answer to this riddle, but there are several observations that can be made. Men and women are in the hands not of blind fate but of a loving heavenly Father, who so loved the world that he came in the person of God the Son to bear on the cross the punishment due his people. Certainly we can trust him where we cannot fully understand the reasons for what God most certainly does—that he punishes unrepentant sinners eternally.

No one who goes into eternal punishment ever sincerely wanted salvation through believing in Christ alone for salvation. Even those who never heard of Christ, who will be judged according to the light of conscience, freely admit that they do not live up to the light they have. The picture sometimes presented of a mass of unsaved people stretching up their hands to Christ in seeking salvation, is a gross misrepresentation of the facts. Christ himself said: "whoever comes to me I will never drive away" (Jn. 6:37). Unbelievers, therefore, get exactly what they deserve, for no one was ever refused salvation. The fact is that they did not have a sincere desire to repent and be saved through faith in Christ alone. God's providence simply leaves unbelievers alone, so that they willingly reject salvation and so condemn themselves to eternal punishment. See PUNISHMENT, ETERNAL.

***G. Providence and repentance.*** All human beings are dead in sin except when God's Holy Spirit regenerates them and enables them to do good works and think good thoughts. See REGENERATION. The consciousness of being a sinner leads to true REPENTANCE from sin and to FAITH in Christ as the offer of SALVATION is accepted. Repentance and faith are like the two sides of a coin; they are inseparable.

Only those whom the Holy Spirit regenerates can freely repent of their sins and believe in Christ to salvation. God's providential control thus surrounds the elect so that they freely repent and believe in Christ for salvation. At the time they repent, the gift of faith is bestowed by the Holy Spirit. In the providence of God, the Holy Spirit acts upon the springs of their desires, to enable them to hate sin and to love their Redeemer, and want to please him by living a good life.

***H. Providence and grace.*** What is the relationship between providence and GRACE? The distinction may be made between "common" grace and "special" grace. *Common grace* is a term used for the beneficent providential care that God bestows upon all, evil as well as good. God sends his rain "on the just and on the unjust" (Matt. 5:45 KJV). Food and other physical blessings are all included under common grace. Some races and nations and individuals are more blessed than others, according to the good pleasure of God, but common grace in the providence of God has no necessary connection with salvation or "special" grace. All grace of God is the unmerited favor of God.

*Special grace* concerns only God's elect children. All the blessings that are inherent in salvation are a part of God's "special" grace to the elect. From regeneration to glorification, when Christians will see Christ in glory and be made like him, God's special providential grace surrounds them, and through the work of the Holy Spirit enables their growth in sanctification while they are bathed in the providential care of God. See ELECTION.

***I. Conclusion.*** God's providence embraces all of life and the whole universe. It extends from the greatest to the least in creation. It concerns the sinner and the saint. It is impossible to escape, for it encompasses all of life. (See further J. Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* book 1; G. C. Berkouwer, *The Providence of God* [1952]; D. Basinger and R. Basinger, eds., *Predestination and Free Will: Four Views of Divine Sovereignty and Human Freedom* [1986]; W. Grudem, *Systematic Theology: An Introduction to Christian Doctrine* [1994], ch. 16; P. Helm, *The Providence of God* [1994].)

F. E. HAMILTON; R. L. HARRIS

**province.** An administrative district of government. The Latin term *provincia* originally designated the sphere in which a magistrate functioned and was used especially with reference to the administration of conquered territory, but later the term was used of the geographical territory itself. The Hebrew term *mĕdînâ H4519* occurs some fifty times (Aram. *mĕdînâ H10406* another eleven times), but in only one passage does it refer to Israelitish rule (during AHAB'S day, 1 Ki. 20:14-19). The word came into vogue with the advent of the Babylonian and Persian administrative districts (Ezra 2:1 et al.; Neh. 1:3 et al.; Esth. 1:1 et al. [almost forty occurrences in this book]; Dan. 2:48 et al.; also Eccl. 2:8; 5:8; Lam. 1:1; Ezek. 19:8). In the SEPTUAGINT it is predominantly translated with Greek *chōra G6001* ("country"), but other terms are used a few times (Esth. 1:3; 4:11; 8:5, 9, 13). One of those is *eparcheia G2065,* the proper Greek equivalent of *provincia,* which occurs twice in the NT (Acts 23:34; 25:1; elsewhere, the NIV frequently supplies the word "province," almost always in the phrase "the province of Asia," 16:6 et al.).

**I. History of Roman provincial administration.** Until the first Punic War (264-241 B.C.), all the provinces were in ITALY. The CONSULS (two yearly elected civil and military magistrates) campaigned while two PRAETORS ruled (one was in charge of the administration of justice, the other assumed jurisdiction among the aliens). It was not until Sicily was conquered in 241 that Rome had

its first province beyond the Italian peninsula (cf. Cicero, *In Verrum* 2.1.2). Although Sardinia was seized from Carthage in 238, it was not until 227 that she became a province, at which time two more praetors were added; one to administer in Sicily, the other in Sardinia.

There was an increase in the number of praetors to six in 197 B.C. to administer SPAIN, and to eight by Sulla (c. 138-78), who required them to remain in Rome as judges during their year as praetors and to proceed to the governorship of the provinces after their year of office. Sulla introduced this practice because of the increase of provinces and because of the unwillingness of some men (e.g., Cicero) to serve abroad. During Sulla's day only those men who headed up the important provinces were given the title of PROCONSUL, but after Sulla all governors seemed to be given this rank. There were increases in the number of praetors to sixteen during the remaining years of the Republic.

The accession of AUGUSTUS (27 B.C.) marked the advent of the principate, and there were changes in administration. During the republican era all provinces had been under the jurisdiction of the senate, but beginning with Augustus they were divided into three classes. First, the ten older provinces that had no need of a large military force were left under the jurisdiction of the senate. Generally the administration was basically a continuation of the post-Sulla era of the republican rule. The senatorial governors had the title of proconsul and were appointed for one year with no military power (the two large provinces of Asia and Africa were held by ex-consuls, while the remaining eight provinces were held by ex-praetors). The accuracy of Acts 13:7 is attested by designating Sergius PAULUS a proconsul, since CYPRUS was a senatorial province from 22 B.C.

Second, twelve provinces (and any provinces added subsequent to 27 B.C.) came under the imperial administration. These were frontier provinces needing a large military force under the leadership of Augustus, the commander and chief of all armies. The governor of an imperial province was a legate of the emperor (*legatus Augusti pro praetore).* These legates were chosen by the emperor for an indefinite term of office and were in charge of the military. There were two classes of legates: (1) those of consular status who were over larger and more important provinces; (2) those of praetorian status who were over provinces that required no more than one legion.

Third, some provinces were under a special form of provincial administration because of the nature of their rugged terrain (e.g., the Alpine districts), their underdeveloped state (e.g., Mauretania and Thrace), or the stubborn character of the people (e.g., Judea and Egypt). They were regarded as imperial provinces governed by an imperial PROCURATOR or PREFECT of the equestrian rank chosen by the emperor and responsible to both the emperor and the neighboring legate.

**II. Principal Roman provinces.** The following list of provinces are those mentioned in the NT. They are listed in the order of their admission to the Roman empire in each of the categories. Of course, some of the imperial provinces had been senatorial provinces before 27 B.C.

*Senatorial provinces.* MACEDONIA (146 B.C.); ACHAIA (146 B.C.; from A.D. 15 to 44 it was joined to Macedonia as an imperial province); ASIA (133 B.C.); BITHYNIA (74 B.C.); CYRENE (74 B.C.); CRETE, united with Cyrene (67 B.C.); PONTUS, united with Bithynia (64 B.C.); ILLYRI-CUM (27-11 B.C.); CYPRUS (22 B.C., but previously annexed in 58 B.C.).

*Imperial provinces.* First class ruled with consulars: SYRIA (64 B.C.); CILICIA (64 B.C., united with Syria 22 B.C.-A.D. 72); Illyricum (11 B.C.); DALMATIA (A.D. 9).

The second class ruled with praetors: PAMPHYLIA, which at first was part of Cilicia (102-44 B.C.), was later united with Asia (44 B.C.-A.D. 43), and subsequently with LYCIA (A.D. 43); EGYPT (30 B.C.); GALATIA (25 B.C.-A.D. 72, after which time it was united with CAPPADOCIA and ARMENIA

Minor under a legate of consular rank); Lycia (A.D. 43-69).

The third class ruled with prefects/procurators: JUDEA (A.D. 6-41, 44-70; it had been part of Syria 63-40 B.C.) and Cappadocia (A.D. 17-72, after which it was united with Galatia and Armenia Minor under a legate of consular rank).

**III. The province of Judea.** In 63 B.C. Judea became a part of the province of Syria, but then in 40 B.C. it was assigned as a part of HEROD the Great's kingdom. With the exception of Herod Agrippa I's rule over it (A.D. 41-44; cf. Jos. *Ant.* 19.5.1 §§274-75; 19.8.2 § 342; *War* 2.11.5 §§214-15), Judea again became a province from the deposition of Archelaus in A.D. 6 to the war of A.D. 66-70. The procurators resided in CAESAREA (Jos. Ant. 18.3.1 §§55-59; *War* 2.9.2 §171; Acts 23:23, 33; 25:1) in Herod the Great's palace (Acts 23:35). In the administration of justice the emperor entrusted the prefects or procurators with full powers, including the infliction of capital punishment (Jos. *War* 2.8.1 §117). Although the SAN-HEDRIN could pass sentence, it was the prefect who executed the sentence of capital punishment (Jn. 18:31; Acts 25:1-12).

The province of Judea was under Syria's consular legate, as seen in Varus's intervention shortly after Herod the Great's death (Jos. *Ant.* 17.9.3 §222; 17.10.9-10 §§286-98; *War 2.2.2* §17; 2.5.1-3 §§66-79; cf. also *Ant.* 17.11.1 §§299-303; *War* 2.6.1 §§80-83). In A.D. 36 Vitellius took charge of Judea, ordering PILATE to report to TIBERIUS (Jos. *Ant.* 18.4.2 §§88-89; cf. also Tac. Ann. 6.32).

(See further J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsver-waltung* [1881], 1:497-502,517-67; T. Mommsen, *Römische Staatsrechts,* 3rd ed., 3 vols. [1887-88], passim; T. Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire from Caesar to Diocletian, 2* vols. [1909]; G. H. Stevenson, *Roman Provincial Administration* [1939]; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor, 2* vols. [1950]; J. Crook, *Concilium Principis* [1955]; A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces,* 2nd ed. [1971]; A. Lintott, *Imperium Romanum* [1993]; T. Bechert, *Die Provinzen des Römischen Reiches: Einführungund Überblick* [1999]; C. Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* [2000]; T. Fischer, *Die römischen Provinzen: Eine Einführung in ihre Archäologie* [2001]; C. Howgego et al., *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces* [2005]; *OCD,* 1265-67.)

H. W. HOEHNER

**provocation.** This English term occurs relatively few times in the Bible versions, but the verb *provoke* ("to incite, stir up," from Lat. *provocare,* "to call forth to someone, to challenge") is used often, especially as the rendering of Hebrew *kāʿas H4087* (hiphil, "to incite to anger," Deut. 4:25 et al.). In the NT, the KJV uses the expression "provoke to jealousy" to render Greek *parazēloō G4143,* "to make envious" (Rom. 10:19 et al.). The verb *prokaleō G4614* (lit., "to call out to someone") is often translated "provoke" in its only occurrence in the NT (Gal. 5:26). The KJV occasionally uses the English term in a positive sense, as in Heb. 10:24, "Let us consider one another to provoke unto love and to good works" (NIV, "spur one another on toward love and good deeds").

Specific interest arises in Heb. 3:8, 15. Here the writer quotes from Ps. 95:8-9, warning his readers against that "provocation" (KJV) where the Israelites had suffered the judgment of God. The Greek term is *parapikrasmos G4177 (lit.,* "bitterness"; NIV and other modern versions, "rebellion"), used by the SEPTUAGINT to render Hebrew *mĕrîbâ H5313,* "contention," used as a place name. The reference is to the events at MERIBAH (place of contention) and MASSAH (place of testing), where the Israelites tested God by their rebellion against MOSES (Exod. 17:1-7). Thus provoked, God condemned them to the forty years of wanderings. As recorded in Num. 20:8-14, the provocation seems to be against MOSES for reasons that are not clear. The writer to the Hebrews implies from

God's response in the wilderness the possibility of a similar judgment against his readers.

A. H. LEITCH

**pruning hook.** This English term, referring to a pole that has a curved blade used for pruning plants, is used to render Hebrew *mazmērâ H4661,* which occurs in four passages. Two of these occurrences contain the familiar phrase about beating "spears into pruning hooks" (Isa. 2:4 and Mic. 4:3; in Joel 3:10 the terms are reversed; the fourth passage is Isa. 18:5). Pruning was necessary to remove superfluous twigs and shoots that would impair proper growth and maximum productivity. The exact shape of the pruning hook is not known. The blade apparently was not large since it could be forged from a spear-point. It was sickle-shaped and attached to a short handle. A blade found at Tell Jemmeh and dated from the 9th cent. may be from a pruning hook. Pruning and the use of the pruning hook are signs of peace and prosperity (cf. Isa. 5:6, where lack of pruning describes desolation).

B. VAN ELDEREN

**Psalms, Book of.** The longest book of the Bible, consisting of 150 poems. It serves as the primary source of WORSHIP for the people of God.

1. Name
2. Authorship
    1. Titles
    2. Criticism
3. Occasions
    1. Titles
    2. Date
4. Compilation
    1. Davidic
    2. Solomonic
    3. Exilic
    4. Restoration
5. Canonicity
    1. Canonization
    2. Arrangement
6. Contents
    1. Titles
    2. Subjects
7. Use
    1. Music
    2. Cultic theory

**I. Name.** The Hebrew title for the book of Psalms is *tĕhillîm,* masculine plural of *tĕhillâ H9335,* "praise," a term that is actually used as the title of Ps. 145 (the noun is feminine, and its normal plural form is *tĕhillôt;* the masc. pl. occurs only as the title of the book). Two other Hebrew nouns that identify the formal literary types of most of the psalms are *šîr H8877* (for twenty-nine psalms) and *mizmôr H4660* (for fifty-seven psalms), both of which can be rendered "song." The term *psalm* derives from Latin *psalmus,* which in turn was a borrowing of Greek *psalmos G6011* (the verb

*psallō G6010* originally meant "to pluck [a stringed instrument]," but later "to sing to the accompaniment of an instrument," and then simply "to sing"). The use of this term as a title for the whole book is attested as early as the NT (Lk. 20:42; 24:44; Acts 1:20). CODEX ALEX-ANDRINUS has the alternate title *psaltērion* ("string instrument," then "a collection of harp songs"), from which comes the English term *Psalter*.

**II. Authorship.** The Psalms are poems, and as such they make little attempt within their various poetic forms to elaborate the circumstances of their composition.

***A. Titles.*** As might indeed be expected, many of them do prefix explanatory titles in prose, indicating their authorship and sometimes also the occasion for writing, as well as the poetic type and musical directions (see further below). Most commonly appears the phrase *mizmôr lĕdāwid,* "a psalm of David." (Ps. 3 et al., sometimes "of Asaph," etc.). The Hebrew preposition *lĕ-* may indicate several ideas, such as possession (e.g., "The earth is the LORD'S," Ps. 24:1) or the one to whom a psalm is dedicated or assigned (e.g., *"For* the director of music," Ps. 4 title). Thus the phrase "a psalm of David" has sometimes been interpreted to mean merely "of Davidic character" or "belonging to a collection entitled *David"* But the preposition can clearly express authorship (e.g., "A prayer of Habakkuk the prophet," Hab. 3:1), and the actual usage of the phrase in the book of Psalms strongly supports Davidic authorship (e.g., after *lĕdāwid* the title of Ps. 18 says literally, "who spoke to Yahweh the words of this song in the day that Yahweh delivered him from the hand of all his enemies and from the hand of Saul, and he said…"; cf. also Ps. 7).

The book of Psalms thus assigns seventy-three of the poems to DAVID, two to SOLOMON (Pss. 72; 127), one each to the wise men HEMAN and ETHAN (Pss. 88; 89; cf. 1 Ki. 4:31), one to MOSES (Ps. 90), and twenty-three to the Levitical singing-clans of ASAPH (Pss. 50; 73-83) and KORAH (Pss. 42, including 43; 44-49; 84; 85; 87). The mention of "the sons of Korah," along with Heman, in the title to Ps. 88 seems to concern compilation rather than authorship (see below, IV.C). The remaining forty-nine psalms are anonymous.

***B. Criticism.*** Negative BIBLICAL CRITICISM consistently rejects the psalm titles as of little value. As R. H. Pfeiffer has so dramatically put it, "For the dating of individual psalms, the names of authors mentioned in the titles…with the possible exception of Heman and Ethan are utterly irrelevant" (*Introduction to the Old Testament* [1941], 629). One suspects, however, that such denials spring from an evolutionary bias, which refuses to admit as genuinely Davidic the advanced spiritual conceptions that Scripture assigns to an era as early as 1000 B.C. Of peculiar character is the criticism of J. W. Thirtle (*The Titles of the Psalms* [1904]), who proposed that many of the titles should be assigned as colophons to the compositions that preceded them rather than as titles to the poems that followed them. His contention was largely ignored, but it has more recently been revived by Bruce K. Waltke (in *JBL* 110 [1991]: 583-96).

From the viewpoint of lower criticism, no significant evidence exists for denying the authenticity of the psalm titles within the text of the OT. All Hebrew MSS contain these titles. The earliest versions, except for the Syriac, not only preserve the titles but at times even misrepresent their meanings, which had been lost because of their antiquity. In the Hebrew Bible the titles are regularly included in the numbered verses of the inspired text, thus raising the verse numbers in many of the psalms by one or two digits.

From the viewpoint of higher criticism, all now recognize that poems in psalm form appear in

the OT long before the time of David (cf. Exod. 15; Deut. 32-33; Jdg. 5). In particular, archaeological research in Babylonia and Egypt has brought to light advanced hymnody centuries before ABRAHAM. The recovery of Canaanite literature at UGARIT has furnished significant parallels to the psalms from the time of Moses (cf. J. Patton, *Canaanite Parallels in the Book of Psalms* [1944], and the major researches of M. Dahood in his volumes for the Anchor Bible). Portions of Ps. 104, between vv. 20-30, indicate a relationship with the 14th-cent.
Egyptian *Hymn to Aton;* and it has been said that Ps. 29 "is clearly taken over from a Ugaritic poem to Baal, with Yahweh substituted for the Canaanite deity" (O. R. Sellers in *The Study of the Bible Today and Tomorrow,* ed. H. R. Willoughby [1947], 142; cf. H. L. Ginsberg in *BA* 8 [1945]: 53-54). The order of the letters in the Semitic alphabet has been demonstrated from Ugarit, thus confirming the possible antiquity of the acrostic poems in the book (Pss. 9; 10; 25; 34; 37; 111; 112; 114; 119), the first four of which claim Davidic authorship.

To a greater or lesser degree, Patton indicates dependence upon Ugaritic forms in 120 out of the 150 psalms, which is not surprising. The Hebrews, after all, adopted the Canaanite language to a large extent when they moved into Palestine (cf. the implications of Gen. 31:47); and no objection should be raised to the incorporation of source material within Scripture, provided such theories do not question either the correctness of the material or the Bible's own claims to its composition. On the contrary, the historicity and antiquity of Scripture is given validation by these parallels.

Modern scholarship is becoming increasingly hesitant to assign various psalms to later periods because of presumed Aramaisms in language (cf. *IB,* 4:11). David is known to have enjoyed musical and literary endowments (1 Sam. 16:16-18; Amos 6:5); note his acknowledged composition of 2 Sam. 1:19-27 and 3:33-34, and probably also ch. 22 (= Ps. 18). If Scripture's own teaching is accepted, David may be seen to have exercised leadership in the development of Israel's liturgy (2 Sam. 6:5, 16; 1 Chr. 15; 16; 25; 2 Chr. 7:6; 29:30) and to have realized Spirit-born empowerment as "the sweet psalmist of Israel" (2 Sam. 23:1 KJV; cf. Mk. 12:36; Acts 1:16; 2:30-31; 4:25).

The exhaustive analysis of R. D. Wilson (*PTR* 24 [1926]: 353-95) has demonstrated the compatibility of David's authorship with the content of each psalm attributed by title to him. A similar approach, for those open to receive it, may be applied to those other, non-Davidic psalms, which Scripture assigns to its earlier psalm compilations. Psalm 44, for example, has been considered Maccabean *(IB,* 4:228), but it is equally comprehensible as stemming from David's era, under military duress (cf. H. C. Leupold, *Exposition of the Psalms* [1959], 344-45).

The NT repeatedly authenticates ascriptions to David: Ps. 16 (Acts 2:25); Ps. 32 (Rom. 4:6); Ps. 69 (Acts 1:16; Rom. 11:9); Ps. 110 (Matt. 22:44; Mk. 12:36; Lk. 20:42; Acts 2:34). From the last cited, it becomes clear that the NT is not simply employing "Davidic" terminology but is consciously asserting David's own authorship: the force of the Lord's argument, that is, depends on *David* being the one who called his son his Lord (cf. Lk. 20:44; and note the passing comment by G. A. Smith, *The Book of Isaiah* [1927], 2:6).

Certain of the anonymously titled psalms are also recognized by the NT as of Davidic composition, namely, Ps. 2 (Acts 4:25) and Ps. 95 (Heb. 4:7). The phrase by which the NT introduces the verses from the latter is this: *legōn en Dauid,* "saying through *[lit.,* in] David," which some have interpreted as follows: *"saying in the person of* David, who was regarded as the author of the whole Psalter, and not 'in the book of David'" (B. F. Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* [1903], 97). Westcott's last observation is an important one, for if we were to charge the NT with teaching that the book of Psalms was a Davidic product, we would involve the NT writers in obvious error, in light of the Psalms that are known to be post-Davidic (e.g., Pss. 72; 107). As F. Delitzsch has remarked,

"That *en Dauid is* intended to signify 'in the book of Psalms'…is improbable; in that case he must at least have said *en tō Dauid;* but the Psalter…is never thus cited, and least of all here, where a psalm is spoken of which the LXX actually superscribes with *tō Dauid" (Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* [1868-70], 1:196). This referring of the verses to the person of David thus indicates the great king's responsibility for Ps. 95, but by no means, as in Westcott's preceding observation, for "the whole Psalter." This latter, unwarranted expansion of the application of Heb. 4:7 seems designed to render more justifiable his concluding comment, "The expression, which follows the common mode of speaking, is not to be regarded by itself as decisive of the authorship of the Psalm." On the contrary, when the NT speaks, its words are of necessity decisive, for those at least who are committed to its plenary authority.

Similarly, Ps. 96 as well as 105 and 106 are recognized as David's words by another biblical passage, though this time in the OT (1 Chr. 16:8-36). W. T. Davison (in *HDB,* 4:148) has properly cautioned: "The Psalm is not directly attributed to David as the translation of v. 7 in KJV would imply ['On that day David delivered first *this psalm* to thank the LORD into the hand of Asaph and his brethren']. The phraseology only emphasizes the fact that David took especial care concerning the giving of thanks: 'On that day did David make it his chief work to give thanks unto the Lord by the hands of Asaph and his brethren.'" The quotation that follows, however, consists of Ps. 105:1-15 and Ps. 96, as well as certain verses from Ps. 106 (vv. 1, 47-48). "Apparently, therefore, the Chronicler had these psalms—possibly a collection containing these psalms—before him when he wrote" (ibid.). However, 1 Chr. 16:36 demonstrates that David's associates had the collection before them as well: "Then all the people [present at that time, with David] said 'Amen' and 'Praise the LORD'" (the concluding words in Ps. 106:48). This Davison himself concedes: "In ch. 16, in the course of an account of the bringing up of the ark to the city of David, the writer puts a psalm into the mouth of David as appropriate to such an occasion" (ibid.). The basic point is that when it is the author of Scripture who "puts a psalm into the mouth of David," then such a psalm must actually have been the king's. Several more of the anonymously titled psalms may be Davidic too. But it is significant that no psalm which claims *other* authorship, or contains later historical allusions (as Ps. 137, exilic), is ever attributed in Scripture to the great monarch.

**III. Occasions.** Most of the material in the book of Psalms was composed during the united kingdom (1043-930 B.C.); it is thus antedated only by Genesis-Ruth among the books of the OT corpus. Precise occasions often are difficult to pinpoint within this well-known hundred-year period.

***A. Titles.*** The titles of fourteen of the Davidic psalms designate specific occasions of composition. These in turn contribute to a historical understanding of Scripture, as follows (in chronological order):

Ps. 59 was occasioned by the incident recorded in 1 Sam. 19:11 and sheds light on the character of David's jealous associates (Ps. 59:12).

Ps. 56 shows how David's fear at Gath (1 Sam. 21:10) led to faith (Ps. 56:12).

Ps. 34 illuminates God's subsequent goodness (vv. 6-8; cf. 1 Sam. 21:13).

A family pausing by one of the fresh water springs at En Gedi, with the Dead Sea and the mountains of Moab in the distance (view to the E). David spent time in this region and drew upon its scenes when composing his psalms.

Ps. 142, because of the persecution it describes (v. 6), suggests David's experience at the cave of ADULLAM (1 Sam. 22:1) rather than at EN GEDI (PS. 57, below).
Ps. 52 (cf. v. 3) emphasizes SAUL'S wickedness as DOEG'S superior (1 Sam. 22:9).
Ps. 54 (cf. v. 3) judges the Ziphites (1 Sam. 23:13).
Ps. 57 concerns the cave of En Gedi, when Saul was caught in his own trap (v. 6; cf. 1 Sam. 24:1).
Ps. 7 introduces slanderous CUSH (vv. 3 and 8 correspond to 1 Sam. 24:11-12).
Ps. 18 is repeated as a whole in 2 Sam. 22 and belongs chronologically at 2 Sam. 7:1.
Ps. 60 (cf. v. 10) illumines the dangerous Edomitic campaign (2 Sam. 3:13-14; 1 Chr. 18:12; referred to in 1 Ki. 11:15).
Ps. 51 elaborates on David's guilt with BATHSHEBA (2 Sam. 12:13-14).
Ps. 3 (cf. v. 5) depicts David's faith at the time of ABSALOM'S revolt (2 Sam. 15:16).
Ps. 63 sheds light on David's flight E at this time (2 Sam. 16:2), for in his previous flights he was not as yet king (Ps. 63:11).
Ps. 30 alludes to David's sins of pride in his armed power (vv. 5 – 6; cf. 2 Sam. 24:2), prior to the brief pestilence (2 Sam. 24:13-17; 1 Chr. 21:11-17), his repentance, and his dedication of the altar and "house" (sacred temple area, 1 Chr. 22:1) of Yahweh.

Among the remaining psalms whose titles express authorship, the twenty-three composed by Israel's singers exhibit widely separated backgrounds, since these Levitical clans continued active into postexilic times (Ezra 2:41). Most of them pertain to the Davidic or Solomonic periods. Psalm 83, however, suits the ministry of the Asaphite JAHAZIEL in 852 B.C. (cf. vv. 5-8 with 2 Chr. 20:1-2, 14), while Pss. 74 and 79, and the concluding strophe of Pss. 88-89, were produced by Asaphites and Korahites who apparently survived the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 (74:3, 8-9; 79:1; 89:44).

***B. Date.*** Among the titleless and anonymous psalms, a few stem from the EXILE (e.g., Ps. 137), from

the return to Judah in 537 B.C. (107:2-3; 126:1), or from NEHEMIAH'S rebuilding of Jerusalem's walls in 444 (147:13). Others that depict tragedy could as easily relate to the disorders of Absalom's revolt or to similar Davidic calamities (cf. Pss. 102:13, 22; 106:41-47). R. Laird Harris expresses commendable critical caution: "It is of some interest that the historical allusions of the psalms do not go beyond the times of David, except for the anonymous psalm of the Captivity, Ps. 137. Several psalms refer in general terms to times of captivity and hardship and to periods of desolation of the Temple (for example…80, 85, 129). These are quite general poetic descriptions, however, and we must remember that Jerusalem was sacked more than once. David himself suffered two palace revolts. None of the above psalms is ascribed to David, though some of them could be of his days or soon thereafter" (in *The Biblical Expositor,* ed. C. F. H. Henry, 3 vols. [1960], 2:49).

Even apart from their skepticism over the psalm titles (see above, II.B), liberal scholars have tended to assign late dates to the psalms. Such interpreters once spoke confidently of numerous Maccabean (2nd cent. B.C.) psalms; R. H. Pfeiffer, for example *(Introduction,* 629, 631), insisted that "the real question with regard to the Psalter is not whether it contains Maccabean psalms of the 2nd cent., but rather whether any psalms are preexilic psalms.…Apparently only two (24:7-10 and 45) are entirely free from the peculiarities of thought and expression of postexilic Judaism and can possibly be dated earlier than the 7th cent. B.C." It was asserted that grammatical forms such as the *-ût* ending for abstract nouns (as in Ps. 110:3) are Aramaisms and therefore of late date, though an accurate definition speaks of this phenomenon "becoming *more common* only in the later books" (GKC §86k). It has even been claimed that Pss. 2 and 110 were written as acrostics to glorify HASMONEAN rulers, respectively, "Jannaeus A(lexander) and his wife" (at their marriage in 103 B.C.) and "Simon" (143-135 B.C.; cf. Pfeiffer, *Introduction,* 630).

But these theories were proposed before the discovery of the DEAD SEA SCROLLS, some of which date from that very Maccabean period and include MSS both of the canonical psalms and of the *Hodayot,* "thanksgivings" (secondary psalmodic compositions), and other books that incorporate materials from the biblical book of Psalms. F. M. Cross has further observed that "the psalms of the Maccabean period are much developed from the latest of the OT psalms," which establishes the Persian era as the most recent possible point for inspired psalmody (*The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies,* rev. ed. [1961], 165-66; cf. J. P. Hyatt in *JBL* 72 [1957]: 5; O. Eissfeldt in *Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James Muilenburg,* ed. B. W. Anderson [1962], 196). The Qumran evidence reinforces the hypothesis that Ezra may not only be the author of his own book and of 1-2 Chronicles (some of the last in the OT) but may also be the compiler of the entire Jewish canon, including Psalms, shortly after 424 B.C. (Darius II, mentioned in Neh. 12:22).

**IV. Compilation.** The entire collection consists of 150 psalms (although there is evidence of some variation in the rabbinic literature). Psalms 9-10 make up one acrostic poem, however, and are counted together as Ps. 9 in the SEPTUAGINT; similarly, Pss. 42-43 seem to have made up one original composition (cf. the repeated refrain in 42:5, 11 and 43:5). Neither Ps. 10 nor Ps. 43 has a separate title; they may have been divided off from 9 and 42 for special liturgical reasons. The order in the book is ancient, dating back presumably to the original compilation (see below). The present sequence is validated by the order of the LXX, for the Greek translation of Psalms may have been completed before the end of the 3rd cent. B.C. *(IDB,* 3:943b), and it is confirmed by the NT (cf. Paul's reference in Acts 13:33 to "the second psalm"). The canonical Psalms fragments of the first Christian century from Qumran, published in 1965 – 67, approximate the MT order, though without

complete correspondence (e.g., Pss. 109, 118, and 147 are inserted within 101-105; moreover, 146 and 148 are placed before, and 119 after, 121-132; J. A. Sanders, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* [1967], 156).

In addition to Pss. 9-10, the LXX also combines two of the Hallel Psalms (114 and 115), but only "for liturgical reasons" (C. A. Briggs and E. Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms,* ICC, 2 vols. [1906-07], 2:393). As a result Ps. 115 is designated 113:9-26 in the LXX enumeration. But since the LXX later divides Pss. 116 and 147 into two separate chapters each, it concludes with the same total of 150. The LXX'S so-called 151st Psalm has a Hebrew prototype, discovered at Qumran Cave **II;** but even the Greek text inserts the caution that this supplement is *exōthen tou arithmou,* "outside the number." The practical significance of the LXX'S variations thus relates neither to content nor to arrangement, but simply to enumeration. Since the Latin VULGATE follows the LXX order, the Psalms in the Roman Catholic

Portion of a postbiblical Hebrew psalm found among the Dead Sea Scrolls.

English versions also are one number lower (two numbers lower for Pss. 115-116) than in other Bibles, except for Pss. 1-9 and 147-150.

The 150 psalms are then organized into five books: I = Pss. 1-41; II = 42-72; III = 73-89; IV = 90-106; V = 107-150. A given psalm or psalm portion may, moreover, appear in more than one collection: Ps. 14 and a part of 40 (Book I) reappear, respectively, as 53 and 70 (Book II); and the latter halves of 57 and 60 (Book II) combine as 108 (Book V). It seems likely, therefore, that each book compilation experienced at least an initial period of independent existence. Furthermore, since the last psalm of each collection was composed with terminal ascriptions or doxologies that were designed to mark the completion of each book as a whole (Pss. 41:13; 72:18-20; 89:52; 106:48; and 150 in its entirety for Book V), it appears that the origins of these five concluding psalms provide clues for the compilation of their respective books.

***A. Davidic.*** Psalm 41 was written by David. Moreover, the remaining psalms of Book I are also attributed to him (except for Ps. 1, which constitutes the book's introduction; Ps. 10, which combines with 9 to form one continuous acrostic, as noted above; and Ps. 33, which has no title). It would thus appear that David brought together the first collection some time before his death in 970 B.C. Book I consists primarily of personal psalms that arose out of the king's own experiences.

David further composed Ps. 106 (cf. 1 Chr. 16:34-36; and see above, II.B), so that Book IV must likewise be traced to David's own hand, prior to 970. It consists of a Mosaic composition (Ps. 90, the oldest of all) and other Davidic psalms (96; 101; 103; 105), but mostly of anonymous poems. Its nature is liturgical, in contrast with the more personal character of Ps. 1—41.

***B. Solomonic.*** Books II-III exhibit more of a national interest; one might also note, through Ps. 83, their relative preference for the divine name *Elohim* ("God" transcendent), rather than for the Lord's personal name, *Yahweh* (see GOD, NAMES OF). King Solomon (d. 930 B.C.) was responsible for the doxology of Ps. 72:18-20; he thus becomes the historical compiler of Book II. His concluding reference to "the prayers of David" (72:20) seems to be due to his father's having composed over half of the poems that make up Pss. 42-72, namely 51-70 (except possibly the "orphan" [titleless] 66 and 67). Yet Pss. 42-49 are productions of the singing guild of the sons of Korah; and 50, of Asaph. As noted above, the fact that Ps. 14 is almost exactly duplicated in Ps. 53, except for the divine name *Elohim* in the latter, suggests an existence for Book II that was originally independent from the Davidic I and IV compilation.

***C. Exilic.*** Book III, however, contains three sections (Pss. 74; 79; and 89:38-52) that make reference to the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 (see above, III.A). The last named, moreover, contains the concluding doxology that marks the time of the compilation of the Book III; and 89:38-52 would then appear, in turn, to be identified by the initial part of the title that is prefixed to Ps. 88. Though the bodies of Pss. 88 and 89 bear the title *maskil* (instructive psalm; see below, VI.A), written by Solomon's wise Ezrahites Heman and Ethan, the "traditional" authors (A. F. Kirkpatrick, *The Book of Psalms,* CBSC, 3 vols. [1895-1903], 2:524), the former psalm has yet what appears to be an additional title prefixed to that of Heman: "A song. A psalm of the Sons of Korah." The first term, *šîr,* regularly refers to a song of joyful praise (cf. Ps. 30; 45; et al.), or at least of confidence (83; 120). Yet "on one matter all commentators who deal with Ps. 88 are fully agreed: it is the gloomiest psalm found in the Scripture" (Leupold, *Exposition of the Psalms,* 626). The apparent inappropriateness of this term as a description for Ps. 88 is counterbalanced, however, by its applicability to Ps. 89 (cf. vv. 1-2), so that 88 probably "is but the first part of the whole, consisting of Ps. 88 and 89; [and] the title, in its first part, belongs to both" (R. Jamieson, A. R. Fausset, and D. Brown, *A Commentary, Critical, Experimental, and Practical, on the Old and New Testaments,* 6 vols. [1864—70, repr. 1945], 3:289).

Furthermore, the joyous composition of the Solomonic Ethan (Ps. 89:1-37) has added to it the exilic supplement (of vv. 38-52), to which the Korahite title must also refer. The sons of Korah are thus ultimately responsible for Ps. 89's terminal strophe, which they seem to have suffixed in the spirit of Ps. 88. Hence the entirety of Book III would have been completed and collected by this unnamed group of Korahites soon after 586 B.C.

This third book includes a variety of compositions: Ps. 86, Davidic; 73-83, Asaphite; 84-85 and 87, also Korahite. When inserted between Books I-II and Book IV, it completed Israel's psalter of the exile. Since the divine process of compiling the Psalms had at this juncture come to embrace all but the last forty-four poems, the inadequacy of the often used description for Psalms as "the hymnbook of the second temple" (e.g., S. Terrien, *The Psalms and their Meaning for Today* [1952], 32) becomes apparent. For such a description prejudices both the purpose and the date of the Psalter: on the one hand, many of the psalms were never intended as public hymns (see below, VII; and J. Paterson, *The Praises of Israel* [1950], 3); and, on the other, whereas all were clearly in existence in the days of the postexilic temple, most of them had been just as available in the days of the first temple too.

***D. Restoration.*** Finally Book V parallels David's Book IV in liturgical interest; but it includes several postexilic psalms (e.g., Ps. 107; cf. vv. 2-3), as well as fifteen Davidic poems and one by

Solomon (Ps. 127). It must have come into being after the return of 537 B.C. and existed for some time as a volume independent from the preceding four books: this would account for the presence of Ps. 108, which, as indicated above, is essentially a combination of 57:7-11 and 60:5-12, all three being Davidic by title.

It then remained for a Spirit-led scribe to bring Book V into union with I-IV, adding his own inspired composition of Pss. 146-150 as a grand hallelujah for the entire Psalter. Since this last section was written in 444 B.C. (147:13), at the time of EZRA'S proclamation of the written law and reform of temple worship (Neh. 8-10), it may well be that Ezra himself executed the final compilation of the book (cf. Ezra 7:10).

Since the time of Ezra, certain minor scribal corruptions have found their way into the text of Psalms (e.g., there are dislocations in the acrostic structure of Pss. 9-10). The text in general is well preserved, as a comparison of the MT with the LXX and other ancient versions readily demonstrates.

**V. Canonicity.** The 150 psalms of the OT are inspired of God (2 Tim. 3:16; cf. Lk. 24:44). This conclusion is based on apostolic authority, for Peter could quote from them as "the Scripture…which the Holy Spirit spoke long ago through the mouth of David" (Acts 1:16). David himself, moreover, affirmed, "The Spirit of the LORD spoke through me; / his word was on my tongue" (2 Sam. 23:2). The Psalms are therefore divinely canonical. See CANON (OT).

***A. Canonization.*** It is a "fundamental error" to consider canonization as describing an action in time, taken by human beings, by which a given book is rendered authoritative, as if "what was not itself intended to be sacred, nevertheless became sacred" (W. H. Green, *General Introduction to the Old Testament: The Canon* [1899], 26-27). Books cannot "become" canonical or have canonicity imparted to them; from God's viewpoint, "if a certain writing has indeed been the product of divine inspiration, it belongs in the Canon from the moment of its composition" (E. J. Young, *An Introduction to the Old Testament,* rev. ed. [1964] 31). To assert the contrary, or to suggest that "it lies in the original nature of all sacred writings that they become sacred without intending it" (as this view is characterized by Green, *General Introduction,* 26), is simply, on a priori grounds, to deny the possibility of a written divine authority and to designate that human action of canonization as an unwarranted one.

From our viewpoint, however, some of the psalms do seem to have arisen as the outpouring of the human spirit, without the writers' apparent consciousness at the time that their writings were to serve as inspired standards of life (cf. Pss. 42; 130). In such cases "canonization" became necessary, provided this is understood as "a matter of recognition of the qualities already inherent by divine act in the books so inspired" (G. L. Archer, *A Survey of Old Testament Introduction* [1964], 69).

For Books I, II, and IV of the Psalter, such canonization must have occurred with considerable rapidity. Psalm 18, for example, was included within the canonical book of Samuel (2 Sam. 22), possibly within half a century of the death of David (cf. the chronological implications of 1 Sam. 27:6 and of 2 Sam. 17:17-21; 18:19-30; might AHIMAAZ have been its author?); and at least three psalms (Pss. 96; 105; 106) were "appointed" by David as a standard for public worship at the outset of his own reign over Israel (1 Chr. 16:7-36). The assignment of many others to the charge of chief musicians for directing Israel's worship is evidence of a similar, conscious Davidic canonizing. The facts of David's and Solomon's intentional compilation of Books I, II, and IV within their own lifetimes gives further testimony to the contemporaneous recognition of the authority of at least those eighty-nine psalms.

The fact that the exilic singing-guild of the sons of Korah concluded Ps. 89 with a doxology (v. 52), patterned on those of the previous books, suggests an awareness of a parallel canonicity for Book III; and the five-psalms-doxology of Book V (Pss. 146-150) implies not only an equivalent authority for all five books but also the concept that precisely these 150 psalms were now set apart as a distinctive, completed portion of the canon.

External testimony to the canonical acceptance of Psalms is lacking until the intertestamental period, when the APOCRYPHA speaks of "the writings of David" in parallel with "the books about the kings and prophets" (2 Macc. 2:13) and quotes directly from Ps. 79:2-3 as canonical (1 Macc. 7:17). Psalms were part of the LXX translation of the Bible (most of which was completed in the 3rd-2nd cent. B.C.), and Qumranic MSS of the 2nd cent. B.C. give evidence that "the collection of canonical Psalms was fixed by Maccabean times" (Cross, *Ancient Library,* 165). The major Psalms scroll from Qumran Cave 11, together with five other fragments that once formed parts of it, now touches on forty-one of the psalms of Books IV and V (with the aforementioned variations in order); but it also presents insertions from 2 Sam. 23 and Jer. 10 and from eight apocryphal compositions, including parts of Sir. 51. J. A. Sanders suggests: "One may look at the fluidity of order in the Psalms Scroll in one of two ways: either as unique and at variance with a generally accepted order; or as a 'local text' representing a limited but valid Psalter tradition." He prefers the latter alternative and considers the Cave 11 scroll "as a signpost in the multi-faceted history of the canonization of the Psalter," which became "fixed by sections progressively from the front to the back" *(The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll,* 13). He elsewhere grants that this scroll is marked by "floating bits of liturgical literature" (ibid., 156); and his conclusion does fly in the face of the above noted biblical data that favors the Davidic formulation of Book IV. The Cave 11 scroll seems best seen as a sort of service lectionary rather than as an OT canon. (See now P. W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* [1997].)

***B. Arrangement.*** Within the total canon of the OT, according to the old Hebrew arrangement, the book of Psalms follows "the Law" and "the Prophets" and inaugurates the final division of the OT, called "the Writings" (cf. Lk. 24:44). As JOSEPHUS explained during the 1st Christian century, the OT consists of a total of twenty-two books: the Pentateuch makes up five; the Prophets, thirteen (prob. meaning eight "former prophets" [the historical books of Joshua, Judges-Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, Esther, and Job] and five "latter prophets" [Isaiah, Jeremiah-Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the Minor Prophets]); and the remaining four books of the canon (Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Solomon) "embrace hymns to God and counsels for men for the conduct of life" *(Ag. Ap.* 1.8). By the 4th cent., liturgical considerations had altered the old Hebrew arrangement to its present rabbinical order, in which a number of the prophetic books have been transferred from the second to the third division (cf. R. L. Harris, *The Inspiration and Canonicity of the Bible* [1957], 141-45).

The older arrangement of the canon is, however, reflected in the Greek (and English) Bible, with this difference: that the book of Psalms, together with the other three of Josephus's poetic books, is now inserted between the former and the latter prophets (cf. the reference in Matt. 23:35 to Abel-through-Zechariah as marking off the OT Bible; see J. B. Payne, "Zachariah Who Perished," *The Grace Journal 8/3* [Fall 1967]: 33-35).

**VI. Contents.** Psalms possesses some of the most inspiring subject matter in the Hebrew Bible. It is quoted more frequently by the NT than any other book and is revered by Christians up to the present

day. The Psalter is individualistic, personal, and emotional; its 150 poems constitute, in fact, the height of God-given literature. Each of the psalms exhibits, moreover, the formal characteristics of HEBREW POETRY, which consists primarily in a parallelism of thought, whereby succeeding phrases either repeat or in some way elaborate the previous line. The poems vary in content. Hermann Gunkel has proposed a number of categories, not all of which appear valid (see below, VII); but various psalm types do distinguish themselves either by their Hebrew titles or by subject.

***A. Titles.*** A total of five elements may appear in the titles of the canonical psalms: (1) assignment, (2) music, (3a-b) literary type and aim, (4) author, and (5) occasion. Only Ps. 60 contains all five, as follows: (1) "For the director of music"; (2) "To [the tune of] 'The Lily of the Covenant'"; (3a) "A miktam"; (4) "of David"; (3b) "For teaching"; (5) "When he fought Aram Naharaim and Aram Zobah, and when Joab returned and struck down twelve thousand Edomites in the Valley of Salt." Most of the psalms have titles that contain one or more of these elements. (1) and (2) are discussed below, under the "Use of psalms"; but (3), on literary type, serves as an introduction to the contents of the Psalter, although one must recognize a degree of uncertainty over the exact connotations of some of these titles.

The greatest number of the poems (57 of them) possess a lyrical, singing quality and are entitled "psalm," *mizmôr,* with the name's emphasis resting upon the stringed accompaniment (see above, I.B); the other title, "song," *šicirc;r,* emphasizes joyful melody (it appears 30 times, often in combination with *mizmôr). The* praises may be general (e.g., Ps. 145) or specific (e.g., Ps. 19, concerning God's revelation). The title *tĕhillâ,* "praise", occurs only for Ps. 145. Also of a somewhat lyrical quality is the *tĕpillâ H9525,* "prayer," a title that identifies the contents of Pss. 17; 86; 90; 102; and 142. Some of these poems contain elements of laments (e.g., 86:1-3); but the character varies, and many more of the psalms are phrased either in part or in whole as prayers to God.

Another term, š*iggēyôn H8710* (Ps. 7; Hab. 3:1), is of uncertain meaning, though many think it refers to a "dirge." It suggests the emotion of grief and validates Gunkel's categories of both national and individual laments. Certain psalms (cf. Pss. 79; 83; parts of 44; 74; 89:38-51) approach the elegiac character of 2 Sam. 1:19-27 and 3:33-34, the book of LAMENTATIONS, or other OT examples of the qî*nâ H7806* (lament form), though this term does not actually appear in a psalm title. The meaning of *miktām H4846* is debated as well (see MIKTAM); one suggestion is that it refers to ATONEMENT. This term introduces Pss. 16 and 56-60, perhaps because of references to covered sins (cf. 60:1, 5). All these psalms are lamentations (see below, B.6, on the penitential psalms).

A number of portions in the Psalter (e.g., Ps. 34:11-16) exhibit a marked gnomic or wisdom character, much akin to Proverbs (cf. Pss. 37; 49; 73; 128; 133; and especially Solomon's Ps. 127). Less clearly associated with the gnomic literary type, but pointing in the same direction, is the title *maśkîl H5380,* which perhaps means "instruction," suggesting a didactic or at least meditative quality. It appears in thirteen of the superscriptions (Ps. 32 et al.). Rather than being considered as true psalms, however, the gnomic poems are more appropriately classified under the OT's WISDOM Literature.

***B. Subjects.*** Apart from their titles, the psalms are most satisfactorily categorized on the basis of their subject matter. A number of modern critics, following Gunkel, have sought for a more objective standpoint and have attempted to group the poems of the Psalter according to certain formal characteristics. For example, a psalm that consists of a petitionary invocation, followed by a description of the psalmist's distress, and concluding with an expression of trust in Yahweh, is

designated a "lament" (G. Fohrer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* [1968], 261-62, 267). Whereas a few such forms may appear to be capable of isolation, this approach as a whole must be designated inadequate. Because of the variety that is exhibited by the psalms, so much latitude has had to be allowed within any given formal category that distinguishability has become questionable. Moreover, a psalm's form seems to follow upon an almost predictable basis from its content; for example, how else would a lament naturally be phrased, other than by an invocation, description of the problem, and then a commitment to God? The following categories are based on content but are by no means exhaustive; they do, however, cover some of the more significant or distinguishable subjects that appear in the book of Psalms on the relationships of God and his people.

**1. Praise.** The central personality of all Scripture is God, and the biblical poems delight in summoning creation to the praise of its divine creator. Such hymns frequently commence with an appeal to exalt Yahweh (e.g., Ps. 33:1-3), followed by the main body of the psalm, which presents the ground for the appeal (the latter often introduced by "for" [e.g., 33:4], "who" [e.g., 16:7], or a participle [e.g., 147:2-3, lit., "one building…the one healing"; cf. 103:3-6]). A conclusion may then resume the initial appeal (e.g., 103:20-22), but not always so (e.g., the above cited Ps. 33 or 147, though the latter does conclude with "Praise Yahweh!"). The Hebrew hymns of praise are distinguished by their descriptions of the nature and the qualities of God, whether in testimony about him or in direct prayer to him, rather than by some consistent, formal character.

In keeping with Scripture as a whole, the book of Psalms does not attempt to prove God's reality. The so-called "existence of God" psalms (cf. Ps. 10:4 NRSV; 14:1; et al.) are essentially concerned, not with such theoretical denials as "There is no God," but with those practical denials that result in disregarding his presence (14:2, 4; cf. 10:4 NIV). Rather, the personality of God is described in such realistic terms as sometimes to appear unduly anthropomorphic (e.g., 2:4); all this serves to emphasize the genuineness of his existence as a real person who is concerned with the welfare of his creatures (73:26).

The book includes poems of REVELATION, both general (i.e., in nature, Ps. 19:1-6), and special (God's verbalized communication in history, 19:8-14). Whereas the former is limited to confronting human beings with the fact of God's greatness—"There is no speech or language / where their voice is not heard" (v. 3)—the latter brings to them an eternal restoration and acceptance before God (vv. 7, 9, 14), especially through the Mosaic law, which is the consistent theme of Scripture's longest chapter, the 176 verses of Ps. 119. Correspondingly, the divine name moves on from El or Elohim, God transcendent, in 19:1, to the personal name Yahweh, meaning "he is present," immanently, to redeem, in vv. 7-14 (cf. Exod. 3:14 and J. B. Payne, *Theology of the Older Testament* [1962], 147-48).

As in the previous written revelation of the Pentateuch (Deut. 4:35, 39), Ps. 115 affirms MONOTHEISM: the gods of the pagans are mere idols (vv. 4-7). When the latter do find mention poetically (e.g., 86:8), it is simply because of the belief that some people place in them; for the psalms, Yahweh is "God alone" (v. 10; cf. Sellers in *The Study of the Bible,* 139). In the remaining passages where the term *)ĕlōhîm* refers to personalities other than the true God, it refers to angels (Ps. 8:5; Heb. 2:9) or to God's human representatives (i.e., judges, Ps. 82:1 ASV mg; cf. v. 7; Exod. 21:6).

The qualities of God that are most emphasized in the psalms are not primarily those of his changelessness (cf. Ps. 102:27) but of his adaptability (18:25-26). Three basic groups of divine attributes may be singled out. (1) His *infinity* is taught by the several strophes of Ps. 139. This

masterful poem stresses not so much his infinity in time (cf. 90:2; 102:12) as in space, that is, his OMNIPRESENCE (139:7-12). God's "temple" is heaven itself (11:4); yet in his grace he may localize himself in history, at Sinai (68:7-8; cf. Deut. 33:2; Jdg. 5:4-5) or Jerusalem (Ps. 20:2; 27:4) or to an individual (139:18; 145:18). God is infinite also in knowledge (his OMNISCIENCE, 139:1-6) and in power (his OMNIPOTENCE, 139:13-18; cf. Pss. 93-99, on Yahweh's eternal kingship).

(2) The RIGHTEOUSNESS of Yahweh is taught by Ps. 5, especially vv. 4, 8. Two terms are particularly descriptive in this regard: his *)ĕmet H622,* "truth," but more literally, "firmness," a fidelity to principle (86:11); and his *ṣedeq H7406,* "rightness," which is the manifestation of his truth and means, more literally, "upright" action (7:17).

(3) God's goodness is a subject of praise, preeminently in Ps. 103, but in many of the other psalms as well. Stress falls upon Yahweh's MERCY (17:7; 86:15) and his fatherhood (27:10; 89:26; cf. 57:1; 63:7). Above all there stands God's *ḥesed H2876,* rendered LOVINGKINDNESS in the KJV; this quality consists basically in God's loyalty to his own covenanted word. It produces justice (33:5) and leads to *šāiôm H8934,* "peace," that is, wholeness and integration. The NRSV thus renders *ḥesed* as "steadfast love"; cf. the expressiveness of Ps. 85:10, which may be rendered literally, *"covenant love* and *faithfulness* are met together; *righteousness* and *peace* will kiss each other."

The summation of the Psalter's praise focuses upon God's *qōdeš H7731,* HOLINESS, which is basically his "separateness" (cf. Lev. 20:26) and constitutes more than any single attribute. As depicted in the three strophes of Ps. 99, this term describes the totality of God's exaltedness (vv. 1-3), of his moral nature (vv. 4-5), and of his redemptive activity (vv. 6-9). Holiness, in other words, is the fullness of "deity."

**2. Nature.** The poetry of the Psalter moves naturally from praise of the Creator to an appreciation for his physical CREATION. For the psalmists did not progress from nature to nature's God, but they saw revealed to them in all of nature the God whom they already knew by revelation. Four psalms in particular reveal this relationship of dependence that the world sustains toward God: Ps. 104, which may in part have originated in Egypt (see above, II.B), is a creation hymn—Yahweh is the world's source; Ps. 50, especially vv. 10-13, speaks of Yahweh's self-sufficiency apart from the world, of which he is the owner; Ps. 29, with its Ugaritic background, praises Yahweh (not BAAL) who sits "enthroned as King for ever" (v. 10)—he is its ruler; and Ps. 65, with its expression of thanksgiving in vv. 9-11, describes how God dispenses his blessings through the world of nature (cf. 33:5; 147:8-9).

The phenomena of earth, as these matters are set forth in the nature psalms, have raised a measure of criticism against the Psalter: sometimes as if it were incorrect, and sometimes as if overtly mythological. For the former, poetic imagery must not be subjected to canons of literalistic interpretation. The "streams of God" (Ps. 65:9) are simply the rain; the "foundations" of the earth are its established order (104:5) or, at points, such principles as those upon which human society rests (75:3). The "heavens of heavens" (148:4 KJV) is but a superlative idiom for highest heaven (cf. an actual pl. connotation of the term in 2 Cor. 12:2); and when Ps. 24:2 says that God founded the earth "upon the seas and established upon the waters," it suggests not some faulty Babylonian concept of a world egg, topped by a stone vault and drifting in a primeval abyss, but simply land that lies above the shore level (cf. Exod. 20:4 or 2 Pet. 3:5; cf. Harris in *The Biblical Expositor,* 2:43). Divine INSPIRATION could, in fact, operate with correctness of description better through poetry (cf. Ps. 104:6) than it might have through the prose of the ancients.

As for mythological criticism, the book of Psalms is careful to avoid any explanation of natural

phenomena in terms of persons or monsters, which is the essence of MYTH. Even LEVIATHAN, which has been compared with Canaanitish BAAL'S monstrous opponent Lotan, is no more than a great whale-like creature in Ps. 104:26, and a symbol for Egypt in 74:14 (used in parallel with the DRAGON, v. 13 [NIV, "monster"]; cf. Job 41:1), just as Rahab symbolizes Egypt in Ps. 87:4 and 89:9-10 (cf. Isa. 51:9-10). See RAHAB (MONSTER). Mythology robs nature by transferring its glories to higher beings; the book of Psalms keeps nature distinct from persons but personalizes it in its poetry (98:8-9).

The Psalter exhibits appreciation for the full range of nature's beauty as the handiwork of God (cf. Ps. 147:8-10, 14-18). This includes wild life (v. 9, to be contrasted with the fear indicated in even such remarkable pagan works as the Egyptian *Hymn to Aton;* cf. C. S. Lewis, *Reflections on the Psalms* [1958], 83-85), daily phenomena (133:3), and both the pastoral and the agricultural yearly cycle (65:13). The psalmist could sing about nature's power (42:7, 8), even its pathos (102:7-8) and its joy (126:5).

Nature's purpose is to glorify God (Ps. 148) and to point people to him (19:1; 8:3-4). This function is particularly illustrated by the comparative parallelism of the Psalter: "As the deer pants for streams of water, / so my soul pants for you, O God" (42:1; cf. 103:5; 128:3). Sometimes the parallelism is implied: "Even the sparrow has found a home, / and the swallow a nest for herself, / where she may have her young—/ a place near your altar, / O LORD Almighty, my King and my God" (84:3)—not that the burning altar was any place for a bird to nest, but that through it the believer finds his true house, like a nest, with God. To the psalmist, nature is far from ultimate; it will some day fail (102:26). It exists to serve mankind (104:10-23) and to praise Yahweh (v. 33).

**3. Historical.** Within the physical world, it is particularly the history of humanity with which the psalms are concerned. Scripture, moreover, approaches humanity as fallen and in need of the redemption that can come only through Christ (Jn. 14:6; Acts 4:12). Whether then it be for saints prior to the Messiah or after him (Heb. 9:15; 11:40) reconciliation with God is in fact effectuated through the *diathēkē G1347* ("testament") in Christ's blood (9:16-17), which both in its older (vv. 18-20) and newer revelations was God's instrument for the bequeathing of salvation to his human inheritors. But whereas the older *bĕrît H1382* ("covenant" or "testament") progressed through a series of historical enactments, beginning with the Garden of Eden (Gen. 3:15; cf. Hos. 6:7) and centering always on the promise of reconciliation, that they should be his people, and he should be their God (Gen. 17:7; see COVENANT), this instrument of redemption reached definitive expression in the covenant on Mount Sinai (Exod. 19:5-6; cf. 6:7), and specifically concerned the nation of Israel. Whereas the psalms show awareness to God's covenant with Abraham, renewed to the subsequent patriarchs (Ps. 105:8-10), they concentrate upon Yahweh's Sinaitic administration of grace (68:7-8).

J. H. Raven (*Old Testament Introduction: General and Special* [1906], 263) lists over twenty "national" psalms that were occasioned by the events of Israel's life as a people (Pss. 14; 44; 46-48; 53; 66; 68; 74; 76; 79-80; 83; 87; 108; 122; 124-126; 129). Four others constitute detailed, historical psalms (78; 81; 105; 106) that trace out Yahweh's past testamentary dealings with Israel. Psalm 105 begins with the material blessings and guidance that God granted to Abraham (vv. 6, 9); but more generally they commence with the exodus from Egypt (80:8): the ten plagues (78; 105:23-36), the crossing of the Red Sea (66:6; 74:13; 78:13), and the divine leading of Israel through the wilderness (78:14-29). They speak of the promised land of Canaan (105:11), of the conquest (44:2, 3), and of the judges (83:9). When Yahweh's testamentary conditions and requirements were ignored (78:10, 37), disaster would result, as at Shiloh (v. 60; cf. 1 Sam. 4; Jer. 7:12). Within Israel, God's specific

choice came to rest upon the tribe of Judah (Pss. 66:1-2; 78:68) and thence upon David, Israel's royal shepherd, who became the ancestor of Christ (78:70-72).

The national psalms describe the contemporary Hebrew situation: how Yahweh, the God of Abraham (Ps. 49:7), of Jacob (46:7), and of the twelve tribes (108:7-8), is still King in Israel (44:4), in the midst (46:5), and "on our side" (124:1-2). Yet the people possess a corresponding duty (44:8; 79:13) to praise and to obey Yahweh (44:17). Failure brings suffering (14:4) by the decree of God himself (44:9-14; 80:4). But Israel may still claim her covenanted promises (44:17) and plead with God to remember his covenant/testament (74:20). Recovery is sought, often in terms of the prayer that God would restore "the fortunes of his people" (14:7), that is, the hope that God would "put an end to the imprisonment of debt" or "turn one's fortunes (to the good)" (KB, 940, s.v. *šĕbût H8654*). Such restoration becomes possible, then, as sin is removed (Ps. 79:9; 85:2-3; see below, sec. 6).

The future of Israel likewise enters into the historical picture of the psalms, some of the latest of which had come to experience God's wonderful postexilic care (Ps. 126:1-3), "For this God is our God for ever and ever" (48:14), and he remembers his testament throughout eternity (105:8-10; 106:45). Israel's hope is expressed most clearly in the so-called "Zion songs" (Pss. 48; 84; 87; 122). Here ZION reaches beyond its original identification of the ancient city of Jerusalem, with its sanctuary, into a symbolizing of the state of spiritual reconciliation with God (87:5-7); it reaches beyond Judaism into that universal city of "those who are upright in heart" (125:4). These psalms also anticipate a material kingdom, inaugurated by God's eschatological triumph (44:5; 47:3; 68:23): a kingdom of justice (58:11) in which Israel stands finally converted (80:3, 7, 19) and moral victory joins forces with the material (85:11-13). At last, history reaches its climax in that new Jerusalem (cf. Rev. 21-22), which is eternal (Ps. 48:8, 11-13), into which all the earth will come to worship (66:4; 68:29-32), and within which Israel's purpose of mediating redemption to humanity will have been ultimately accomplished (83:18; 106:8; see JERUSALEM II. G and IV).

**4. Social.** Closely related to the historical are those poems that may be classified as social psalms and that speak to the origin, nature, status, ethical purpose, and ultimate destiny of men and women. They lead to songs of either thanksgiving or supplication. Although humanity may occasionally be treated as only another part of nature, along with the beasts (Ps.104:14), the human race constitutes also the special creation of God (100:3). ADAM was endowed with sovereignty over the world (8:5-6), though since his FALL from Eden only Christ, "the last Adam" (1 Cor. 15:45), may be said to have fulfilled this potential (Heb. 2:6-8). Each person exists, moreover, as a creature of God, receiving individually a new life from the womb (Ps. 139:13; cf. Job 31:15), even though the course of all lives has been eternally written in God's book (Ps. 139:16), so that, as David affirmed, "My times are in your hands" (31:15).

The Psalter reinforces Scripture's dualistic appreciation of man: his bodily frame of dust (Ps. 103:14), which is minimized (78:39) and yet at the same time praised for its wonder (139:14); and his spiritual being (soul), in the IMAGE OF GOD (8:5). The term *rûaḥ H8120,* "spirit", may in certain passages indicate no more than "attitude" (78:8; 142:3), or "life-breath," as in animals (104:29-30; 146:4); yet it is more often the immortal SOUL (31:5), that higher part of human beings, within the BODY (77:3, 6; 143:4, 7), but which lives eternally with God (41:12; 102:26-28). See HUMAN NATURE.

Human status, though insignificant when compared with universal time (Ps. 103:13-14) or space (8:3-4), is yet divinely important (cf. the envelope structure of this latter psalm: how excellent is the strength that God ordains through these weak creatures of his, 8:1-2, 9). Insofar as we identify

ourselves with Christ (Rom. 5:17), we may yet claim Ps. 8 as our own. The redeemed soul, therefore, possesses security ("I will lie down and sleep in peace, / for you alone, O LORD, make me dwell in safety," 4:8), as well as confidence (25:13) and enlargement (31:8). We find everlasting aid in our God: "Cast your cares on the LORD / and he will sustain you; / he will never let the righteous fall" (55:22).

From such experience stems the type of psalm identified as *tôdâ H9343,* "confession" or "thanksgiving." The same Hebrew noun identifies the "thank-offering" type of SACRIFICE, and the two may indeed often have been presented in a single act of worship (Pss. 66:13; 116:17). An introduction normally confesses the psalmist's thankfulness (cf. 116:1, "I love Yahweh") or calls upon others for similar verbal expressions (107:1-3). The body of the psalm then narrates the author's circumstances, frequently including confessions about his antecedent need (cf. 116:3-4, 10-11), exclamations of gratitude (cf. vv. 5-8, 12, 15-16), and sometimes resolutions to lead others into a comparable pattern of experience (e.g., vv. 13-14, 17-19; cf. 107:8-9, 15-16, 21-22, etc.). This last may, in turn, lead into a more definitely didactic type of poem (e.g., 34:11-16, following upon 34:6-10; cf. VI.A above, end). A conclusion then sometimes resumes the thought of the introduction (cf. the mention of God's love in 107:43 and also v. 1). In form, the "thanksgiving" thus tends partially toward overlap with the "hymn" of praise (sec. 1, above). Its content is differentiated, as forcefully pointed out by C. Westermann (T*he Praise of God in the Psalms* [1965]) when he notes that the latter is usually written in the 2nd person and is descriptive of the person of God ("O Thou who art…"), while the thanksgiving is characterized by the 1st person and by narrative dealing with his works ("What shall I render unto Yahweh for all his benefits toward me…?").

The purpose of human beings is to glorify God, especially in worship (Ps. 95:6) and praise (43:4; esp. Ps. 150), in delight toward his law (1:2; 4:7; esp. Ps. 119) and toward his presence at the sanctuary (15:1; 27:4; 43:3; esp. Ps. 84). In this earthly life the believer is an "alien" (39:12), but his goal is to attain to God's own life of sanctification (51:6-7) in the "fear of Yahweh" (34:11). The social psalms thus present a standard of personal ethics that is based upon religion: God's people obey, because they are his sheep (95:7). This standard develops by the keeping of Yahweh always before one's eyes (16:8), and it takes shape by our conformity to God's own moral character (24:3-4). This requires a general attitude of humility toward oneself (131:1-2) and of uprightness toward others (Ps. 15), which God will reward (11:6-7). The very claim, however, to such reward has, upon occasion, given rise


Sheep grazing in green pastures. Much of the imagery David used in his poetry came from his outdoor experience tending sheep.

to criticisms of the various psalmists, and especially of David, for assertions that might appear as forms of self-righteousness (cf. 7:3; 17:1; 18:20). These expressions seem better understood, either as denials of particular charges with which David may have been falsely accused or as affirmations of the king's sincere devotion to Yahweh his God (cf. KD, *Psalms,* 1:97; J. P. Milton, *The Psalms* [1954], 148-49).

Among the specific qualities that are enjoined by the social psalms are honesty (Ps. 101:7; deceit is an evil as great as cursing, 10:7) and truthfulness (15:2; 24:4; entire psalms are composed about failures in speech, e.g., Pss. 12; 52; 120). We must guard against speaking slander (15:3) and must exercise care in vows (v. 4), so that the words of our mouth and the meditation our heart might be acceptable in God's sight (19:14). Friendship is the theme of the "brotherhood" of Ps. 133 (though friendly approval must not be indiscriminate, 15:4); and love, that of the marriage of Ps. 45.

Concerning the ethics of society, the social stress of Psalms centers upon politics, perhaps as a reflection of their predominantly kingly authorship. Of primary import is justice (esp. Ps. 82): bribery is condemned (15:5), and the king prays for insight in judgment (72:1-4). This last psalm moves onward to speak of compassion (vv. 12-14, messianic; and see esp. Ps. 41). Peace is an ideal (120:6-7), despite the obviously warlike enthusiasm of many of the psalms (e.g., 18:34-42); and godliness is the goal of a nation (33:12). Particularly significant is 20:7, coming as it does from the lips of David the warrior-king: "Some trust in chariots and some in horses; / but we trust in the name of the LORD our God." The economics of society, although receiving a greater emphasis in Proverbs than in Psalms, does find expression in David's opposition to usury, in his concern for the poor, and in his insistence upon integrity in the repayment of debts (15:5; 37:21).

The basic social principle of Psalms is that of righteousness (Ps. 1:4-6), with the assurance of its reward (37:25; so also Proverbs). Even as JOB was forced into the depths of soul-searching because of the inequities experienced in life, so the Psalter progresses through a series of explanations for THEODICY (God's justice vs. the problem of evil), as indicated by four representative psalms. In Ps. 37, retribution is stated to be soon (vv. 1-3). In Ps. 73, the concern is deeper (vv. 12-14), until Asaph "understood their final destiny," when the wicked are suddenly destroyed" (vv. 17-19) and the righteous are received "into glory" after death (v. 24). In Ps. 49, concern has been superseded by the Korahites' hope in life after death, when "God will redeem my life from the grave; / he will surely take me to himself" (v. 15). And in Ps. 17, David says he can remain unaffected by the "men of this world whose reward is in this life"; he further states, "when I awake, I will be satisfied with seeing your likeness" (vv. 14-15; cf. A. B. Davidson, *The Theology of the Old Testament* [1904], 459-66).

**5. Imprecatory.** Yet at other points, the Psalter exhibits no such unaffectedness over the failure of human society to achieve righteousness; and this results in psalms that are either imprecatory or penitential, depending on whether the failure be, respectively, that of others or of the psalmist himself (see next sec., 6). Imprecations may be defined as prayers for the defeat and overthrow of the wicked. Such compositions appear in all five books of the Psalter, the most thoroughgoing being Pss. 35; 69; 109; and 137; imprecatory statements appear also, for example, within Pss. 5; 7; 28; 54; 55; 58; 59; 79; 83; 101; and 139. Best known are those of David, although Jeremiah, four centuries later (Jer. 15:15; 17:18; 18:21-23; 20:12), and Nehemiah, in postexilic days (Neh. 6:14; 13:29), were impelled to strong statements of the same type. Similar prayers appear in the NT as well (Gal. 5:12; 2 Tim. 4:14; Rev. 6:10).

Many writers have united in condemning the biblical imprecations: "They must be viewed as belonging to the dispensation of the OT…they belong to the spirit of Elijah, not of Christ; they use the language of the age which was taught to love its neighbor and hate its enemy (Matt. 5:43)" (Kirkpatrick, *Psalms,* 1:lxxxix). In respect, however, to the passage cited, it should be clear that what Matt. 5 is condemning is the antibiblical tradition of intertestamental Judaism and not the OT Scriptures. The former does teach hate for the enemies (cf. the sectarian documents from the caves of Qumran, e.g., IQS I, 3-9), but the latter do not

These steps, which once led up to the southern entrance of the Herodian temple, are a reminder of the "songs of ascent" (Pss. 120-134) recited by Jewish pilgrims.

(cf. Exod. 23:4-5; Lev. 19:17-18). Three things must also be observed, positively: that the psalms and other biblical imprecations are not hasty, emotional expressions, but carefully written literature; that they are prayers and songs to God, written in good conscience; and that they are not, in the last resort, human products but are rather inspired works of the Holy Spirit.

The following features then present themselves for the justification of these divinely approved words. (a) *Poetic expressions.* Some imprecations exhibit only contemporary color or hyperbole, as Ps. 68:23: "that you may plunge your feet in the blood of your foes" (cf. 58:10). (b) *Abhorrence of sin.* What the OT essentially curses is the Satanic evil of sin (cf. Nah. 3:19); and when a person is condemned (as in Ps. 50:21) it is because the punishment of the sin inevitably involves the individual sinner (101:8; 139:21). (c) *The resignation of vengeance into God's hands* (Deut. 32:35; Rom. 12:19). A historical example of such imprecation is found in 1 Sam. 25: vengeance had been planned by a man (v. 22), but it was left with God (v. 32-35) and was divinely carried out (vv. 36-39; cf. Ps. 37:8-9; 104:34—35; 58:11). (d) *Positive goals beyond private vindication.* David is noted for the way in which he often forgave Saul; and similarly, in 109:2-5, he disclaims any personal thirst for vengeance, but he continues with one of his most devastating imprecations. That is, a person's zeal for God and for the vindication of his righteousness may involve as a corollary the vindication of the individual himself (cf. 92:11, 15; 54:7). (e) *Prophecies of God's attitude toward sin.* The same curses contained in the imprecatory psalms may be duplicated elsewhere by divine prophecies. The very form of the Hebrew verb may be ambiguous, either jussive or future (e.g., 125:5, "May Yahweh make them perish" [KD, *Psalms,* 3:279], or "Yahweh will make them perish"); and some prophecies appear much like imprecations (55:2-3; 145:20; cf. Matt. 13:49-50; Jn. 5:29).

One concludes that the imprecatory psalms are truly normative examples of the proper human appreciation for the vindication of divine justice. As W. T. Davison has stated, "It may indeed be well to consider whether the OT saints, in the vigor and simplicity of their piety, did not cherish a righteous resentment against evil which the more facile and languid moral sense of later generations would have done well to preserve. 'Oh ye that love Yahweh, hate evil,' is an exhortation that belongs, not to one age, but to all time" *(HDB,* 4:158; cf. H. Osgood in *PTR* 1 [1903]: 23-37, and C. Martin in ibid., 537-53). See also separate article on IMPRECATORY PSALMS.

**6. Penitential.** Closely related to the imprecations against external wrongs are the psalms of penitence over the psalmists' own failures. Both involve a *tĕḥinnâ H9382* (prayer of supplication) to Yahweh and are, by some, classed together as "laments." Such laments make up a major portion of the Psalter and include situations that range from serious illness and legal arraignment to military defeat and natural disasters. But the most outstanding are the seven penitential Psalms (Pss. 6; 32; 38; 51; 102; 130; 143) with their acknowledgments of guilt or, at least, of need for divine favor (Pss. 6 and 102 make no explicit reference to the authors' transgressions).

Basic to a proper understanding of the penitential psalms is the Psalter's stress upon the reality of human unrighteousness (cf. Ps. 1) and upon its universality: "If you, O LORD, kept a record of sins, / O Lord, who could stand?" (130:3; cf. 14:3; 143:2). Humanity's guilt is stated to be ingrained or hereditary (51:5; 58:3), though speculation on the rationale of original sin is something foreign to the Psalms. They do, however, present clear definitions of the theocentric nature of sin (51:4) as a violation of the will of Yahweh (78:17-19). The very choice of the terms used for sin (e.g., in the opening verses of Ps. 51) points up its character as essentially one of deviant relationship toward God's law. These perversions then result in (a) human inability, even for one to comprehend his own sin (19:12; 40:12); (b) guilt, so that God is not only justified in judging (51:4) but also is compelled to act; and (c) judgment, by which sinners are cast away in God's wrath (102:10-11) to be destroyed (73:27).

Hope, however, lies in the objective redemption of Yahweh (Ps. 130:3). Though human help is vain (60:1; 108:12), God forgives (32:5; 65:3), through the medium of his revealed covenant/testament (111:9; see above, sec. 3). Confidence for human restoration is based upon Yahweh's loyalty to his covenanted word (6:4; 25:7; see above, sec. 1). Salvation, in this objective sense, is a judicial event, whereby sins are blotted out (51:1, 9) and a person is reckoned righteous (32:2; cf. the Psalter's references to God's book, 40:7). In method, God "covers" sin (85:2) as he sees fit to redeem his lost people (130:8; 103:4). The OT instrumentality of redemption was the blood sacrifice (51:19), which points to that ultimate substitutionary death of the Messiah, in whom is the path of life (16:10-11; see below, sec. 7).

Salvation, however, involves actual, as well as judicial, cleansing (Ps. 51:2, 7); it must therefore achieve subjective appropriation first, through the regenerating activity of God's HOLY SPIRIT (143:10).The latter not only seeks to restrain people from sin (19:13) but then brings conviction over it (32:4), chooses them for himself (65:4), turns them about (80:3; 85:4), and leads them in the way everlasting (139:23-24). The sinner's response must next be one of REPENTANCE (cf. the psalms of both personal [32:51] and national [78; 95; 106] confession). For sincere repentance includes sorrow for sin (38:18) and admission of sin (51:3; 32:5), but especially a renunciation of sin, through a broken spirit (51:17; cf. 78:37).

OT conversion then moves, positively, into the experience of FAITH (cf. Heb. 11), by the sole means of which sinners may come to God (Ps. 130:1-2; 143:1). The psalmists' faith consists of an

attitude of trust (32:10) by which suppliants take refuge in Yahweh (34:8). It entails a plea for mercy (6:2), conjoined with a patient waiting for God (130:5-6; 37:7). Though the known content of faith may be minimal, there does appear a heartfelt commitment to the existing body of revelation, to God's word (19:7), which takes precedence even to sacrifice (40:6; 51:16), though sacrificial rites should follow (51:19; see below, sec. 8).

The penitential psalms generally conclude upon a note of consecration, as should indeed the entire salvation experience, which moves "from strength to strength" (Ps. 84:7). On the basis, in other words, of the indwelling guidance and power of the Holy Spirit (51:11) the sinner's life becomes one of obedience (24:4; see above, sec. 4, on specific ethical standards of the Psalter). Among its inward results are the "joy of thy salvation" (51:12), exaltation "out of the depths" (130), and assurance that "abides forever" (125:1; cf. 23:6; 103:3, 12). A more outward result, to which the penitential psalms often move, is that of a witness to others (32:8-11; 51:13), the extent of redemption being matched by this "new song" (40:2-3). Then finally comes progressive deliverance from the limitations of this world, and glorification in the next (16:11; 73:24).

**7. Messianic.** The Hebrew adjective and substantive *māšîaḥ H5431,* MESSIAH, means literally "anointed"; and it is applied in the OT to Jewish kings (Ps. 89:38, 51), who were in fact inaugurated to office by a ceremony of anointing with oil (1 Sam. 10:1; 16:13; et al.; see ANOINT). "Messiah" may then designate, in a more restricted sense, that greater son of David: Israel's coming king and future deliverer (Ps. 2:2). The Psalter also speaks of prophets as "anointed ones" (105:15; cf. 1 Ki. 19:16); and Israel's priests too were among the Lord's anointed. Furthermore, since the Servant of Isaiah, who is an anointed prophet (Isa. 61:1), combines priestly atonement with kingly dominion (49:7; 53:12), and since Jesus claimed the name *Christos G5986,* "Anointed One" (e.g., Matt. 16:16-17), together with the offices of both Servant (cf. Lk. 4:18-21; 22:37) and King (Matt. 27:11), it appears best to define the messianic psalms more broadly, as those that predict aspects of the person and work of Jesus Christ. Skeptical biblical criticism has questioned the validity of such a category of psalms: even Delitzsch found only one poem in the Psalter as directly messianic (Ps. 110; T. K. Cheyne found none *[HDB,* 4:159-61]). But Christ was explicit that the Psalms speak of him (Lk. 24:44). The Gospels validate numerous instances of such messianic prophecy, and for the Christian the NT does remain determinative.

Care must be taken in determining just which poems speak about Jesus, according to "the analogy of the NT." There appear to be at least four classes of psalms that, on a supposed basis of NT analogy, have been styled messianic but for which it would be better if they were not so considered. (1) Psalms fulfilled in David and with thoughts similar to NT truths, but with no actual equation. For example, Ps. 18:43 ("people I did not know are subject to me") is similar to Eph. 2:11-12, but it refers to David's foreign conquests. Similarly, Ps. 24:7 ("Lift up your heads, O gates…that the King of glory may come in"), though suggestive of Christ's triumphal entry, probably refers to David's bringing of the ARK OF THE COVENANT into Jerusalem. Others would be Pss. 21 (v. 4) or 61 (v. 7; cf. Heb. 7:2).

(2) Psalms that are similar to certain OT passages and that *are* noted by NT analogy as having messianic fulfillment, but which are not themselves to be so classified. For instance, Ps. 34:20 ("he protects all his bones, / not one of them will be broken") is cited in Jn. 19:36, but this detail at the crucifixion seems better related to the known

A canyon in the Desert of Zin. The difficulties of life are often compared to life in the wilderness by the writers of the psalms.

typology of the PASSOVER in Exod. 12:46.

(3) Psalms fulfilled in God's final theocratic rule, but with no particular reference to Jesus Christ as Messiah. The words of Ps. 9:8 ("He will judge the world with righteousness") are quoted in Acts 17:31, which does go on to state that God will do this by Christ, but there is no claim that such was originally taught in the psalm (cf. Pss. 50; 96; 98; et al.).

(4) Psalms with principles of universal application and therefore quoted as illustrations in the NT but with no particular messianic import in themselves. Sometimes mere phraseology reappears without regard to original contexts, as in Ps. 31:5 (cf. Lk. 23:46, "Father, into your hands I commit my spirit"), when no claim is made that the NT situation was intended by the psalmist. So also are Ps. 42:5, 11 (Matt. 26:38); Ps. 44:22 (Rom. 8:36); Ps. 38:11 and 88:8 (Lk. 23:49); and Ps. 116:10 (2 Cor. 4:13). In addition, passages such as Ps. 41:9 (Jn. 13:18), Ps. 69:4, 21 (Jn. 15:25; 19:28-30), and Ps. 78:2 (Matt. 13:35) are cited in the NT as fulfillments of Scripture, but the meaning may be "to illustrate further" (cf. Jas. 2:23), without influencing the understanding of the original (non-messianic) OT meaning (cf. further Ps. 68:18, quoted in Eph. 4:8, and Ps. 118:22, quoted in Matt. 21:42; Acts 4:11).

As M. S. Terry long ago cautioned, "We may readily admit that the Scriptures are capable of manifold practical applications; otherwise they would not be so useful for doctrine, correction, and instruction in righteousness. But the sense in every case is direct and simple; the applications and illustrations many" *(Biblical Hermeneutics,* rev. ed. [1890], 493, 495). When these and other such psalms are subtracted, thirteen messianic psalms remain that are charted below. Classification may then be accomplished on the basis of either form or content.

(a) Formal distinction may accord with the literary method of allusion to the Messiah, whether in the first, second, or third person. (i) *Simple reference to Christ may be in the 3rd person,* as in the conclusion to Ps. 2, "Kiss the Son" (but v. 7 indicates that more generally this psalm has Christ in the 1st person). The form may become most indefinite, as in 89:4, which speaks of David's "line" (lit., "seed") as being established forever. (ii) *Christ may be personally addressed in the 2nd person:* "Your throne, O God, will last for ever and ever." The methodological problem here is that of determining whether it is the Messiah who is addressed and not some contemporary listener or God the Father. Concerning the likelihood that 45:6 is actually spoken to the Messiah, R. L. Harris has observed, "Numerous commentators argue that it is impossible.…[But] if Ps. 45 calls the king God, it

simply argues that the king addressed is not Solomon, but King Messiah.…We must conclude that the author of this psalm was not writing of a Davidic king [nor of Yahweh, cf. v. 7], but of King Messiah" (in *The Biblical Expositor,* 2:56). If the 2nd-person material is embedded in another quotation, it may constitute the major thrust of the psalm, as in 110:1, "The LORD [Yahweh] says to my [David's] Lord: 'Sit at my right hand…'" (cf. vv. 4-5); or it may be only a subordinate part, as in 2:7, "[Yahweh] said to me, 'You are my son…'" though the psalm as a whole is preferably classed as first person.

(iii) Finally, *Christ himself speaks in some psalms.* He may thus assume to himself an entire composition, though this appears to be true for only one, Ps. 22. J. R. Sampey (in *ISBE* [1929], 4:2492) has commented, "Every sentence can be applied to Jesus without straining its meaning. If David took up his harp to sing of his own sorrows, the Spirit of God guided him to describe those of a greater." Explanation for this phenomenon may lie in the fact that David knew not only that he sat upon the throne of Yahweh (1 Chr. 29:23; 2 Chr. 9:8), but also that he could, and did, speak for his "house" to come (2 Sam. 23:5; cf. 1 Ki. 12:16). Indeed, David's very name became synonymous with the Messiah (Ezek. 34:24; 37:24-25). For the other three 1st-person psalms, Christ speaks in part, but David speaks for himself in other parts. For example, in Ps. 16, the words, "Their drink offerings… will I not offer" (v. 4 ASV), must have been David's, but the later words, "Thou wilt not…suffer thy holy one to see corruption" (v. 10 ASV), cannot have been his (Acts 2:31; the alternative of "double meaning" has little to commend it as a hermeneutical principle; cf. J. B. Payne in *ETS Papers,* no vol. [1953], 62-72). Sampey continues:

> Rationalistic critics insist that to apply part of a psalm to David and part to Christ introduces confusion. They contend that the language refers to the psalmist and to him alone and that the application of certain verses to our Lord Jesus is only by way of accommodation. This theory ignores the presence and activity of the Holy Spirit altogether; and when men talk of psychological impossibilities, they may be talking nonsense; for who of us can understand fully the psychological experience of men while receiving revelations from God? The real author of inspired prophecies is the Holy Spirit. His meaning is that which the reverent interpreter most delights to find *(ISBE* 4:2493).

Identification of the messianic psalms, grouped by form, is shown in the accompanying chart.

(b) On the basis of content, the messianic psalms may be approached according to the Lord's threefold office of prophet, priest, and king. (i) *Royal psalms* (seven: Pss. 2; 8; 45; 72; 89; 110; 132). Psalm 8, in four strophes of three verses each, speaks of

| PSALM | SUBJECT | MESSIANIC | NT PROOF | FURTHER (CONTEXTUAL) EVIDENCE |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Christ spoken of in the third person* | | | | |
| Ps. 8 | Humiliation and glory | Ps. 8:4b–8 | Heb. 2:5–10; 1 Cor. 15:27 | All things are under his feet (Ps. 8:8), which cannot apply to human beings. |
| Ps. 72 | Rule | Ps. 72:6–17 | Heb. 2:5–10; 1 Cor. 15:27 | Transition to the future (Ps. 72:5). His reign is forever (v. 7). Territory (v. 8). All worship Him (vv. 9–11). |
| Ps. 89 | Of David | Ps. 89:3–4, 28–29, 34–36 | Acts 2:30 | The seed is eternal (Ps. 89:4, 29, 36–37). |
| Ps. 109 | Judas cursed | Ps. 109:6–19 | Acts 1:16–20 | Adversaries (pl.) in Ps. 109:4–5 shift in v. 6 to one preeminent betrayer. The pl. is resumed in v. 20. |
| Ps. 132 | Of David | Ps. 132:11–12 | Acts 2:30 | The seed is eternal (Ps. 132:12). |
| *Christ addressed in the second person* | | | | |
| Ps. 45 | Throne forever | Ps. 45:6–7 | Heb. 1:8–9 | He is deity (Ps. 45:6) yet, not the father (Ps. 45:7). |
| Ps. 102 | Eternity | Ps. 102:25–27 | Heb. 1:10–12 | Address to Yahweh (Ps. 102:1–22); to El, a change (Ps. 102:24), applied to Christ. |
| Ps. 110 | Ascension and priesthood | Ps. 110:1–7 | Matt. 22:43–45; Acts 2:33–35; Heb. 1:13; 5:6–10; 6:20; 7:24 | He is David's Lord (Ps. 110:1). Eternal priest (Ps. 110:4). |
| *Christ speaks in first person* | | | | |
| Ps. 2 | Kiss the Son | Ps. 2:1–11 | Acts 4:25–28; 13:33; Heb. 1:5; 5:5 | The speaker is God's begotten Son (Ps. 2:7). |
| Ps. 16 | Incorruption | Ps. 16:10 | Acts 2:24–31; 13:35–37 | He possesses more than David—all the earth (Ps. 16:8). |
| Ps. 22 | Passion | Ps. 22:1–31 | Matt. 27:35–46; John 19:23–25; Heb. 2:12 | Not seeing corruption cannot apply to David; nor pierced hands and feet (Ps. 22:16); nor lots cast on his garments (Ps. 22:18). |
| Ps. 40 | Incarnation | Ps. 40:6–8 | Heb. 10:5–10 | Praises in Ps. 40:1–5 are interrupted by a descriptive section (vv. 6–8). David did not always delight to do God's will, but Christ did (v. 8). |
| Ps. 69 | Judas cursed | Ps. 69:25 | Acts 1:16–20 | The specific "desolate habitation" lies between generalizations in Ps. 69:24 and 26, narrowed down to Judas. |

the human attempt to cast off divine rule through the Messiah (v. 2; Acts 4:27), but of Yahweh's unimpeded reign by means of his King on Zion (vv. 4-6), of the decree of the latter's Sonship, and of David's admonition for all to submit to him (vv. 10-12). This psalm identifies Jesus as the sovereign "last Adam" (see above, sec. 4). A Korahite singer in Ps. 45 lifted his eyes from a royal marriage, perhaps Solomonic, to praise Yahweh's more preeminent anointing for the divine King who was yet to come (vv. 6-7), though he then reverted to Solomon's "ivory palaces" and musical instruments (v. 8; cf. 1 Ki. 22:39; Amos 3:15). Psalm 72 describes the righteous kingdom of God's future monarch (v. 5) as carrying on from the frontier of the Euphrates River, at which Solomon's own realm terminated (v. 8; cf. 1 Ki. 4:21), to encompass the earth. Psalms 89 and 132 develop Nathan's promise of the eternity of the Davidic dynasty (2 Sam. 7:12-16), adding the concept of Yahweh's confirmatory oath to David (Pss. 89:3, 35; 132:11). Psalm 110 is the most significant of the royal psalms. The first verse alone is cited sixteen times in the NT and speaks of Christ's deity, his ascension to the right hand of the Father, and his millennial rule, whereas v. 4 defines him as a priest for ever, as well as king.

(ii) *Passion psalms* (six: Pss. 16; 22; 40; 69; 102; 109). The latter two are less strictly records of Christ's passion than references to the redeeming acts of his preincarnate person or character. Psalm 40:6-8 is quoted in Heb. 10:5-9 as Christ's expression of willingness to enter into the "covenant of redemption" (cf. Ps. 2:8) with his Father (cf. Jn. 4:34; 6:38; 17:4); and Ps. 102 speaks

of his eternal nature, as contrasted with limited creation, and of its redemptive significance for his servants (v. 28). Psalms 69 and 109 contain, along with general imprecations against David's adversaries (e.g. 69:4, 10-12, 18-24, 26-28; or 109:2-5, 20, 25, 28-29), two specific predictions (69:9-19 and 109:25) "which the Holy Spirit spoke long ago through the mouth of David concerning Judas" (Acts 1:16). Psalm 16 anticipates Christ's triumph over "the grave" and the parallel notion that he would not "decay" (Acts 2:27, 31); on this triumph David's own eternal hope depended (Ps. 16:9, 11). The first half of Ps. 22 (through v. 21) is the most detailed of the passion psalms, and it includes such matters as Jesus' cry from the cross (Ps. 22:1; cf. Matt. 2:46), his being scorned (Ps. 22:7; cf. Matt. 27:39), his lack of divine rescue (Ps. 22:8; cf. Matt. 27:43), his thirst (Ps. 22:15; cf. Jn. 19:28), his pierced hands and feet (Ps. 22:16; cf. Jn. 19:18), and the division and gambling for his garments (Ps. 22:18; cf. Jn. 19:24).

(iii) *Prophetic element.* The second half of Ps. 22 goes on to predict Christ's subsequent glorification (v. 24), his eschatological feast (v. 26), and also his prophetic function of declaring God's name in the midst of his redeemed brethren, the *ekklēsia G1711,* "assembly, church" (vv. 22, 25 [cf. LXX 21:23, 26]; Heb. 2:12). The Psalter thus brings into focus the main features of OT messianic prophecy, as these had been slowly revealed and narrowed into increasing clarity up to the time of David in 1000 B.C. The prophets later supplied details; but the Psalms set the pattern, both for the person of Christ, as they first revealed that Israel's expected deliverer would be divine as well as human, and also for his work, as they combine what Moses might have surmised to be the offices of three separate persons into the single figure of Jesus Christ (see OFFICES OF CHRIST). Messianic revelation of the Psalms may thus be summarized as in the chart on the next page (though in Christ's day many did not understand that these various elements had been so combined; cf. Jn. 1:25; 12:34).

**8. Liturgical.** Whereas a major portion of the psalms may have been employed in the liturgies of the Jerusalem temple (see VII, below), only a more limited number are either specifically liturgical in design or at least are concerned in their material content with the subject of ritualistic worship. The OT teaches that commitment to Yahweh includes a response of obedience both to the moral standards of God (see above, secs. 4 and 6) and to the ceremonial performances that he ordained to foreshadow the redemptive work of the Messiah. The book of Psalms shows slight regard for sacrifices in themselves (Ps. 50:9); instead, it makes clear that repentance (51:16-17) and faith (4:5), character (40:9), prayer (141:2), and praise "will please the LORD more than an ox" (69:31). Yet David can command, "Offer right sacrifices" (4:5), and the very fact that praise is "better" indicates that oxen are still good.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Beginning | Deliverance by humans (Gen. 3:15).<br>Deliverance by Semites (Gen. 9:26). | | | | |
| 2000 B.C. | Deliverance of Abraham (Gen. 22:18), Isaac (26:4), and Jacob (28:14). | | | | |
| 1800 B.C. | An individual human from the tribe of Judah (Gen. 49:10), a king. | | | | |
| 1400 B.C. | | | | | |
| | PROPHET<br>Deut. 18:15 | KING Num. 24:17<br>("Messiah," 1 Sam. 2:10) | | PRIEST<br>Lev. 16:32 | |
| | *Human* | *Divine* | *Human* | *Divine* | *Human* |
| 1000 B.C. | Ps. 22:22–31 | Ps. 2 | Ps. 132 | Ps. 110 | Ps. 22:1–21 |
| | | *Human and Divine*<br>Ps. 89:27, 29 (2 Sam. 7:12, 14) | | *Human and Divine*<br>Ps. 110:2 | |
| | Prophet, King, and Priest Combined<br>Ps. 22:22 and Ps. 110:2 | | | | |
| | JESUS CHRIST | | | | |

God does delight in sacrifices (51:19). Yahweh "needs" no animals, truly (50:12-13), and forgiveness is based on his mercy (79:9); but it is precisely this mercy that sent Christ to shed his blood, of which Moses' offerings were the types (Heb. 10:4, 12). David thus preserves a balance of concepts when he states, "I wash my hands in innocence, and go about thy altar, O LORD" (Ps. 26:6; in other words, morals come first, 15:1-2; 24:3-4).

The title of Ps. 30 indicates that it was specifically composed "For the dedication of the temple," when David first consecrated the threshing floor on Mount Moriah as the temple site (1 Chr. 22:1). Other psalms are fitting for worship services in the morning (Pss. 3; 5; 93), evening (4; 141), or night (134), perhaps as occasioned by the Mosaic law of two daily offerings (Exod. 29:38-39) or by the later custom of prayer three times a day toward Jerusalem (Dan. 6:10; cf. Acts 3:1), though the details on Israel's actual worship seem to have been deliberately suppressed after the events of A.D. 70 (cf. *IDB,* 3:459). Ps. 92 was designed for the SABBATH, and certain psalms have been traditionally associated with other days of the week as well (cf. KD, *Psalms,* 1:42). Hebrew worship appears to have consisted of prayer or testimony by individuals, choirs, or groups. The existence of congregational responses of "Amen" and "Hallelujah" (1 Chr. 16:36) may account for the occurrences of these phrases in the Psalter (e.g., in the terminal doxologies of each of its books, and at the beginning and end of Pss. 146-150). Repetitive lines (e.g., 146:6-9; 148:1-3) suggest a form of antiphonal response, seen especially in Ps. 136, where each of its twenty-six verses is balanced by the refrain, *"His love [ḥesed]* endures forever."

Even as OT ceremonial concentrated on the TEMPLE, so the liturgical subject matter of Psalms is largely restricted to rites that were performed at this place. The predominant activity is sacrifice. It constitutes the basis for Yahweh's redemptive covenant/testament (Ps. 50:5); it is the way by which the sinner comes to God (66:13; 96:8). Thanksgiving accompanied the fulfillment of vows (50:14), and to "go to the altar of God" meant gladness and joy (43:4). Other ceremonial matters included purification (e.g., purging with hyssop, 51:7; cf. Lev. 14:4), a worshipful appearance through "holy array" (Pss. 29:2; 96:9 [NIV, "the splendor of his holiness"]), and the burning of incense (141:2), though the prayer that the burning of incense symbolized was also a major element of worship that was *not* restricted to the temple.

Religious feasts (e.g., Pss. 42:4; 84:12) and their accompanying processions (68:25) concern a number of the psalms. The three annual pilgrimage feasts of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles

(Exod. 23:14-17; Lev. 23) may have provided the occasion for the "songs of ascents" (Ps. 120-134; see esp. 122:4, "[Jerusalem] is where the tribes go up"). Certain of these psalms do indeed suggest pilgrims on the way to Zion, but others are just as distinguishable by the literary form of progressive or climactic parallelism (e.g., 124:1-3; cf. the KJV title, "A Song of degrees"). Less likely suggestions for the term "ascent" (Heb. *maʿălâ H5092*) include Israel's return from the exile (three of these psalms are Davidic, and one Solomonic!) or particular temple stairs from which priestly benedictions might have been pronounced *(JBL* 74 [1955]: 38; cf. the LXX'S title, *ōdē tōn anabathmōn,* "a song of the flight of steps"). The Passover came in time to involve Pss. 113-118, called "the Hallel," in its services; and Tabernacles has become the occasion of elaborate theories on possible liturgical employments of the Psalms (see below, VII.B.2).

**VII. Use.** Although differing markedly in content, all 150 psalms are suitable for use in devotions, either private or public. It is the latter that receives the greater biblical elaboration, particularly when certain psalms or collections are considered "the hymnbook of the Solomonic temple."

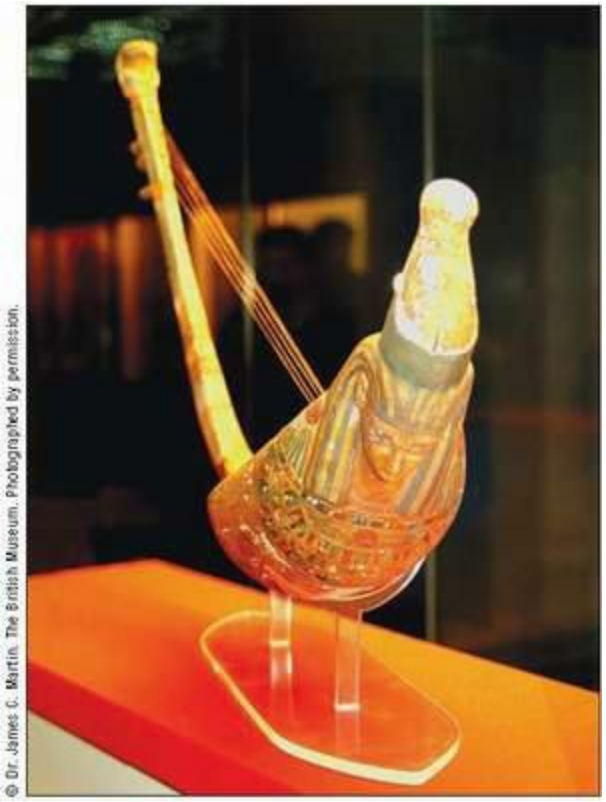
***A. Music.*** The psalm titles in Books I-III contain a number of Hebrew musical terms. See also MUSIC AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS VI.

**1. Melodies.** Some of these terms designate ancient tunes or melodies to which the poems may have been sung, for they often are introduced by the preposition *ʿal H6584,* "on, upon," signifying specifically, "Of the tune *according to* which a song is to be sung" (BDB, 754a). Among such melody-titles, "Aijeleth Shahar" (KJV; Heb. *ʾayelet haššaḥar)* means "The Doe of the Morning" (Ps. 22). Others include "A Dove on Distant Oaks" (Ps. 56), "The Death of the Son" (9), "Lilies" (45 and 69), and so on. The character of these tunes or melodies remains unknown and seems to have been a matter of perplexity as early as the time of the LXX translators.

**2. Methods.** The psalm titles also preserve certain other musical directions, much of the original significance of which is now uncertain; but they suggest various methods of performance. For example, "according to *alamoth"* (Ps. 46; cf. 1 Chr. 15:20) uses the plural form of the Hebrew word for "maiden" *(ʿalmâ H6625*) and thus may indicate a high-pitched voice or a treble register. The term is perhaps contrasted with *sheminith* (Pss. 6; 12; cf. 1 Chr. 15:21), feminine form of *šĕmînî H9029,* "eighth," which some take as a reference to a lower octave, though there is some doubt whether the concept of an "octave" existed among the Hebrews; more likely it refers to a particular mode or rhythm or to an instrument with eight strings. Other terms include *gittith,* perhaps referring to an instrument associated with the city of GATH (Pss. 8; 81; 84); *mahalath,* possibly "song, dance" (Ps. 53; in 88, *mahalath leannoth,* which some [cf. *IDB,* 3:459] have understood as a dance with an antiphonal response); and words that probably refer to musical instruments (Pss. 4; 5; et al.).

The term *selâ H6138,* which most versions simply transliterate as "Selah," occurs seventy-one times in thirty-nine psalms (also Hab. 3:3, 9, 13); it is found not in the titles, but at the end of strophes (cf. Ps. 3:2, 4, 8). Various meanings have been proposed. It possibly indicates a dramatic pause for musical effect or "marks the place where the closing benediction might be sung" (Briggs, *Psalms,* 1:lxxxiv-lxxxviii); the LXX renders it *diapsalma,* apparently meaning "interlude" (cf. the combination of "Higgaion" with "Selah" in 9:16, perhaps conveying the idea of "meditation pause").

***B. Cultic theory.*** If the noun *cult,* or *cultus,* be given its technical meaning of "the external forms of religion," especially in group worship, then it seems probable that many of the psalms may have been designed for such cultic use. When David first brought the ark to Jerusalem, he appointed Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun out of the three clans of the tribe of Levi to head up a regular musical service of worship at the sanctuary (1 Chr. 16:4-6, 37-42; cf. 15:16-19). Other singers and instrumentalists were appointed "to lead" *(lĕna*ṣṣ*ēa*ḥ*,* v. 21; NIV, "directing"). The verb is *nā*ṣ*a*ḥ *H5904,* which in the piel stem means "oversee," and it suggests that the participle *mĕna*ṣṣ*ēa*ḥ*,* which occurs fifty-five times in the titles to the psalms (as well as Hab.



Model of a harp from the New Kingdom period in Egypt (latter part of the 2nd millennium B.C.).

3:19) is best rendered "chief musician" (cf. KJV), "choirmaster" (RSV), "director of music" (NIV). Such a rendering is consonant with the fact that these psalms were consciously assigned to Asaph or to one of his colleagues for cultic purposes (cf. the titles of Pss. 39; 62; 77). It must be granted that the term was no longer understood by the LXX translators, who rendered it *eis to telos,* "to the end" (as if it were from *nē*ḥ*a*ḥ *H5905*). Still, the singers and their psalms did play a part in the temple service down to its destruction in A.D. 70. The synagogue regularly uses hymns and prayers taken from the Psalter (though restricting its reading lessons to the Pentateuch and parts of the Prophets). Christ and the disciples sang a hymn (prob. Pss. 113-119; see VI.B.8 above) after the Last Supper (Mk. 14:26); and psalms continued to form part of the service of the early church (1 Cor. 14:15; Eph. 5:19; Col. 3:16).

**1. Sitzim Leben.** The cultic employment of psalms has led to an elaborate theorizing on the *Sitz im Leben* (German for "place in life") of the Israelite community that may have given rise to the various psalms. Such study possesses a basis in fact, as suggested by the designation of Ps. 92, "for the Sabbath," or the probably antiphonal function of Ps. 136 and certain other of the liturgical psalms. However, although the original occasion or the literary type and content of a given psalm may be

directly stated, either in its title or in its main body, the cultic usage for most of the psalms remains at best inferential. Conclusions based on an assumed *Sitz im Leben are* thus bound to be subjective and may even tend toward the fanciful, when developed from less obvious theories of psalm function. They become destructive if, at worst, cultic speculation is so employed as to deny the OT's own statements on the nature of its psalms or to introduce concepts about the meanings of the psalms that run contrary to the teachings of the Bible itself.

Study of the place-in-life of psalms is an aspect of the movement more broadly identified as FORM CRITICISM. For the Psalter, it had its rise in Hermann Gunkel's *Ausgewählte Psalmen* (1905). On a foundation of comparative studies in Babylonian and Egyptian psalmody, Gunkel advocated the recognition of certain literary "forms" (*Gattungen)* that corresponded to a series of assumed types of *Sitz im Leben.* He adduced five primary *Gattungen:* (1) hymns, for worship services of praise; (2) communal laments, for intercession in times of disaster; (3) royal psalms, for support of the ruling dynasty; (4) thanksgivings, for blessings received; and (5) individual laments (the largest single group), for intercession over personal needs.

It should be observed that all five "forms" assume a cultic situation. The *Gattung* of the so-called royal psalms is the one that has led to the most extreme speculation (see below, 2), whereas all of the first three categories have emphasized a communal rather than individualistic approach to the Psalter (below, 3). Gunkel's form-critical approach has been widely adopted in subsequent OT introductions and commentaries, though agreement has yet to be achieved.

**2. Divine enthronement.** Within Gunkel's category of royal psalms there may be placed certain compositions that arose out of special situations within the Jerusalem dynasty, such as a royal wedding, probably Solomon's (Ps. 45; cf. 1 Ki. 3:1), or the desire on David's part to erect a temple to Yahweh, with the resulting eternal establishment of his throne (Ps. 132; cf. 2 Sam. 7:1-2). Commencing with S. Mowinckel's *Psalmenstudien* (1921-24, esp. vol. 2, 1922), however, a number of these psalms came to be consigned to a *Sitz im Leben* of a recurring national holiday and were designated enthronement psalms (esp. Pss. 47; 93; 95-99).

Mowinckel's theory, also traced out by Gunkel (*Einleitung in die Psalmen* [1933]), was based upon the Babylonian New Year's *akitu* festival, during which an idol of the god MARDUK was carried through the streets of Babylon and, after a complicated ritual, was eventually reestablished over the city for another year (though cf. K. Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament* [1966], 102-6, for criticism of the *akitu* concept in itself). They assumed a similar, ceremonial reenthronement for Yahweh over Israel and adduced confirmatory passages from a number of psalms (e.g., Ps. 24:7-8, "Lift up your heads, O you gates…that the King of glory may come in…the LORD [Yahweh] mighty in battle"; or 97:1, rendered "Yahweh has assumed kingship [again]"). In particular the king, as Yahweh's "son," is said to have participated in various cult-dramas and processions, with climactic reinstatement in divine rulership for another season. Mowinckel and his followers have gone on to trace allusions to this festival in half of the Psalms.

The idea of a feast in honor of Yahweh's kingship is not an inherently illegitimate one. Scripture itself prescribed a public reading of the Mosaic law at the fall Feast of Tabernacles every seven years (Deut. 31:10-13), with which affirmations of commitment to Yahweh's rule, or even ceremonies of covenant-renewal (cf. 29:1), might possibly have been associated. At the time of the exodus, God had changed the enumeration of Israel's months, so that the sacred year began with Passover in the spring (Exod. 12:2). The agricultural year continued its natural termination in the fall (23:16); the inauguration of the seventh (Sept./Oct.) month was marked by the Feast of Trumpets

(Lev. 23:23-25; Num. 29:1), blown to enlist Yahweh's help during the ensuing year (cf. Num. 10:9, 10); and, at least by the time of the united kingdom, a secular New Year—cf. the modern Jewish *Rosh Hashanah*—had been established in the fall.

The psalms that are cited as evidence for an autumn festival of divine enthronement are more naturally understood in other ways. David seems to have written Ps. 24, just as he did 1 Chr. 15:8-26 (parts of Pss. 96; 105; 106), to commemorate his once-and-for-all bringing of the ark to Jerusalem (cf. Ps. 24:3 with 2 Sam. 6:6-10). Psalm 97, and in fact the entire group of Pss. 93 and 95-100, do praise the kingship of God, but more his general rule over all creation (95:1, 5) than his particular sway over Israel, and more his heavenly enthronement (v. 9) than his reign in Jerusalem. The phrase *yhwh mālak* means simply "Yahweh is king," with no suggestion that this may have been a repeated process (cf. Fohrer, *Introduction,* 265; and Kitchen, *Ancient Orient,* 103-4 n. 63).

Furthermore, the very concept of an enthronement for Yahweh is open to severe criticism on at least three counts. (1) That God's people would borrow a liturgy from pagan Babylon, not simply the outer forms but also the inner meaning of a heathen festival, appears fundamentally unlikely. (2) The fact remains that Scripture contains no direct testimony to such a festival, which is strange if it had been as important and all-pervasive as Mowinckel maintains. Moreover, the indirect evidence that is adduced appears to be more illusory than real (cf. N. H. Snaith, *The Jewish New Year Festival* [1947]). (3) Finally, the idea of a localized rule of God (contrast Ps. 24:1), who would be even capable, let alone in need, of enthronement at the hands of men (contrast 95:6-7), runs counter to the primary theological thrust of the OT (cf. Y. Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel: From Its Beginnings to the Babylonian Exile* [1960], 117-21). Mowinckel's theory remains both theologically unacceptable and historically unsupported (see *IB,* 4:7).

**3. Collectivism.** Paralleling Gunkel's stress upon cultic origins is a modern emphasis upon a collective rather than individualistic understanding and use of psalms. There is a truth in this, moreover, for the OT does not hesitate to personify groups or to address an entire group as if it were one individual, as in Deut. 7:17-18, which may be translated literally thus: "If you [sing., but meaning the Israelite nation] say in your [sing.] heart, 'These nations [the Canaanites] are greater than I; how can I dispossess them?' you shall not be afraid of them." Occasionally, the OT may even speak in poetic language of Israel as a CORPORATE PERSONALITY, existing prior to the actual experiences of those individual Israelites who might have happened to be then addressed. Note, for example, Moses' further word, "Remember what Yahweh your God did to Pharaoh…the great trials which your eyes saw…and the outstretched arm, by which the Yahweh your God brought you out" (vv. 18-19 WEB), though few of those who heard Moses' final address had been alive personally at the time of the exodus. Certain of the psalms exhibit a similar group expression, particularly among the pilgrim psalms (Pss. 120-134; e.g., 124:1-3). This may also be the case when the pronoun employed is "me" (sing.) rather than "us" (pl.), as in 129:1-2: "They have greatly oppressed me from my youth—/ let Israel say—/ they have greatly oppressed me from my youth, / but they have not gained the victory over me."

Even where a psalm possesses a known, individualistic background, it may yet have been designed for collectivistic use. As R. L. Harris remarks about Ps. 56, which concerns the experience of David when the Philistines took him in Gath: "It expresses trust in time of trouble; but the Philistines, or Gath, or David's capture are not explicitly mentioned. The psalm very likely was written years after the event as David thought upon those desperate days. He did not write just for the pleasure of writing about his experiences. By the Spirit of God, he was moved to write a general

psalm that would also be helpful to us when we are captured by our Philistines in the twentieth century" *(The Biblical Expositor,* 2:38; cf. Leupold on Ps. 18, *Exposition of the Psalms,* 163).

Many other psalms manifest a distinctly individualistic consciousness (e.g., Pss. 1; 21; 112; 127). The completed five-book compilation embraces not simply the congregational hymnbook of Solomon's temple but also the devotional heartbeat of men like David, who "found strength [against the crowd] in the LORD his God" (1 Sam. 30:6). Leupold thus concludes, "How much was at first designed to be liturgy and later frequently became material for private devotions, and how much was at first the outgrowth of private devotions and was later adapted to liturgical use, no man will ever know. Both trends must be reckoned with and will have been much in evidence" (ibid., 13).

The regrettable fact is that, as stated in Sellers' historical survey of psalm studies (in Willoughby ed., *The Study of the Bible,* 133),

> At the turn of the century there was a strong tendency to consider all the psalms communal. That is, when the Psalmist said "I," he was supposed to mean "we"; when he said "my," he was supposed to mean "our"; when he said "me," he was supposed to mean "us." We were told that the Israelite seldom considered himself as an individual.…Since World War I, however, there has been growing the conviction that many of the psalms were written to be used by individuals.

Enemies described in the Psalms are seldom "hostile nations," and the sicknesses and diseases of which the psalmist complains are hardly ever "national calamities" (cf. Kirkpatrick, *Psalms,* 1:lii).

An extreme example is that of Mowinckel's attempt to explain the phrase *pōʿălêʾāwen,* which is normally rendered "workers of evil" or "evildoers" (cf. Pss. 6:8; 64:2; 94:4). On the basis of Babylonian incantation texts, he has understood them as sorcerers, or even demons, that were casting spells and against whose machinations certain psalms (such as Pss. 59; 69; 109) were composed, for use in cultic rites, to protect the nation and its threatened members. The psalms must not be reduced to the status of "counter-spells." Indeed, the richest blessings of the Psalter flow from its affirmations of personal faith: "The LORD is my shepherd; I shall not be in want" (23:1). Thus the individualistic use of psalms is enjoined in the NT: "Is anyone happy?" *Psalletō,* that is, "let him sing [psalms of] praise" (Jas. 5:13).

(Significant commentaries include J. A. Alexander, *The Psalms* [1851]; E. W. Hengstenberg, *The Psalms* [1896]; F. Delitzsch in KD, *Psalms* [1883]; C. A. Briggs and E. Briggs, A *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms,* ICC, 2 vols. [1906-07]; E. A. Leslie, *The Psalms* [1949]; W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Psalms* [1953]; H. C. Leupold, *Exposition of the Psalms* [1959]; A. Weiser, *The Psalms* [1962]; M. Dahood, *Psalms,* 3 vols., AB 16-17A [1966-70]; P. *Craigie, Psalms 1-50, WBC* 19 [1983]; H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms, 2* vols. [1988-89]; M. E. Tate, *Psalms 51-100, WBC* 20 [1990]; C. C. Broyles, *Psalms* [1999]; L. C. Allen, *Psalms 101-150,* WBC 21, 2nd ed. [2002]; Samuel Terrien, *The Psalms: Strophic Structure and Theological Commentary* [2003]; J. Eaton, *The Psalms: A Historical and Spiritual Commentary with an Introduction and New Translation* [2003]; F.-L. Hossfeld and E. Zenger, *Psalms 2: A Commentary on Psalms 51—100,* Hermeneia [2005]; J. Goldingay, *Psalms,* 3 vols. [2006-].

(See also A. R. Johnson in *The Old Testament and Modern Study,* ed. H. H. Rowley [1951], 162-209; S. Terrien, *The Psalms and their Meaning for Today* [1952]; S. Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* [1953]; M. Tsevat, *A Study of the Language of the Biblical Psalms* [1955]; C. S. Lewis, *Reflections on the Psalms* [1958]; C. Westermann, *The Praise of God in the Psalms* [1965]; P. Drijvers, *The Psalms: Their Structure and Meaning* [1965]; C. Westermann, *The Psalms:*

*Structure, Content, and Message* [1980]; H.-J. Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms* [1986]; P. D. Miller, Jr., *Interpreting the Psalms* [1986]; W. L. Holladay, *The Psalms through Three Thousand Years: Prayer-book of a Cloud of Witnesses* [1993]; C. H. Bullock, *Encountering the Book of Psalms: A Literary and Theological Introduction* [2001]; J. L. Crenshaw, *The Psalms: An Introduction* [2001]; H. W. Attridge and M. E. Fassler, eds., *Psalms in Community: Jewish and Christian Textual, Liturgical, and Artistic Traditions* [2003]; S. Moyise and M. J. J. Menken, *The Psalms in the New Testament* [2004]; P. W. Flint and P. D. Miller, Jr., eds., *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception* [2005]; M. D. Futato, *Interpreting the Psalms* [2007]; and the bibliography compiled by W. E. Mills, *Psalms* [2002].)

J. B. PAYNE

**Psalms, Syriac Apocryphal.** Some late Syriac MSS of the OT include five psalms at the end of the canonical book of PSALMS. These poems are ancient, however, three of them being found (with variations) in Hebrew among the DEAD SEA SCROLLS (11Q5 [11QPs[a]], cols. 24 and 28); moreover, Ps. 151 is already found in the SEPTUAGINT and other versions. (See P. W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* [1997]; *ABD,* 5:536-37.)

**Psalms of Solomon.** A pseudepigraphic collection (see PSEUDEPIGRAPHA) of eighteen psalms patterned after the canonical Psalter and ascribed to King SOLOMON. The work now exists in Greek and Syriac MSS that are apparently translations of a lost Hebrew original.

**I. History.** *Psalms of Solomon* was included as part of the APOCRYPHA in the *Stichometry* of Nicephorus (758-828) and the Pseudo-Athanasian *Synopsis*. More important, the table of contents of CODEX ALEXANDRINUS shows that the work was originally included at the end of that MS, although it is now missing. Some have argued that CODEX SINAITICUS also contained it, but this cannot be proven conclusively, for both the beginning and ending of that work have been lost.

The book was lost sight of during the Middle Ages, not appearing again until a MS was recognized in the library of Augsburg in the early 17th cent. Subsequently the *MS* was lost, but its text was published by J. L. de la Cerda in 1626. Since that time other documents have come to light, bringing the total to about a dozen Greek MSS (a few of them defective) and several in Syriac.

**II. Date and authorship.** Virtually all scholars agree that the book must be earlier than A.D. 70, and a date during the 1st cent. B.C. is widely accepted. The historical events, which are described in only thinly veiled language, certainly relate to this period. The struggle between the more pious and the more worldly elements in Judaism is clearly outlined. The taking of Jerusalem by an important foreign figure is mentioned, as is the desecration of the temple. While some students of the book have related these events to the time of ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes and Judas MACCABEE, a great majority have noted the closer agreement with POMPEY and the events of 64-46 B.C. The second psalm is especially noteworthy at this point.

Since the book was not authored by King Solomon, it may be asked how it received its title. Presuming that it was not written by another Solomon, it is likely that the author or authors were under the influence of the canonical psalms (which they certainly were in matters of style and content) for their title. Since many of the canonical psalms were entitled Psalms of David, the author(s) may have wished to follow a similar pattern, while not necessarily claiming the same authority for this work. Their choice of the second great Davidic monarch also was undoubtedly affected by their messianic

interests.

It cannot be ascertained whether the collection is the work of one poet or several. Since there are no glaring differences in the style or content of any of the psalms from the others, a group of authors is not demanded. Since the investigations of J. Wellhausen *(Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer* [1874]), it has been largely agreed that the author(s) were PHARISEES. Their contrast of themselves with the "sinners" in the seats of power is reminiscent of the Pharisee-Sadducee conflict. Along with this, the favorite Pharisaical doctrines of the theocracy, the Messiah, divine retribution, and free will receive prominence. Recent studies in the light of the discoveries at QUMRAN have altered this conclusion somewhat (see DEAD SEA SCROLLS). It can be argued very cogently that the positions just mentioned prove only that the author was not a SADDUCEE, for these doctrines were by no means the exclusive possession of the Pharisees. They belonged as well to that third, rather amorphous, group, of which the Qumran community was an extreme example, and which may be called the "eschatological" Jews. In fact, the strong messianic strain of the *Psalms of Solomon* and the relatively light stress upon RESURRECTION points more to the latter group than to the Pharisees as such.

With regard to the original language of the collection, peculiarities in the Greek of the extant MSS have led most scholars to the conclusion that it is a rather literal translation of a Hebrew original. Some have thought that the Syriac version is a secondary translation of the Greek, but J. L. Trafton *(The Syriac Version of the Psalms of Solomon: A Critical Evaluation* [1985]; see also *JBL* 105 [1986]: 227-37) has argued that it too was translated from the now lost Hebrew.

**III. Content.** In general outlook, these psalms are much like the canonical book of PSALMS. The same range of feelings and expressions is found, extending from praise to lament, and from entreaty to thanksgiving. The similarity extends to the literary types as well, although form critics point out that the types are mixed more indiscriminately in the pseudepigraphic work.

Overall, the sense of judgment pervades. The author in no way blames God for this judgment, for he is justified in every respect *(Pss. Sol.* 2.15-17; 8.7). The people have been incredibly sinful, worse than the heathen (1.8; 8.8-13). The blessedness of the righteous versus the damnation of these sinners is dwelt upon at great length (chs. 13-15). The people have been led in this sinfulness by their leaders, men who wear the faces of godliness and sincerity (4.2), but who are "sinners" through and through (4.3-5). They are spoken of as home-wreckers who have taken advantage of their privileged status to aggrandize their lust (4.10-13).

But God has not abandoned his people (11.1; 18.1). The sinners (prob. the HASMONEANS, esp. Aristobulus) into whose hand he had given the land, and who had attempted to make it into a heathen land, have gone into captivity (17.5-10). The alien man (Pompey, 17.7) into whose hands they surrendered themselves (8.18), has perished on the waves in Egypt (2.27). (Pompey was stabbed in the back while stepping from a small boat.) So will God requite all who exalt themselves against him when, in reality, they are only instruments of his purpose (2.32-35). On the other hand, the simple, righteous people who put their trust in God will never be forsaken (5.14; 6.6; 12.5). Thus God has his faithful remnant which he will honor and preserve (7.6-10).

The day is coming when God will vindicate his people (11.8). All the nations will see Israel's glory and they will hurry to do obeisance to Israel and her God (17.30-31). They will send the exiles home, where the Lord Messiah (17.32), the scion of David (17.21), will inaugurate a rule of peace and justice (17.22-29).

**IV. Messianism.** The seventeenth psalm in this collection contains one of the clearest statements of the Jewish messianic hope to be found in the literature of that people (see MESSIAH). The discoveries at Qumran have contributed masses of new information, but much of it is framed in imagery so complex as to be dismaying, whereas the concepts here are found in much simpler language. The Messiah is clearly an individual. He is a son of David, in special fulfillment of God's promise after the apparent destruction of that kingship. While there is no clear statement of his divinity, he is called "the Lord Messiah" *(Pss. Sol.* 17.32; although commentators believe that this should be read "the Lord's messiah," there is no example of such a reading in these psalms). Since "the Lord" refers to God only, the implication is clear.

Moreover, it is evident that the kingdom to be set up will be no ordinary human one, but a supernatural one wherein all wrongs and all inequities will be conclusively righted. He will purify Jerusalem, destroy the ungodly nations, and convict the sinners. He will give the earth to the tribes of Israel and free them from the heathen in their midst. Yet, all this is to be done without implements of war. He would smite the earth with his word and purify the nations with his righteousness. He would care for his people as a shepherd cares for his flocks. This picture is not different from that which may be gained from a reading of canonical messianic passages, but it is more complete and coherent. Interestingly enough, it perpetuates that ambiguity between conqueror and redeemer which was to confuse so many during Jesus' lifetime.

(Gk. text in A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta,* 2:471-89; recent English trans. and introduction in *OTP,* 2:639-70. See also H. E. Ryle and M. R. James, *The Psalms of Solomon* [1891]; R. Harris and A. Mingana, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon* [1916—20]; K. G. Kuhn, *Die älteste Textgestalt der Psalmen Salomos* [1937]; J. Begrich in *ZNW 38* [1939]: 131-64; H. Braun in *ZNW 43* [1950]: 1-54; S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh* [1956], 280-321; J. O'Dell in *Revue de Qumran* 10 [1961]: 241-57; J. Schüpphaus, *Die Psalmen Solomos: Ein Zeugnis Jerusalemer Theologie und Frömmigkeit in der Mitte des vorchristlichen Jahr-hunderts* [1977]; R. R. Hahn, *The Manuscript History of the Psalms of Solomon* [1982]; K. Atkinson, I *Cried to the Lord: A Study of the Psalms of Solomon's Historical Background and Social Setting* [2004]).

J. OSWALT

**Psalter.** See PSALMS, BOOK OF.

**psaltery.** An ancient stringed instrument. The term is used by the KJV where modern versions usually have "harp" or "lyre." See MUSIC, MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IV.D.

**Pseudepigrapha** soo'duh-pig'ruh-fuh (sg. *pseudepigraphon,* from *pseudēs G6014,* "false," and *epigraphō G2108*, "to inscribe"). This modern title is given to a large body of ancient Jewish writings that are not included either in the CANON or in the collection that Protestants refer to as the APOCRYPHA. They were written originally in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek from c. 200 B.C. TO c. A.D. 150.

**I. Meaning of the designation.** The term arises from the fact that many of the writings gathered together under this heading bear the names of famous personalities from the OT (e.g., Enoch, Moses, Solomon, Isaiah, Baruch) but certainly did not come from their pens. The literature is, however, much more extensive in scope than this and includes in addition a large body of anonymous, rather than pseudonymous, works. This fact, coupled with the uncertainty as to whether *any* of these writings

were attributed to OT personalities in the attempt to deceive their readers (see D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* [1964], 127-39), has led many scholars to question the practice of continuing to refer to the literature concerned as "the Pseudepigrapha," and to adopt the terminology of C. C. Torrey (*The Apocryphal Literature* [1945]), who grouped all extracanonical Jewish writings of the period under the heading "Apocrypha." (The terminology can prove confusing, for the Roman Catholic Church does in fact refer to these writings as *apocryphal,* but it uses the term *deuterocanonical* with reference to the books that Protestants call *apocryphal.)*

**II. List of the writings.** The category "Pseudepigrapha" is a rather open-ended one, continuing to grow as additional Jewish works of the same period become known; thus there is no definitive list of writings that fall under it. The discovery of the DEAD SEA SCROLLS has further complicated the matter, for it has multiplied the number of extracanonical Jewish writings that are available and has also provided scholars with new MSS (and even editions) of works already known. As a rule, however, the sectarian writings of QUMRAN are treated as a separate category. The most comprehensive collection of relevant works is *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* ed. J. H. Charlesworth, 2 vols. (1983-85), which provides an English translation, with substantial introductions and numerous notes, for more than sixty documents. The following list includes some of the better known writings (see individual articles in this encyclopedia for further details).

ABRAHAM, APOCALYPSE OF
ADAM AND EVE, LIFE OF
ADAM, TESTAMENT OF
ARISTEAS, LETTER OF
BARUCH, APOCALYPSE OF (different Gk. and Syr. versions)
ENOCH, BOOKS OF
ESDRAS, SECOND (= *4 Ezra)*
ISAIAH, MARTYRDOM AND ASCENSION OF
Jeremiah, Paraleipomena of (= BARUCH, FOURTH)
JOB, TESTAMENT OF
JOSEPH AND ASENATH
JUBILEES, BOOK OF
3-4 Maccabees (see MACCABEES, BOOKS OF)
MOSES, ASSUMPTION OF
PROPHETS, LIVES OF THE
PSALMS OF SOLOMON
SIBYLLINE ORACLES
TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

Many of these writings exist in fragmentary form, and some are poorly preserved. Not a few are available only in translation (or even in a secondary translation from an earlier version) rather than in their original language. Similar books have not been preserved at all and are known only by name (see M. R. James, *The Lost Apocrypha of the Old Testament: Their Titles and Fragments* [1920]).

**III. The problem of classification.** No single method of classifying these documents has gained general acceptance among scholars. The most common approach is to divide them into two groups,

determined by their probable provenance. Thus the majority of the writings can be classified as Hebrew-Aramaic/Palestinian in origin (*T. 12 Patr., Jub., Mart. Isa., Pss. Sol., As. Moses, 2 Bar.* [= *Syr. Apoc.], 4 Bar., T. Job, Life Adam, Liv. Pro.)* or as Greek/Alexandrian *(Let. Aris., Sib. Or., 3-4 Macc., 2 En., 3 Bar.* [= *Gk. Apoc.])*. But there is some uncertainty regarding the original language of some, and

The pseudepigraphic book known as Jubilees, written originally in Hebrew, has survived primarily in an Ethiopic translation, but some Hebrew fragments were discovered among the Dead Sea Scrolls.

it is not at all certain that those written originally in Greek were all composed in ALEXANDRIA.

A more helpful system of classification would be to group the writings according to at least five genres: (1) narrative books, such as *Jub.* and *Life Adam;* (2) testaments, such as *T. 12 Patr.;* (3) liturgical writings, such as *Pss. Sol.* (4) apologetic works, such as *Let. Aris.* and *3-4 Macc.;* and (5) apocalypses, such as *1 En.* and *As. Mos.* There is extensive overlapping in these designations also, since many of the books contain features of two or more literary forms.

**IV. Christian preservation of the Pseudepigrapha.** One factor neglected by the two above-mentioned systems of classification is the Christian influence on these extracanonical writings. Although probably all are Jewish in origin, they have been preserved primarily by Christian scribes. Before the discovery of the DSS, the knowledge of these writings was practically limited to a variety of MSS in Greek, Latin, and other languages that had been produced and handed down in Christian circles, often with definitely Christian interpolations and additions. There is a relative lack of MSS stemming from Jewish circles because the Pseudepigrapha (along with all other books of the period outside of the twenty-two books of the Hebrew canon) were rejected by the rabbis. This decision was influenced by the destruction of Jerusalem, which drastically dimmed the eschatological hopes prevalent at that time. The leaders who led the restructuring of Judaism, which centered in Jamnia (see JABNEEL, JABNEH), purged the apocalyptic element from their theology.

But these writings had become popular among Christians and were adapted by them for apologetic and devotional purposes. Because of the interpolations and additions, it is difficult to determine whether some of these writings were originally Jewish or Christian. Not only were Jewish noncanonical writings read and adapted by the church, but they also became models for Christian noncanonical writings (see NEW TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA), though the newer genres found in the NT (Gospels, Acts, Epistles) provided additional models. The ideas and images of some of these OT pseudepigraphic books not only influenced the thinking of the postapostolic church, but also found a place in the art and popular piety of the Middle Ages.

**V. The significance of the Pseudepigrapha.** Along with the Apocrypha, the DSS, JOSEPHUS, and PHILO JUDAEUS, the extracanonical writings of the Pseudepigrapha are primary sources for understanding intertestamental JUDAISM and the theological milieu of early Christianity. The literature of the Hebrews did not end with the final book of the OT. Strictly speaking, Judaism as such came into existence at the end of the OT period. Although all Jewish thought of the intertestamental and early Christian centuries presupposes the OT (as does the thought of the early Christians), one must turn to the Pseudepigrapha to understand the development that had taken place in the theology of Judaism after the close of the OT canon.

Various new features are prominent in these writings. Among them are: a highly elaborate system of angelology (see ANGEL); a concentration on APOCALYPTIC themes (the Pseudepigrapha has been called "the literature of apocalypticism"); speculation concerning the coming of MESSIAH and the nature of the messianic age; and a strong doctrine of the RESURRECTION of the body. In addition, there is a common body of religious ideas and terminology (e.g., the doctrine of the two ages, the SON OF MAN, etc.) that the Pseudepigrapha shares with the NT writings. Although explicit NT references to pseudepigraphic writings are rare, the theological background of the NT can hardly be understood apart from the study of these and other pre-Christian, Jewish documents.

(See further *APOT,* vol. 2; O. Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament: An Introduction* [1965], 571—73, 603-37; M. E. Stone, ed., *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* [1984]; C. A. Evans,

*Noncanonical Writings and New Testament Interpretation* [1992]; A.-M. Denis et al., *Introduction à la litté-rature religieuse judéo-hellénistique (Pseudépigraphes de l'Ancien Testament), 2* vols. [2000]; L. DiTommaso, *A Bibliography of Pseudepigrapha Research 1850-1999* [2001]; G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah,* 2nd ed. [2005]; J. R. Davila, *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha: Jewish, Christian, or Other?* [2005].)

W. W. GASQUE

**Pseudo-Clementines.** See CLEMENTINE LITERATURE.

**Pseudo-Jonathan.** See TARGUM.

**Pseudo-Mark.** See BARNABAS, ACTS OF.

**Pseudo-Matthew, Gospel of.** A late Latin compilation, based on the *Protevangelium of James* and the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas,* itself a source for the *Gospel of the Birth of Mary.* (See JAMES, PROTEVANGELIUM OF; MARY, GOSPEL OF THE BIRTH OF; THOMAS, GOSPEL OF.) The *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* (or *Liber de infantia)* is significant chiefly because it was the medium through which the stories from the older "infancy gospels" were known to the Middle Ages and inspired poets and artists from the 12th to the 15th cent. In the MSS it is prefaced by pretended letters to and from JEROME, designed to provide it with credentials by identifying it with the "Hebrew Gospel" to which Jerome frequently referred (see HEBREWS, GOSPEL OF THE) . *Pseudo-Matthew* was used by Hroswitha of Gandersheim in the 10th cent., but there is evidence that it was in existence in the middle of the 9th, and some scholars date it as early as the 6th (cf. *ABD,* 4:641-42, s.v. "Matthew, Gospel of Pseudo-"). In some MSS it is attributed (as also by Hroswitha) not to Matthew but to James.

The first seventeen chapters are based on the *Protevangelium,* but with considerable modification. The outline is the same, but only rarely is there exact reproduction, and there are numerous omissions and expansions. Abiathar the priest offers gifts that Mary may marry his son, but Mary refuses because she is vowed to virginity. Later Abiathar is the high priest who administers the water when Mary and Joseph are tried by ordeal. Again, when Joseph is charged with the care of Mary he stipulates that some other virgins should accompany her; they are entrusted with the making of the temple veil, a motif here introduced without the explanation provided in the *Protevangelium.* One notable feature is that the ox and the donkey at the manger were apparently first introduced into the nativity story in this document (O. Cullmann in *NTAp,* 1:462).

Chapters 18-24 deal with the sojourn in Egypt, two of the stories evidently designed to provide a fulfillment of OT prophecy (dragons, cf. Ps. 148:7; wild beasts tame among the sheep, cf. Isa. 11:6-7; 65:25). Other miracles concern a palm tree that stoops to yield its fruit, and 365 idols that prostrate themselves when Mary enters with Jesus. Finally, from ch. 25 to the end, the document is based on the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas,* but there is a good deal of later amplification, some sections having no parallel in Thomas. The responsibility for cutting a beam too short is transferred from Joseph to his apprentice. (English trans. in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library,* 16 [1870]; extracts in *NTAp,* 1:462-65.)

R. McL. WILSON

**pseudonymity.** The attribution of a written work to someone other than the true author. In biblical scholarship, this subject is one of the most perplexing of modern critical issues, and is especially

important for discussion of the NT. Ancient pseudepigraphs—writings that use the convention of pseudonymity—were usually attributed to well-known figures, and were often though not invariably circulated after the death of the attributed author.

One of the most important distinctions to make concerning pseudonymity is that it is not to be confused with anonymity. In many instances, disputes have unnecessarily arisen when the issue is the authorship of a formally anonymous work rather than a pseudepigraph. For example, the books of the PENTATEUCH are anonymous, even if the book of Deuteronomy claims to quote Moses. A similar situation obtains in many other books of the OT, such as the Prophets. Similarly, in the NT, the Gospels are formally anonymous, even though history has attributed them to particular authors. The book of Hebrews was for a long time included in the Pauline canon (the earliest Pauline letter collection, $P^{46}$, has Hebrews after Romans and before 1 Corinthians), but the book is formally anonymous, and most critical scholars today do not consider it Pauline. The book of Acts and the Johannine epistles fit in this category as well.

A further distinction to make in terms of authorship is that in some cases a book may appear to be a pseudepigraph, but there are other alternative authors with the same name. For example, the book of Revelation is attributed to an author named John (Rev. 1:1, 4, 9; 22:8), but no further details are given. This may be JOHN THE APOSTLE, son of Zebedee, but he may have been one of any number of other known and now unknown figures in the early church named John. A similar case may be found with the letters of James and Jude, since the author is not specified.

Disputes over authorship of some OT books have been solved by positing that the core of the work may have originated with the attributed author, but that there were late additions and editing that resulted in the book taking the form that it has in our biblical canon (see below). A book such as Daniel has been explained in this way. It has been posited, and accepted by many (see J. J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* [1984], 70—72), that the Aramaic material in Dan. 2-6 reflects the Babylonian exile and the other chapters a later 2nd-cent. B.C. situation. See DANIEL, BOOK OF III-IV. In the NT, the major areas of dispute over issues of pseudonymity are, first, the Pauline letters, and then the epistles of Peter.

Many scholars hold to the opinion that pseudepigraphs were widely known and accepted in the ancient world, especially including letters. This does not appear to be the case, however. It is true that pseudepigraphs were known throughout the Greek and Roman worlds, involving letters as well as other writings (e.g., *Letter of Aristeas,* among others). What is worth noting is the response to them. Where there is evidence, it appears that the practice of pseudonymity was universally strongly opposed. For example, Galen was outraged to discover that during his own lifetime people were writing works and attributing them to him. Livy reported that when pseudonymous books attributed to Numa were discovered, they were burned. As a last example, the ancient world knew that of the over 420 speeches attributed to Lysias, many of them were not genuine, and lists were compiled to try to determine which ones were and were not. The situation among Christian writers is similar, so much so that one scholar has said, “No one ever seems to have accepted a document as religiously and philosophically prescriptive which was known to be forged. I do not know a single example” (L. R. Donelson, *Pseudepigraphy and Ethical Argument in the Pastoral Epistles* [1986], 11).

The standard explanation for the presence of pseudepigraphs is that a later devotee of an author or member of a particular Christian community had further wisdom to offer and for some reason thought writing in the name of someone well known to that community was in the best interests of the readers. Further, it was considered in the best interests of the readers that they did not know who the actual author was, or they were deceived regarding authorship by someone other than the attributed

author. Those who prefer the former explanation, that it was in the best interests of the readers that they not know the actual author, often rely upon the notion of the noble lie. But, as many have pointed out, a noble lie is still a lie. Those who admit that deception was part of the canonical process are forced to conclude that canonical formation, and possibly the INSPIRATION process, was a flawed process that responded less to the facts of authorship than to the perceived function of the work within the life of the church.

Many have attempted to determine which works within the NT are pseudonymous. As a result, the Pauline epistles, as well as the Petrine epistles, have been subjected to intense and varied scrutiny. Arguments that can be easily dismissed are those that are based upon comparison of the disputed book with other supposed proved pseudepigraphs in the NT. Since the issue is whether there are any pseudepigraphs in the NT, it is a circular argument to appeal to other supposed pseudepigraphs, since none of these has been definitively proved to be pseudonymous according to internal criteria. The external criteria for drawing such a conclusion are even more doubtful, at least concerning Paul, since there does not appear to be any evidence from the first centuries of the church that someone knew that any of the Pauline epistles were pseudonymous. Appeal to extracanonical works does not solve the issue either, since these works are of a different type, that is, they have been excluded from the canon and show at least prima facie that there was a process of excluding pseudepigraphical works. If anything, this line of reasoning gives credence to the authenticity of those books in the NT, since they were not disputed.

More typically, those discussing pseudonymous authorship appeal to criteria of language, style, theology, and history. Each of these merits brief discussion. (1) The issue of language usually focuses upon the vocabulary of the respective writings. This criterion has been widely used in the past, but has three serious limitations (see M. B. O'Donnell in *Linguistics and the New Testament: Critical Junctures,* ed. S. E. Porter and D. A. Carson [1999], 206-62). The first is that, according to the standards of vocabulary analysis, the sample sizes often used are not of sufficient length for this type of investigation. The second is that the way that the vocabulary studies are constructed are often flawed. The usual procedure is for the disputed book to be compared with those books that are unarguably genuine (this only works for the Pauline epistles, where Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians often form the starting point for such a study), rather than compare the one book against the entire corpus; the latter would be a more reasonable procedure. The third is that some of the results, even according to this method, are counter to what they should be. For example, in comparing the uniquely Pauline words in a number of Pauline letters, one discovers that the book of Galatians has roughly the same number of unique words as does Ephesians, yet it is Ephesians that is often said to be pseudonymous. For this reason, a number of recent studies have called into question the entire procedure of vocabulary comparison as a means of determining pseudonymity. For the Petrine epistles, the widely divergent type of language used has raised questions whether the same author could have written the two letters, whatever one thinks about pseudonymity.

(2) The second criterion is that of style. A number of studies have attempted to define stylistic criteria by which writings may be compared. These various criteria include the frequency of occurrence of particular types of words (such as connective words like "and"), or sentence or clause length, or types of phrases, or the like, as a means of comparing the letters. These kinds of studies have a greater chance of finding useful information for determining pseudonymity, although they too are plagued with a number of problems. One problem is still the issue of sample size, as noted above. The second problem is that style itself is not a simple notion, and it is difficult to define reliable stylistic criteria and then to determine what level of divergence constitutes significance. A third

difficulty is that some of the studies have been unable to clearly identify a significant number of the Pauline epistles as pseudonymous. One major recent study concluded that only 2 Timothy seemed to be doubtful as to Pauline authorship, but that the book was too short to determine authorship definitively (A. Kenny, *A Stylometric Study of the New Testament* [1986]). With regard to the Petrine epistles, the highly literate Greek in 1 Peter has raised questions of whether a fisherman could have written the letter.

(3) A third criterion that has been used is that of theology. Some scholars have concluded that the theology of a number of the Pauline epistles is divergent from what is seen to be Paul's thinking. Again, there are a number of problems with such a method. One is that it is difficult to say definitively what the parameters of Paul's thought might be, considering that he wrote his letters possibly over a span of fifteen years. A second difficulty is that the point of comparison is often made with the four major epistles. Even these, however, do not address every theological issue and so cannot be seen as a complete compendium of all of Paul's thoughts for exegesis. A third issue is how much development is allowable in Paul's thought. Whereas some might wish to dispute 2 Thessalonians on the basis of its apparent divergences in ESCHATOLOGY from 1 Thessalonians (cf. 2 Thess. 2 with 1 Thess. 4-5), another explanation is that Paul developed in his thought. A final issue is how much variance is possible before one wonders how it is that the letter would have been accepted as Pauline at the outset. Peter's letters are called into question because they seem to be theologically dependent upon Pauline thought, contrary to what one might have expected to have come from a disciple.

(4) A fourth and final criterion often invoked is that of historical chronology. There are a number of letters that are difficult to fit into the traditional Pauline chronology, especially as that chronology is reconstructed from Acts. There are various questions raised by this approach as well. One is that some scholars question how much Acts should be utilized to create the Pauline chronology; if it should not, then some of the problems with fitting the letters into its sequence are mitigated. Second, there is nothing to say that the book of Acts has the complete chronology, especially since it ends with Paul in prison, apparently expecting some sort of equitable outcome to his captivity (Acts 28:30-31). This ending leaves further activities, such as travels around the Mediterranean that might elicit the PASTORAL EPISTLES, at least plausible. The third is that there are alternative chronologies for the letters that have been suggested. For example, J. A. T. Robinson in his discussion of the Pastorals placed them within the fairly standard Pauline chronology (*Redating the New Testament* [1977], 67-85). See CHRONOLOGY (NT) III.

A number of scholars have seen that there are difficulties with the standard criteria that have been used to dispute the authorship of the Pauline epistles, as well as the Petrine epistles. As a result, two further alternatives are worth considering. One is the proposal of D. Meade (*Pseudonymity and Canon* [1986]) that the NT, like the OT, has a tradition of pseudonymous literature in which traditions are supplemented, interpreted, and expanded in the name of an earlier author. The problems with this position are that the Pauline letters are not the anonymous prophetic literature Meade invokes, and the Pauline letters are not seen to grow by accretion but by creating new documents, according to the theory of pseudonymity. Lastly, the time-frame that Meade is talking about was much longer than that possible for the Pauline epistles. This hypothesis has a number of similarities with several proposals for the Pastoral Epistles. According to a number of scholars (e.g., P. N. Harrison, *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles* [1921]; J. D. Miller, *The Pastoral Letters as Composite Documents* [1997]), these letters are seen to be Pauline in the sense that they contain small parts of authentic material and that the fuller letters were written around it or pieced together as composite documents. Such authentic material in these cases is often quite small and leaves open the question of why three letters

were created.

Another proposal is that the role of coauthor-ship and scribes needs to be taken into account (see E. R. Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul* [1991]). A number of Paul's letters claim dual authorship (e.g., with Timothy, Sosthenes, and/or Silas, such as 1-2 Corinthians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 Thessalonians), and in Rom. 16:22 there is acknowledgment of the use of a scribe (cf. Gal. 6:11), a widespread practice in the ancient world. There is also the further factor that not all of Paul's letters follow the same plan. The Pastorals are arguably personal letters (note the use of the second person singular pronoun, e.g., in 1 Timothy), in a way that none of the other letters are, even Philemon. First Peter 5:12 also notes that SILAS had a hand in writing this letter. If this is the same Silas who was a companion of Paul, then this helps to explain not only the issue of how Peter's theology may at times sound like Paul's, but also the issue of how a fisherman could write as he does. The difficulty with such a proposal is how it can be quantified. The argument runs the risk of being viciously circular, since anything not Pauline or Petrine can be attributed to the scribe or joint author. Nevertheless, even if these factors cannot be quantified, at the least they complicate the picture for those who wish categorically to state that they can show that a particular writing is not authentically Pauline or Petrine, and hence is pseudonymous.

In conclusion, there are still a number of issues to be solved before one can clearly state that there are pseudonymous writings in the Bible. A further issue that should be taken into account more fully is the implications of deception being involved in the formation of the canon, since almost assuredly somewhere along the process such a deceptive act had to be involved when someone claimed to be writing as Paul or Peter. However, there are still many good arguments for believing the traditional ascriptions of the Pauline and Petrine epistles as indicating authorship (see further S. E. Porter in *BBR* 5 [1995]: 105-23).

S. E. PORTER

**Pseudo-Philo.** Name usually given to the unknown author of *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*, a work that retells the biblical narrative, selecting material from the creation to the time of David. It is widely thought that the book was originally composed in Hebrew in Palestine, probably during the 1st cent. of the Christian era (both the title and the false attribution to PHILO JUDAEUS are much later). It may have been translated into Greek, and then from Greek into Latin. In any case, the work has been preserved in some twenty Latin MSS, most of which are complete. Pseudo-Philo is at times a valuable witness to the text of the OT. More important, the author greatly expands some of the biblical stories, and in doing so he sheds considerable light on the history of OT interpretation. He preserves some Jewish traditions not found anywhere else and is the earliest witness for others. (Text by D. J. Harrington in *Les antiquités bibliques*, 1 [1976]; English trans. by D. J. Harrington in *OTP*, 2:297-377. See also F. J. Murphy, *Pseudo-Philo: Rewriting the Bible* [1993]; H. Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Lieber antiquitatum biblicarum: With Latin Text and English translation* [1996]; B. N. Fisk, *Do You Not Remember? Scripture, Story and Exegesis in the Rewritten Bible of Pseudo-Philo* [2001].)

**Pseudo-Phocylides.** Title given to a poem written apparently by a Jewish author no earlier than the 1st cent. B.C., but claiming to have been composed by "Phocylides, the wisest of men," a gnomic poet from the 6th cent. B.C. who was highly regarded in antiquity for his ethical teachings. The poem consists of 230 lines (in Ionic hexameter), most of which consist of a single aphorism, such as "Be content with what you have and abstain from what is another's," "The love of money is the mother of

all evil," "Better is a wise man than a strong one," "Do not be harsh with your children, but be gentle" (lines, 6, 42, 130, 207; trans. by P. W. van der Horst in *OTP*, 2:574-82). The author places great emphasis on sexual mores, with strong condemnation of such practices as incest, bestiality, and homosexuality (e.g., lines 179-82, 188-92); there is no mention of specific Jewish observances such as the Sabbath and food laws. It is uncertain whether the work was addressed to Jews (reassuring them that even intellectual Greeks acknowledge Jewish ethics) or to Gentiles (so that they might appreciate Hebrew culture). (See further P. W. van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* [1978]; W. T. Wilson, *The Mysteries of Righteousness: The Literary Composition and Genre of the Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides* [1994]; J. J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* [1997], ch. 9.)

**Pseudo-Titus, Epistle of.** The origin of this pseudonymous treatise, a lengthy exhortation on the virtues of chastity, is unknown. However, its highly ascetic emphasis and its liberal quotation of various apocryphal Acts have been taken to point to a 5th-cent. origin, probably as a product of the rigorously ascetic Spanish church. The so-called "epistle" is extant only in an 8th-cent. Latin MS; its poor grammar has led to the speculation that behind the Latin was a Greek original, but this cannot be established beyond question. The unknown author delivers his message in a homiletical, often exclamatory, style, stressing the desirability of the celibate state and the torments that await those who succumb to the flesh. He marshals every bit of evidence (much of which is forced) that he can from the OT and NT as well as a number of apocryphal writings, known and unknown, in support of his argument. The quotations of the epistle, rather than its content, have been the focus of attention in modern study of the treatise. It is of some historical value in that it makes use of earlier apocryphal works (e.g., ANDREWS, ACTS OF; PETER, ACTS OF; see also APOCRYPHAL NEW TESTAMENT). (English trans. in *NTAp*, 2:55-74.)

D. A. HAGNER

**Ptolemais** tol'uh-may'uhs (Πτολεμαΐς *G4767*). See Acco.

**Ptolemy** tol'uh-mee (Πτολεμαῖος). The dynastic name of the Macedonian Hellenistic kings who ruled EGYPT after ALEXANDER THE GREAT until the Roman conquest. Some of these kings are mentioned in the APOCRYPHA, and their conflicts with their SELEUCID rivals in SYRIA appear to be shadowed in the book of DANIEL (see ANTIOCHUS; SELEUCUS). (It should be noted that a general of Antiochus IV named Ptolemy MACRON, not related to this royal line, is mentioned in 1 Macc. 3:38; 2 Macc. 4:45; 6:8; 8:8; and possibly 10:12. Another nonroyal figure is Ptolemy son of Abubus, the murderous son-in-law of SIMON MACCABEE, 1 Macc. 16:11-18.)

Under the earlier Ptolemies, especially Ptolemy I-III, Egypt was subjected to a revised and more intensive economic system, but good management supported a considerable prosperity. This administrative machine was kept going fairly well for another century, but from before the time of Ptolemy VIII, corruption in local administration aggravated a growing economic burden on the Egyptian populace and helped to fan their discontents into intermittent rebellions. Egypt was run by the Ptolemies—foreigners—entirely for their own interests, as if it were simply a large private estate, without any real concern for the welfare of their Egyptian subjects.

However, the Ptolemies could not dispense with the support (or at least, acquiescence) of the populace, and so sought to keep their loyalty by favoring their most influential element—the

priesthoods; hence, the spectacular rebuilding of major temples such as Dendera, Edfu, Esna, Kom Ombo, and Philae, and additions to other venerable temples. The Egyptians remained fundamentally unimpressed, and the priests remained covertly the guardians of the national spirit (traceable in various subtleties of temple decoration) as well as of ancient religious tradition. The hieroglyphic script (see WRITING) was deliberately developed to a far higher degree of elaboration, so that the despised foreigner might not penetrate the secret lore of the texts inscribed in profusion upon the walls of the new temples. This treasury is only gradually being unlocked, and these relatively late Ptolemaic hieroglyphic texts contain a vast deposit of data on Egyptian religion often going back to far earlier times in origin and throwing needed light on scantier sources from preceding epochs.

(1) Ptolemy I, Soter (305-282 B.C.), who began his Egyptian career as one of Alexander's generals. After Alexander's death (in 323), he obtained the post of satrap, or governor, of Egypt. At first he ruled in the name of Alexander's half-brother Philip Arrhidaeus and of Alexander's young son Alexander IV of Macedon until the deaths of both. Probably in late 305, Ptolemy finally took the title of king of Egypt, after the retreat of his opponent Antigonus, retaining his realm until his death in 282. That realm comprised not only Egypt but also PALESTINE (including JUDEA) and southern Syria, plus various footholds in southern ASIA MINOR and the AEGEAN. Ptolemy inaugurated a new period of Egyptian power in the ANE, but as a Hellenistic monarchy—he was PHARAOH not to the outer world, but only in Egypt and that in office only. On the cultural plane, he founded the library and museum at ALEXANDRIA, his capital, and instituted the cult of the Greco-Egyptian god SERAPIS, perhaps to provide a religious link for his Egyptian and Greek subjects. In Upper Egypt, he founded just one Greek-constituted city of his own—Ptolemais, modern el-Menshieh, 10 mi. S of Akhmim. This king and his Syrian contemporary, Seleucus I, may be the kings of Dan. 11:5. (See further W. M. Ellis, *Ptolemy of Egypt* [1994].)

(2) Ptolemy II, Philadelphus (284-246 B.C.), was the younger son of Ptolemy I, and ruled for the last two years of his father's life. He organized the Alexandrian library inaugurated by his father. Alexandria itself developed apace; the Pharos lighthouse was erected. Ptolemy II established Greek settlers from his forces to cultivate the Fayum oasis, and in the name of his deceased favorite wife, Arsinoë II, he transformed the revenues of the wealthy Egyptian temples to be under closer control of the state and the royal power. The Egyptian priest Manetho wrote his *Aegyptiaca* (History of Egypt) in Greek about this time, and the tradition of the SEPTUAGINT coming from this reign reflects the need of the important community of Greek-speaking Jews in Alexandria to have the OT in their adopted everyday speech. Abroad, Ptolemy II was in intermittent conflict with the Seleucids, until eventually he made alliance with them by giving his daughter Berenice in marriage to Antiochus II of Syria. She and her son, however, were murdered just before

Limestone relief of Ptolemy II (from Tanis, c. 260 B.C.).

Ptolemy's own decease (cf. Dan. 11:6). (See further E. E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* [1983].)

(3) Ptolemy III, Euergetes I (246-222 B.C.), promptly marched against Syria to avenge his sister's death, gaining great spoils but not attempting to hold or eliminate the rival kingdom (cf. Dan. 11:7-8). A later attack by Seleucus II had little effect (11:9). The wealth of Ptolemy III enabled him to inaugurate temple building in Egypt on a large scale. These vast, monumental edifices continued to be built and decorated in the Egyptian style to Egypt's own gods. Today they are best exemplified by the temple of Horus at Edfu in Upper Egypt, which was begun under Ptolemy III in 236 and completed under his successors.

(4) Ptolemy IV, Philopator (222-205 B.C.), was a pleasure-loving prince who largely left the reins of government in the hands of unscrupulous ministers of the crown. At the battle of Raphia (217), however, the young king showed leadership; allusion is made to his Syrian activity in 3 Macc. 1:1-5. In this reign native Egyptians were taken into the armed forces and gave a good account of themselves in the Syrian fighting. This had the effect of reawakening Egyptian self-respect, resentment at exclusion from high executive office (confined to Greeks), and feelings for real independence; this departure was thus a seedbed for the subsequent internal revolts under Ptolemies IV, V, and IX. Late in this reign such a revolt broke out in Upper Egypt and was not suppressed until the next reign; building construction at Edfu, for example, halted for twenty years.

(5) Ptolemy V, Epiphanes (204-180 B.C.), was a mere child at his accession. Thus, within a few years, in 198, Antiochus III of Syria was able to seize Palestine from Egypt, so that the Jews now had a change of masters, but at first without much immediate difference. Subsequently, Antiochus III gave his daughter in marriage to Ptolemy V and ceased to threaten Egypt, done in some measure through pressure from Rome. His wars and Egyptian marriage alliance may be reflected in Dan. 11:10-19. The loss of overseas possessions and the revolts inside Egypt itself (lasting years before they could be suppressed) all worked against the economy and prosperity of Egypt. This reign is more famous in modern times, however, for the ROSETTA STONE—a decree in three scripts (Egyptian hieroglyphs, Egyptian demotic, and Greek) produced by the Egyptian priesthoods in the year 196; this inscription

was a vital key in the decipherment of ancient Egyptian.

(6) Ptolemy VI, Philometor (180-145 B.C.), also ascended the throne as a child, his Syrian mother Cleopatra I acting as regent. In 169, Antiochus IV Epiphanes of Syria invaded Egypt, making it a protectorate. A revolt in Alexandria brought kingship to Ptolemy's brother, the future Ptolemy VIII, both princes receiving recognition in Egypt. This precipitated a further attack by Antiochus IV, but the latter had to withdraw before an ultimatum from Rome, in the famous incident when Rome's envoy Popilius drew a circle around the Seleucid and demanded an immediate reply. At this period the ardent Hellenistic Antiochus IV came into conflict with the Jews, sparking off the Maccabean revolt (Dan. 11:21-45; see MACCABEE). Also in the reign of Ptolemy VI, ONIAS ("IV"), son of the murdered Onias III and high priest at Jerusalem, fled to Egypt. There, with the permission of Ptolemy VI, he established a local temple at Leontopolis in the NILE delta. Internally, Egypt now was ruled by almost a triumvirate consisting of Ptolemy VI, his brother, and Ptolemy's own wife Cleopatra II as official coregent (the younger brother sought the throne for himself but without success). Varying estimates of Ptolemy VI appear in the books of Maccabees (1 Macc. 10:5-58; 11:1-19; 2 Macc. 4:21; 9:29; 10:13) and JOSEPHUS (*Ant*. 13.4.5-8), especially in regard to his interventions in Syria; he died from wounds received in this warfare.

(7) Ptolemy VII, Neos Philopator, was but a child at his father's death (145 B.C.), and he was speedily supplanted by his uncle.

(8) Ptolemy VIII, Euergetes II (145-116 B.C.). In the classical writers, this monarch appears in a very unfavorable light, not directly reflected by contemporary records or in the reasonably settled state of his kingdom. His activity in Syria is reflected in 1 Macc. 1:18 and 15:16 (link with Rome). Two queens of the name Cleopatra were associated with this king's regime, the elder one raising a revolt in 129; her death came with that of Ptolemy VIII himself.

(9) Ptolemy IX, Soter II (116-110, 109, 88-80 B.C.), had a checkered career. He was ousted from Egypt in 110 in favor of his younger brother Ptolemy X, then returned to power briefly in 109/8, and permanently in 88. The queens of the period (e.g., Cleopatra III) were of base and ruthless character. Late in Soter II's reign, a severe local revolt broke out in Upper Egypt; the ensuing suppression brought devastation upon ancient THEBES, whose

The dynasty of the Ptolemies.

bygone splendors were long a focus for nationalistic aspirations (in the year 85).

(10) Ptolemy X, also known as Alexander I (110-109, 108/107-88 B.C.). As already mentioned, this younger brother of Ptolemy IX ruled during the periods when the latter was in disfavor.

(11) Ptolemy XI or Alexander II, lasted only nineteen days in the year 80 B.C., being murdered by the soldiery after having first murdered his stepmother Berenice III.

(12) Ptolemy XII, "Auletes" (80-51 B.C.), illegitimate son of Ptolemy IX, was a man of ill character. He ruled under the shadow of potential Roman interference with Egyptian independence, eventually obtaining Roman recognition of his sovereignty by a vast bribe. This and similar "expenses" strained the economy of his realm. A revolt in Alexandria drove him into exile during the years 58-55, the rule passing to a daughter, Berenice IV. By bribing the Roman governor of Syria, Auletes regained his throne amid bloodshed, including the murder of Berenice IV. In this reign, the Greek traveler Diodorus Siculus visited Egypt, compiling a useful account of what he saw (regrettably, compounded with other observations obtained from earlier writers but unacknowledged).

(13) Cleopatra VII (51-30 B.C.). At the death of Ptolemy XII, the throne was designated to pass to his daughter Cleopatra VII and son Ptolemy XIII, they having been associated with their father for a year. But rivalry broke out between Cleopatra—most famous of all the Ptolemies—and her brother. Julius CAESAR was officially to arbitrate between the two, but his attachment to Cleopatra weighed the scales against Ptolemy, whose armed resistance was of no avail (he was killed in 47). Thereafter, a younger brother became Cleopatra's nominal joint ruler as Ptolemy XIV, but she poisoned him at Rome in 44. By Julius Caesar she had a son, Caesarion, and had him recognized in Egypt (in 41) and then raised him to the rank of nominal coruler (from 36 to 30), with an eye to the future succession, as Ptolemy XV. Cleopatra, whatever her other charms (still debated), was an ambitious woman and clever politician. Rome feared her intentions to dominate the ANE world. Antony fell under her dominance, to his undoing, but Octavian (AUGUSTUS) was not to be overcome by her armies, intrigues, or personality. Cleopatra took her own life rather than be made a spectacle in the victor's triumphal procession. With her death and the murder of her son, Egypt finally passed, in August of 30 B.C., under the domination of Rome. See CLEOPATRA.

(See further E. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* [1927]; H. I. Bell, *Egypt: From Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest* [1948]; id., *Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt* [1953]; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World,* 3 vols., 2nd ed. [1953]; T. C. Skeat, *The Reigns of the Ptolemies* [1954]; W. W. Tarn and G. T. Griffith, *Hellenistic Civilization* [1959]; V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* [1959]; A. E. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology* [1962]; F. W. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World*, rev. ed. [1992]; E. Turner in *CAH*, 2nd ed., 7/1 [1984], ch. 5; L. L. Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*, 2 vols. [1991], ch. 4; B. Lançon and C.-G. Schwentzel, *L'Égypte hellénistique et romaine* [1999]; R. S. Bagnall and D. W. Rathbone, eds., *Egypt from Alexander to the Early Christians: An Archaeological and Historical Guide* [2004].)

K. A. KITCHEN

**Ptolemy Macron.** See MACRON.

**Pua.** See PUAH (MAN).

**Puah (man)** py*oo*'uh (פּוּאָה *H7025* [Jdg. 10:1; 1 Chr. 7:1], פֻּוָּה *H7026* [Gen. 46:13; Num. 26:23], possibly "[red] dye"; gentilic פּוּנִי, "Punite" [Num 26:23, but NIV emends to פּוּאִי *H7027*, "Puite," while others emend to פֻּוָנִי, "Puvanite"]). (1) Son of ISSACHAR (Gen. 46:13 [KJV, "Phuvah"; NRSV, "Puvah"]; Num. 26:23 [KJV, "Pua"; NRSV, "Puvah"]). His descendants are referred to as "the clan of the Punites" (26:23 NRSV, following MT; NIV, "the Puite clan").

(2) Son of Dodo and father of TOLA; the latter was a judge in the tribe of Issachar (Jdg. 10:1).

**Puah (woman)** py*oo*'uh (פּוּעָה *H7045*, prob. "girl"). One of the two Hebrew midwives who were commanded by the king of Egypt to kill all Hebrew male children at birth (Exod. 1:15). See MIDWIFE.

**publican.** See TAX COLLECTOR.

**Publius** puhb'lee-uhs (Πόπλιος *G4511*, from Lat. *Publius*, a common *praenomen*). The "chief official" (*ho prōtos)* on the island of MALTA who for three days hospitably entertained PAUL and members of the shipwrecked party (Acts 28:7). His father, sick with fever and dysentery, was healed by Paul (v. 8). The epithet *ho prōtos* (lit., "the first one") has been confirmed by two Maltese inscriptions as an official title. It would be unusual for a Roman official to be called simply by his first name, but W. M. Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen,* 14th ed. [1925], 343) suggested that the peasantry on the estate of Publius used that name and that Luke followed their practice. It is also possible that he was a local officer (cf. C. K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles,* ICC, 2 vols. [1994-98], 2:1224-25; see also *ABD*, 5:545).

D. E. HIEBERT

**Pudens** py*oo*'dinz (Πούδης *G4545*, from Lat. *Pudens*, "modest, bashful"). A Christian who, along with others (CLAUDIA, EUBULUS, and LINUS), was a friend of the apostle PAUL during his second Roman imprisonment and who sent greetings to TIMOTHY (2 Tim. 4:21). The Latin poet Martial in his *Epigrams* (1.31; 4.13, 29; et al.) mentions a friend named Pudens with his wife Claudia who was of British birth. Much learned labor has been expended to establish their identity with the Pudens and Claudia of 2 Timothy, but the identification is very doubtful. Pudens is commemorated in the Byzantine Church on April 14, and in the Roman Church on May 19. (See further *ABD*, 5:546.)

D. E. HIEBERT

**Puhite** py*oo*'h*i*t. KJV form of PUTHITE.

**Puite** py*oo*'*i*t. See PUAH (MAN).

**Pul (person)** puhl (פּוּל *H7040*, from Akk. *Pūlu*). A name used twice with reference to the Assyrian king TIGLATH-PILESER III (745-727 B.C.). It may be that Pul was his original name, and that when he ascended the throne he assumed the name Tiglath-Pileser, which had been borne by a great king of the past. Others believe that Pul was a hypocorism (pet name) of the full name (*SacBr*, 226b). He is mentioned in 2 Ki. 15:19 and 1 Chr. 5:26.

Relief of arms-bearer of Tiglath-Pileser III, "Pul" of the OT. (From the central palace at Nimrud, c. 728 B.C.)

**Pul (place)** puhl (פּוּל *H7039* [not in NIV]). According to the KJV (following MT), the name of a place mentioned along with TARSHISH, LUD, and others to which God would send survivors (Isa. 66:19). It is generally regarded as a scribal error for PUT (cf. NRSV; the NIV has "Libyans").

S. BARABAS

**pulpit.** This English term is used by the KJV once (Neh. 8:4) to render Hebrew *migdāl H4463*, a common word for "tower." In this passage the reference is evidently to some kind of raised wooden platform, probably reached by steps.

**pulse.** This term, referring to the edible seeds of various legumes, is used by the KJV in two passages. In one of them the English term is supplied (2 Sam. 17:28, where the MT simply has the word for "parched" or "roasted," *qālî H7833*; this Heb. word occurs also earlier in the verse, and the NIV and other translations, following some versional evidence, omit the second occurrence). In the other use of "pulse" by the KJV (Dan. 1:12, 16), the reference is to the vegetables that DANIEL and his friends requested to eat so that they might not defile themselves with the rich food and wine of the king.

S. BARABAS

**punishment.** See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

**punishment, eternal.** This specific phrase occurs once, namely, in Jesus' parable of the sheep and the goats: "Then they will go away to eternal punishment [*eis kolasin aiōnion*], but the righteous into eternal life [*eis zōēn aiōnion*]" (Matt. 25:46; the KJV, apparently for the sake of stylistic variety, renders "everlasting punishment…life eternal"). Equivalent expressions, however, are found elsewhere, where the adjective *aiōnios G173* is used in combination with "fire" (Matt. 18:8; 25:41; Jude 7), "destruction" (2 Thess. 1:9), "sin" (Mk. 3:29; KJV has "damnation," following the TR), and "chains" (Jude 6). We read that for the wicked "blackest darkness has been reserved forever" (*eis aiōna*, Jude 13). Similarly, the book of Revelation, alluding to some OT passages, uses the phrase "for ever and ever" (*eis aiōnas aiōnōn* or *eis tous aiōnas tōn aiōnōn*) in describing the eternal

torment of the devil, the beast, and others (Rev. 14:11; 19:3; 20:10; cf. Isa. 34:9-10; Dan. 12:2; Obad. 10).

**I. The meaning of the term.** The biblical doctrine is that the ungodly are subject to punishment without end after death. The important question is this, Does the Greek term *aiōnios* really mean "endless"? The word derives from the noun *aiōn G172*, meaning "a [long] period of existence, an age." Plato, however, used it of the Eternal Being compared to Time. The SEPTUAGINT used it to translated the Hebrew word *ʿôlām H6409*, which also refers to a long time and is frequently used of ETERNITY (see also ETERNAL). In the case of both the Greek and the Hebrew terms, the context determines whether they indicate a long period of time or endlessness. For example, when the Greek term is used by John to speak of eternal LIFE, the emphasis is on the qualitative rather than the quantitative, although the very nature of the quality of the life being described would presuppose its being unending. A passage where it is clearly used in contrast to that which only lasts for a time is 2 Cor. 4:18, "So we fix our eyes not on what is seen, but on what is unseen. For what is seen is temporary, but what is unseen is eternal."

The strongest evidence that the NT intends to teach the endlessness of punishment in hell is that *aiōnios* is used in the same passage—indeed, the same sentence, to describe the condition of both the saved and the lost (Matt. 25:46). Similarly, the phrase referred to above, *eis tous aiōnas tōn aiōnōn* (in its various forms) is used again and again to describe the duration of the glory of God and clearly speaks of endlessness. W. R. Inge says, "No sound Greek scholar can pretend that *aiōnios* means any thing less than eternal" (in W. R. Inge et al., *What is Hell?* [1930], 6). F. von Huegel says, "If we follow the New Testament, the essence of hell lies assuredly above all in its endlessness" (ibid., 7). E. H. Plumptre, who opposes the doctrine of eternal punishment, yet says of universalism, "It fails to prove that the element of duration is, as has been mentioned, altogether absent from the word" (*The Spirits in Prison and Other Studies on the Life after Death* [1884], 14). And P. Dearmer, another opponent dealing with the subject, speaks of NT "passages which, however accurately they are translated, are inconsistent with the teachings of Christ" (*The Legend of Hell: An Examination of the Doctrine of Everlasting Punishment in the Light of Modern Scholarship,* new ed. [1932]), by which, of course, he means inconsistent with his own preconceived notions of what Christ ought to teach.

There are a number of NT passages that use different terminology but nevertheless confirm the fact that endlessness is involved. For example, HELL is described as a place of "unquenchable fire" (Mk. 9:43 NRSV; the Gk. adj. is *asbestos G812*, "inextinguishable, ceaseless," and the NIV renders, "where the fire never goes out"); the parallel passage speaks of "eternal fire" (Matt. 18:8). It is further described as a place where the "worm does not die, and the fire is not quenched" (Mk. 9:48). Again, "whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit will never be forgiven; he is guilty of an eternal sin" (3:29). And in the parable of the rich man and Lazarus (see LAZARUS AND DIVES), the permanence of the condition of those being punished is described thus: "between us and you a great chasm has been fixed, in order that those who would pass from here to you may not be able, and none may cross from there to us" (Lk. 16:26). The unchangeableness of the condition of punishment is implied also in the many passages that speak of the JUDGMENT with its resulting rewards and punishments, which depend on the acts committed in this present life.

**II. The nature of the punishment.** It is generally accepted that the descriptions of fire and darkness are symbolic—but they are symbolic of a terrible *reality*. The Bible does not specifically describe

the nature of the punishment, which can be inferred only from the total biblical picture. Since the punishment is the result of SIN, it must bear certain similarities to the consequences of sin that take place already in this life. If eternal DEATH is the opposite of eternal life, it must contain elements that contrast with those the Bible includes in its picture of eternal life. The essence of life is enjoying a loving relationship to God; therefore eternal punishment implies the absence of this great blessing. Life apart from God is existence filled with guilt, hollowness, despair, meaninglessness, and hopelessness. The agony of eternal punishment apparently involves both BODY and SOUL because Scripture says both are ultimately cast into hell. Apparently this would involve inner anguish as well as detrimental effects upon the body. It may involve the torment of being cut off from fellowship with other human beings, and also the results of living within a society from which the grace of God has been completely withdrawn. It must be admitted that the above consists of biblical inferences and is somewhat speculative, since the Bible is silent when it comes to specific information as to the nature of the punishment, being satisfied simply to emphasize the horror of its reality.

**III. The alternative views.** There are basically two alternative views to eternal punishment. One view is that either after death, following a limited period of punishment or no punishment at all, the lost cease to exist. This view is called *annihilation*. The other view is that, following death either after a period of punishment or with no punishment, all will eventually be saved. This is called *universalism*.

***A. Annihilation (also called conditional immortality).*** This is the official position of the Seventh Day Adventists and the Jehovah's Witnesses, but it is also adopted by scholars of various persuasions. They claim that the words *destruction* and *death*, which sometimes are used in the Bible to describe eternal punishment, are to be understood as involving the complete cessation of existence (see also IMMORTALITY). Arguments against this position are as follows.

(1) These words obviously are not used to describe cessation of existence in other biblical passages. For example, the Hebrew word rendered "perish" is applied to the physical sufferings of the

The barrenness of Edom today is a reminder of the desolation prophesied by Isaiah (Isa. 34:9-10).

righteous (Isa. 57:1) and to the loss of Kish's donkeys (1 Sam. 9:3, 20). The Hebrew word translated "cut off" to describe the condition of the wicked (Ps. 37:9) is used to describe the fate of the Messiah (Dan. 9:26). The wicked will be destroyed (Ps. 145:20) but the word cannot mean complete

annihilation, for it is used also to describe the fate Israel had experienced (Hos. 13:9) and the fate of Egypt during the plagues (Exod. 10:7). It is predicted that sinners will be "consumed," but the same word describes a wall demolished by hailstones (Ezek. 13:13-14). The fate of the wicked was that "he passed away and was no more" (Ps. 37:36), but the same Hebrew word describes the blessed fate of ENOCH (Gen. 5:24).

(2) The Bible describes destruction as punishment, but if it means annihilation, in many cases it would actually be a happy relief from punishment and therefore no punishment at all.

(3) Life as described in the Bible is not simply existence, it is existence in fellowship with God. The death that the Bible describes as the alternative to life need not mean the cessation of existence, but rather continued existence cut off from the fellowship of God.

(4) The practical effect of this doctrine undermines morality. In making light of the results of moral choices, it therefore makes light of the moral choices themselves.

***B. Universalism.*** The main arguments that are put forth by those who believe that ultimately all will be saved are: (1) some biblical passages use universal language; (2) God would be unjust to punish human beings for all eternity for sins they committed within a span of a few years; (3) a loving God would not punish his creatures forever; and (4) eternal punishment implies that God has failed and is not sovereign. These arguments may be answered as follows.

(1) It is true that some biblical passages that speak of salvation use the term *all* or *everything*, such as Acts 3:21, which reads, "[Christ] must remain in heaven until the time comes for God to restore everything." This statement, however, does not intend to teach theological universalism (just two verses later one reads a quotation from Deut. 18:15, "Anyone who does not listen to [that prophet] will be completely cut off from among his people"). The RSV translates Acts 3:21 more literally, "whom heaven must receive until the time for establishing all that God spoke," which removes the universalistic element. As for verses that do refer specifically to people in universalistic terms (e.g., Jn. 12:32; Eph. 1:10), one should take note that in Scripture (as in languages generally), such words as *all* are not always used in an absolute way. When the wise men came to Jerusalem, for example, Herod "was disturbed, and all Jerusalem with him" (Matt. 2:3); obviously not every individual heard about the problem, let alone was deeply concerned about it. Again, when John the Baptist preached, "Jerusalem and all Judea and all the region about the Jordan were going out to him, and they were baptized by him" (Matt. 3:5-6a ESV). This surely did not mean that every inhabitant of these areas came to John, and certainly every individual was not baptized.

(2) The argument that sees an insuperable incongruence between eternal punishment and a short life of disobedience fails to recognize the seriousness and the true nature of sin. Sin is rebellion against God Almighty, a horrible action that deserves the most drastic punishment. Furthermore, the nature of sin is such that it produces abiding consequences. God is just, for sin produces the very results that a sin deserves—results that are abiding except for the intervening grace of God.

(3) Those who advance the third argument say: "A good man would not punish his enemies forever; surely a good God will not do this either." But God is not man; he is loving, but he must also be just. He is the gracious Creator, but he is also the just Judge. The fact is that sin does produce horrible consequences in this life, and the loving God does not prevent them. What is the basis for assurance that he will prevent these consequences hereafter?

(4) As for the argument based on God's sovereignty, human beings are hardly in a position to determine how God should exercise his authority. The same Bible that reveals God as sovereign also reveals punishment as eternal.

(See further L. T. Townsend, *Lost Forever* [1875]; J. Hanson, *Aiōn-Aiōnios: An Excursus on the Greek Word Rendered Everlasting* …[1880]; E. B. Pusey, *What Is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment,* 3rd ed. [1880]; J. Reimensnyder, *Doom Eternal* [1880]; W. Shedd, *The Doctrine of Endless Punishment* [1886]; C. Mann, *Five Discourses on Future Punishment* [1888]; H. Buis, *The Doctrine of Eternal Punishment* [1957]; J. I. Packer in *Evangelical Affirmations,* ed. K. S. Kantzer and C. F. H. Henry [1990], 107-36; N. M. de S. Cameron, ed., *Universalism and the Doctrine of Hell* [1992]; W. V. Crockett et al., *Four Views on Hell* [1992]; C. W. Morgan and R. A. Peterson, eds., *Hell under Fire: Modern Scholarship Reinvents Eternal Punishment* [2004].)

H. BUIS

**Punite** py*oo*'n*i*t. See PUAH (MAN).

**Punon** py*oo*'non (פּוּנֹן *H7044*, meaning unknown). A town in EDOM that served as a desert stop in Israel's wilderness sojourn (Num. 33:42-43), shortly after leaving Mount HOR (v. 41) and before arrival at MOAB (v. 44). *Punon* may be a secondary form of PINON, which was the name of an Edomite chieftain (Gen. 36:41). The place is usually identified with modern Feinan (c. 32 mi. S of the Dead Sea), called *Phainō* in Greek sources; it is a large well-watered city about 5 mi. from the mining and smelting at Khirbet en-Nahas and Khirbet Nqieb Aseimer. The site at the juncture of two wadis has great copper slag heaps. EUSEBIUS'S *Onomasticon* (114.3; 168.8-10) makes reference to the mines of *Phainōn;* JEROME'S edition (169.9-10) adds that convicts mined and converted the ore. Operations there may date as early as 2200-1800 B.C., and Israel found it recovering after long desertion. Abandoned 200 years later, it subsequently was revived by the NABATEANS, operation continuing through Roman and later periods, seeing great prosperity. In the Byzantine period it had a Christian basilica and monastery, the ruins yielding an inscription with the name of Bishop Theodore (A.D. 587-88). (See N. Glueck, *Explorations in Eastern Palestine II,* AASOR 15 [1935], 32-35; *ABD*, 2:780-82, s.v. "Feinan, Wadi.")

R. F. GRIBBLE

**Pur** poor, pyoor. See PURIM.

**Purah** poor'uh, pyoo'ruh (פּוּרָה *H7242*, derivation uncertain [cf. *ABD*, 5:557]). The servant that accompanied GIDEON in a reconnaissance of the Midianite camp (Jdg. 7:10-11; KJV "Phurah").

**pure.** See PURIFICATION; PURITY.

**purgatory.** See INTERMEDIATE STATE.

**purification.** Although purificatory rites were common to many religions and regarded as primarily ceremonial in nature, it is apparent that for the Israelites it had both ceremonial and ethical significance. Most of the ceremonial purifications were also important for sanitary purposes.

Purification from uncleanness preceded the giving of the Mosaic law (Gen. 35:2; Exod. 19:14). With the establishment of Israel as God's COVENANT people came the ceremonial law providing for cleansing and purification. Purification for the Israelite involved the ideas of expiation and disinfection. The ritual on the Day of Atonement involved ceremonies of expiation and riddance,

symbolizing purification of heart and annulment of guilt. See ATONEMENT, DAY OF.

Artist's conception of women using a ritual bath (*mikveh*).

The word *unclean* commonly referred to things that were to be avoided by the Israelites. When this UNCLEANNESS was the result of personal contact, the purification process necessitated disinfection (cf. G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era: The Age of the Tannaim,* 3 vols. [1927-30], 2:55-78). Generally, the concepts of clean and unclean can be given in four categories: food (esp. in the slaughter) and use of animals; sexual functions and issues of blood; leprosy (including a number of skin diseases); and contact with dead bodies, especially for officiating priests. Prohibitions in the Scriptures concerning these matters are frequently indefinite. In the course of time numerous interpretations were given in oral law that developed into legalistic systems. Many of these laws were of little concern to most Jews unless they anticipated a visit to the temple. Among those who professionally studied the law and its interpretations, there developed the legal system as a way of religious life.

The prophets devoted more emphasis to the matter of ethical PURITY than to the ceremonial practice. Sometimes the people to whom they ministered were excessively absorbed in the fulfillment of the letter of the law in their ceremonies, but neglected to practice God's requirements toward their fellow men in daily life. Jesus in his teaching and practice emphasized the need for purity of heart as the basic requirement for eternal life.

S. J. SCHULTZ

**Purim** poor'im, pyoo'rim (פּוּרִים, pl. of פּוּר *H7052*, from Akk. *pûru*, "lot"). The Jewish festival observed on the 14th and 15th days of the month Adar, the last month in the Hebrew calendar, answering to February-March. Although the festival is not prescribed in the law of Moses or elsewhere in the OT, its origin is fully recorded in the book of ESTHER (Esth. 3:7; 9:24-32). It is mentioned in the apocryphal books (Add. Esth. 10:10-13; 2 Macc. 15:36) and in JOSEPHUS (*Ant.* 11.6.13).

The history behind the festival is as follows. HAMAN the Agagite (cf. 1 Sam. 15:8, 32) was the prime minister of King XERXES of PERSIA, and an inveterate enemy of the Jews. After Queen VASHTI was deposed (Esth. 1:9-12) Esther, adopted daughter of MORDECAI, became queen. Haman plotted the

annihilation of all the Jews of the realm. Superstitious as he was, he cast LOTS to determine the best time for the execution of his plan (3:7). The lot fell on the 13th day of Adar (3:12-14). Through Mordecai's loyalty to the king (he had earlier foiled a plot to assassinate the king), his wisdom in behalf of his people, Esther's courage, and the fasting and prayers of the Jews, the diabolical scheme was frustrated, Israel was saved, and Haman and his ten sons were hanged on the gallows prepared for Mordecai. A new decree of Xerxes permitted the Jews to defend themselves against their enemies on the day they were to be destroyed. In the royal city of SUSA, another day—the 14th—was given the Jews to avenge themselves on their adversaries (9:11-16). Because of the deliverance, Mordecai urged the Jews to keep the 14th and 15th days of Adar as a memorial (9:20-22).

In Maccabean times (2 Macc. 15:36) the feast was called "Mordecai's day." Josephus (*Ant.* 11.6.13) claimed that in his time all the Jews of the world kept the festival: "For this cause the Jews still keep the aforementioned days, and call them days of Purim." The TALMUD told those celebrating the feast to drink until they could no longer distinguish between "Cursed be Haman" and "Blessed be Mordecai."

It has been suggested that the feast mentioned in Jn. 5:1 was the Feast of Purim. This is opposed to the Jewish custom of celebrating Purim anywhere in the land; thus there was no need to go up to Jerusalem. Only at the time of the three pilgrimage

A Jewish child in costume celebrating Purim.

feasts (Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles) was it obligatory on the Israelite to appear in Jerusalem (Deut. 16:16).

Purim always has been popular among the Jews. On the 13th of Adar a fast, called the Fast of Esther, is observed. That evening they attend the synagogue, where after the evening service the book of Esther is read. When the name of Haman is read, the congregation says in unison, "Let his name be blotted out." The young add their part with noisemakers and Purim rattles. The public reader recites the names of Haman's sons in one breath to convey the idea that they were hanged together. The next

morning (the 14th of Adar) the congregation assembles again in the synagogue to conclude the formal religious exercises. The rest of the day is devoted to mirth and rejoicing. Large numbers of hymns have been composed for public service, as well as plays, dramas, and recitations. The theme of the festival has been rehearsed many times in the centuries of persecution in ancient and modern times. A prominent feature of the feast is sending food and gifts to the poor (Esth. 9:19). Thus the observance of Purim through the centuries argues strongly for the historicity of the events recorded in the book of Esther.

However, there have been and still are those who cast doubt on the reliability of the events recorded. It has been argued that the book is not historical and does not have even a historical kernel underlying the account. J. C. Rylaarsdam (in *IDB*, 3:968-69) maintains that the ultimate sources of the account are not Jewish at all. It is rather a case where, in the flush of the Maccabean triumphs of the 2nd cent. B.C., the Jews revamped the drama into history. He feels that the names in the record point to a mythological legend about the victory of certain Babylonian deities. Attempts have been made by those who reject the historicity of the book of Esther to find the origin of the Feast of Purim in a Maccabean, Persian, Parthian, Zoroastrian, Hellenic, or Babylonian source. These proposals are mutually negating and lack conviction (*HDB*, 4:174-75; see further H. Schauss, *The Jewish Festivals* [1938], 237-71; B. M. Edidin, *Jewish Holidays and Festivals* [1940], 117-30; J. H. Greenstone, *Jewish Feasts and Fasts* [1946]; T. H. Gaster, *Purim and Hanukkah in Custom and Tradition* [1950]; W. Hallo in *BA* 46 [1983]: 19-29; E. S. Horowitz, *Purim and the Legacy of Jewish Violence* [2006]).

C. L. FEINBERG

**purity.** Although this noun is not common in the Bible (the Gk. noun *hagnotēs G55* occurs only twice [2 Cor. 6:6; 11:3], as does its synonym *hagneia G48* [1 Tim. 4:12; 5:2]), the adjective *pure* occurs over 100 times as the rendering of several words. Similarly, the term *cleanness* is infrequent (it translates Heb. *bōr H1341*, which occurs only in 2 Sam. 22:21, 25; Job 22:30; Ps. 18:20, 24), but *clean* and *cleanse* are found in a total of almost 200 passages (primarily as the translation of the Heb. adj. *ṭāhôr H3196* and the verb *ṭāhēr H3197* respectively, as well as Gk. *katharos G2754* and *katharizō G2751*; see CLEAN). There are other synonyms, such as *blameless* and *innocent*.

**I. Meaning and means of purity.** Purity is a desirable quality or condition of a good person or thing, without alloy, mixture, or pollution. It can be applied to physical objects such as gold (Exod. 25:17 NRSV) and nard (Jn. 12:3), but also to the church (2 Cor. 11:2) and to the human heart (1 Tim. 1:5). Purity of body is essential for good health, and a requisite for acceptance in respectable social circles (cf. Matt. 15:2). Purity of mind and speech are hallmarks of good taste, high ethical principles, and Christian grace (1 Sam. 16:18; Matt. 5:34-37; Col. 4:6; 1 Tim. 4:12; Tit. 2:8). Purity of heart is prerequisite for membership in God's kingdom (Matt. 5:8; Rev. 19:8). Purity is fundamental to Christian culture and therefore an objective to be continually sought—physically, morally, and religiously.

The primary means of purification, both sanitary and symbolic, are FIRE and WATER. Fire is the normal means for purifying gold, silver, and other metals, which are able to withstand heat while the dross is burnt out. The refining process is frequently used as a symbol of personal cleansing. "This third I will bring into the fire; / I will refine them like silver / and test them like gold" (Zech. 13:9; cf. Mal. 3:2). Christ, in a strong metaphor, said to the church of LAODICEA, "I counsel you to buy from me gold refined in the fire" (Rev. 3:18). Humanity is to be purified by the fire of Christ's ministry and

final judgment (Lk. 3:16-17; 12:49). And, naturally, "the words of the LORD are flawless, / like silver refined in a furnace of clay, / purified seven times" (Ps. 12:6).

Water, on the other hand, is the universally prevalent means for material and personal cleansing, and consequently the chief symbol for moral cleansing. Like fire, it was used also in ceremonial cleansing (Num. 19:17-21; 31:23). Ablutions were instituted quite early (Exod. 19:10). BAPTISM, like that of John's, was a symbol of purification (Matt. 3:11). The washing of hands was symbolic of INNOCENCE (Deut. 21:6; Ps. 24:4; Matt. 27:24).

**II. Racial purity.** All races are of divine origin (Gen. 10), but God ordained the Jewish race for the salvation of the world. To avoid religious contamination through intermarriages with foreigners, racial purity was sought. God revealed to Moses that Israel was his "kingdom of priests and a holy nation" (Exod. 19:6); and when the exiles returned to Judea, EZRA ruthlessly severed family ties in an effort to restore racial purity (Ezra 9:2; 10:10, 44). Complete racial purity was impossible due to earlier intermarriages. RAHAB the Canaanite and RUTH the Moabite were in the ancestral lineage of DAVID, and therefore of Jesus. Nevertheless, the Jewish race maintained remarkable purity. PAUL was proud to claim he was Jewish (Rom. 9:3; 2 Cor. 11:22; Phil. 3:5) and to point out that Christ was of his race (Rom. 9:5; cf. Jn. 4:22).

**III. Hygienic purity.** One of the marks of Mosaic law was meticulous concern for physical cleanliness. It was essential in the camp life of the Israelites during the wilderness wanderings. In the absence of modern medical knowledge of drugs, germs, and anatomy, cleanliness played a dominant role in good health. By it, contamination and spread of disease was checked.

MOSES provided laws and penalties governing cleanliness (Lev. 7:20-21). Some things were to be burned, others purified, by fire; and some were washed in water. Soldiers, after battle, were to purify themselves, their captives, garments, and articles, as an insurance against contamination with slain bodies (Num. 19:11-16; 31:19-24). Persons and clothing were to be cleansed by water; silver, gold, tin, and all other metals by fire. Instructions were given for feminine purity: after menstruation (Lev. 15:19-33; 2 Sam. 11:4) and after childbirth (Lev. 12:1-8; Lk. 2:22).

Leprosy was the most dreaded of all sources of uncleanness (although the Bible applies the term to a variety of skin disorders, not necessarily what in modern days is called *leprosy*; see DISEASE). Since there was no known cure for it, victims were expelled from society and required to cry "Unclean!" if anyone approached. Moses gave elaborate laws and instructions concerning it, including placing the responsibility of diagnosis on the priesthood (Lev. 13-14). See PRIESTS AND LEVITES. Any HEALING was attributed to divine power, and therefore subject to ritual cleansing. In respect for this law, Jesus ordered a leper whom he healed to show himself to the priest (Lk. 5:12-14), and again did the same when he healed the ten lepers (17:11-19). Jesus also acknowledged divine healing when he told the one grateful leper that his faith had healed him. Divine healing of leprosy was known in the OT times. The Aramean captain NAAMAN, when unable to find healing by Israel's king, was directed to come to God's prophet ELISHA. The prophet ordered Naaman, "Go, wash yourself seven times in the Jordan, and your flesh will be restored and you will be cleansed" (2 Ki. 5:10); when Naaman did as he was told, "his flesh was restored and became clean like that of a young boy" (2 Ki. 5:10, 14; cf. Lev. 14:6-7).

Numerous other things were listed as unclean, along with purification regulations prescribed. The carcasses of reptiles, various kinds of animals, and any animals that died of themselves, contaminated anyone who touched them. In this case, as in others, water and a ceremonial process

were required for purification (Lev. 11:1-47). Natural bodily discharges caused both physical and ritual uncleanness that in turn defiled the holy tabernacle in the midst of the people. Moreover, everybody and everything that the unclean person touched became defiled, and they along with the person had to be purified. This required washing in water, though the person would remain "unclean till evening" (Lev. 15:27). Shed blood also polluted the land so that purification was necessary (Num. 35:33).

**IV. Ceremonial purity.** All uncleanness, physical and moral, had religious involvement and therefore required ritual purification. The repetition of time idioms reflects this: "Seven times he shall sprinkle the one to be cleansed…he must stay outside his tent for seven days" (Lev. 14:7-8; similarly, vv. 16, 38). The role of physician assumed by the priests confirmed the relationship between physical healing and ritual purification.

Moral purification played an important role in Hebrew life. The communal life necessary under the administration of Moses and Joshua involved the individual in the social unit. Consequently, the sins of the individual were in essence imputed to his family and even to all Israel, as in the case of AARON (Exod. 32:21-35) and of ACHAN (Josh. 7:11, 18, 20). Due to this racial-wide interaction, an elaborate ritual was prescribed for a special Day of Atonement (Lev. 16). First, Aaron and his family (and succeeding priests) were to cleanse themselves (v. 6), and then proceed with the ceremonial cleansing for all Israel. Goats, bulls, sweet incense, blood, fire, water, and the altar, were all employed in the purification.

In Jesus' day, however, traditional cleansing by the Jews had largely lost its spiritual value in empty ritual. Much of the Mosaic law had been replaced by ceremonial trivia. "An argument developed between some of John's disciples and a certain Jew over the matter of ceremonial washing" (Jn. 3:25). Subsequently, Jesus denounced the SCRIBES and PHARISEES for their perverted TRADITION. Occasioned by the criticism of scribes when they observed Jesus' disciples eating without washing their hands, Mark explained: "The Pharisees and all the Jews do not eat unless they give their hands a ceremonial washing, holding to the tradition of the elders. When they come from the marketplace they do not eat unless they wash. And they observe many other traditions, such as the washing of cups, pitchers and kettles" (Mk. 7:3-4).

On another occasion, a Pharisee was astonished that Jesus did not wash before dinner, but he responded, "Now then, you Pharisees clean the outside of the cup and dish, but inside you are full of greed and wickedness. You foolish people! Did not the one who made the outside make the inside also? But give what is inside the dish to the poor, and everything will be clean for you" (Lk. 11:39-41). The topic of ceremonial purity is a major theme in rabbinic literature (see MISHNAH; TALMUD).

**V. Spiritual purity.** Traditionally characteristic of the Judeo-Christian religion is inner purity. Patriarchs, prophets, and poets of the OT all sought moral purity. The seventh commandment, "You shall not commit adultery" (Exod. 20:14), is directed at moral purity. David sang, "Who may ascend the hill of the LORD? / Who may stand in his holy place? / He who has clean hands and a pure heart" (Ps. 24:3-4; "clean hands" was a symbol of innocence, Job 17:9; Ps. 18:20; Matt. 27:24). After he sinned, he desired restoration of both health and heart: "Cleanse me with hyssop, and I shall be clean; / wash me, and I will be whiter than snow. /…Create in me a pure heart, O God" (Ps. 51:7, 10). JOB claimed that he was pure in God's eyes (Job 11:4). In customary ritual language, God said through EZEKIEL, "I will sprinkle clean water on you, and you will be clean" (Ezek. 36:25). The wise man said, "He who loves a pure heart and whose speech is gracious / will have the king for his friend"

(Prov. 22:11).

The NT placed even more emphasis on purity of heart. Jesus said, "Blessed are the pure in heart, / for they will see God" (Matt. 5:8). And from first to last Jesus sought to make his disciples wholly clean (Jn. 13:3-11). His success is reflected in his followers. Paul said, "As servants of God we commend ourselves…in purity…" (2 Cor. 6:4, 6).To TIMOTHY he wrote, "The goal of this command is love, which comes from a pure heart…" (1 Tim. 1:5; cf. 4:12; 5:2; Tit. 1:15). James spoke of a "Religion that God our Father accepts as pure and faultless"; he further demanded, "Wash your hands, you sinners, and purify your hearts, you double-minded" (Jas. 1:27; 4:8). Peter considered his parishioners as believers who had purified themselves (1 Pet. 1:22). Indeed, only those who have cleansed themselves from what is evil can be instruments "for noble purposes, made holy, useful to the Master and prepared to do any good work" (2 Tim. 2:21).

G. B. FUNDERBURK

**purple.** In the ancient world the color purple was a mark of high rank and nobility. This was occasioned by the very high cost of the purple DYE used for the clothing of nobles and royalty. A special purple dye was extracted from the murex shellfish found in the eastern Mediterranean. The ancient Canaanites already had learned the technique of making this dye, a deep crimson color with shades

Murex shells used to make purple dye.

ranging from blue to red. The name CANAAN probably originally meant "land of the purple" and is found in Akkadian and Hurrian as *Kinaḫḫi/u.* Likewise, the name PHOENICIA seems to reflect the purple dye industry of the land since it is related to the Greek *phoinix*, "purple" (J. Finegan, *Light from the Ancient Past* [1959], 135-36).

In OT and NT times this purple dye was in great demand by the wealthy classes. Purple clothing with fine linen was a status symbol, and purple was considered a valuable possession as shown by its occurrences in the Bible. Purple (Heb. *ʾargāmān H763*) was included in the precious things offered by the people for the TABERNACLE (Exod. 26:1) and in the priestly robes (39:3). A purple cloth was used as a covering for the golden altar when it was being moved (Num. 4:13). GIDEON took the "purple garments worn by the kings of Midian" as spoil after his defeat of the Midianites (Jdg. 8:26). Among the skilled workers requested by SOLOMON from HIRAM the king of TYRE was one skilled "to work in gold and silver, bronze and iron, and in purple, crimson and blue yarn" (2 Chr. 2:7; cf. v. 14). The colors in the VEIL of the TEMPLE were blue, purple, and crimson (3:14).

Among the elaborate decorations given by King Ahasuerus (XERXES) were "hangings of white and blue linen, fastened with cords of white linen and purple material to silver rings on marble pillars" (Esth. 1:6). Later, MORDECAI in his new position wore a mantle of purple and linen (8:15). According to Prov. 31:22, a good wife has clothing of fine linen and purple. King Solomon's carriage had a seat "upholstered with purple" (Cant. 3:10). The queen's "flowing locks are like purple" (7:5; NIV, "like royal tapestry"). The luxurious appearance of idols in violet and purple is meaningless in comparison with Yahweh (Jer. 10:9), and Tyre's greatness and commerce in purple and other goods is ephemeral (Ezek. 27:7, 16).

In the NT the rich man in the parable of LAZARUS AND DIVES is described as "dressed in purple [Gk. *porphyra G4525*] and fine linen" (Lk. 16:19). When the soldiers mocked Jesus during his trial, they clothed him in a purple robe and put a crown of thorns on his head (Mk. 15:17-20; Jn. 19:2, 5). In the apocalyptic visions seen by John, the "great prostitute" named "Babylon the great" is depicted as a woman "dressed in purple and scarlet…glittering with gold, precious stones and pearls" (Rev. 17:4). Her fall is mourned by the merchants of the earth, since the market for their goods—including such luxuries as gold, silver, jewels, pearls, fine linen, purple, silk, and scarlet (18:11-12)—had been destroyed (cf. 18:16).

LYDIA, whom PAUL met at PHILIPPI, is described as "a dealer in purple cloth" (Acts 16:14). She is further described as a native of THYATIRA, a city in W ASIA MINOR. Thyatira was a textile center, and one of her major industries was the dyeing of purple cloth. The existence of a guild of dyers there is attested by a number of inscriptions (e.g., *CIG*, 3496-98).

The significance of purple cloth is also indicated in the nonbiblical sources. Booty taken by the Assyrian conquerors of Syria and Palestine often included fine clothing made of wool and linen. Among the precious things captured by TIGLATH-PILESER III (744-727 B.C.) from the kings of the W (including Judah and Samaria) were "linen garments with multicolored trimmings, garments of their native (industries) (being made of) dark purple wool" (*ANET*, 282-83). In the Greek world, purple was often the sign of royalty and high rank. (See further *ABD*, 5:557-60.)

B. VAN ELDEREN

**purpose.** According to the Bible, God has plans, or intentions, or purposes, and they are sure to triumph, at least finally (Prov. 19:21; the Heb. term is *ʿēṣâ H6783*, "advice, plan, decision"). God had purposes that related to Egypt (Isa. 19:17) and Assyria (14:26), as well as Israel.

In the first place, God created the world out of nothing ("Let there be," Gen. 1:3 etc.) through his *will*, so that the world did not emanate from his nature. Thus there is purpose in the CREATION of the world: "God saw that it was good" (1:12, 18, 21, 25). There is also purpose in the creation of man, male and female, made in the IMAGE OF GOD and instructed to fill and subdue the earth (vv. 27-28). After the FALL, God purposed human redemption. There was a foregleam of this purpose in the PROTEVANGELIUM (3:15). God's redemptive purposes were clear in his intention to "bless" Abraham: "I will make you into a great nation" (12:2).

In OT times, God let it be known that the "sun of righteousness" would one day "rise with healing in its wings" (Mal. 4:2)—a glory to Israel, and a light to lighten the Gentiles of the whole wide world (Isa. 42:6). Of the prophets it may be said that Christ was "the master light of all their seeing." The NT states, "All the prophets testify about him that everyone who believes in him receives forgiveness of sins through his name" (Acts 10:43). Besides, Jesus himself, "beginning with Moses and all the Prophets,…explained to them what was said in all the Scriptures concerning himself" (Lk. 24:27).

Theologians in the Reformed or Calvinist tradition have tended to call the purposes of God *decrees* and to affirm a predestination of individuals that precedes the human response to God's offer of salvation (see ELECTION). Arminians often have avoided the term *decrees* (see Mildred Wyncoop, *Fundamentals of Wesleyan-Arminian Theology* [1967], 127) and have interpreted the predestination taught in such scriptures as Rom. 9-11 and Eph. 1-2 as speaking of God's purpose to save the ones that he knows will repent and believe on Christ. All would agree, however, that God does have purpose, for he "made known to us the mystery of his will according to his good pleasure [Gk. *eudokia G2306*], which he purposed [*protithēmi G4729*] in Christ, to be put into effect when the times will have reached their fulfillment—to bring all things in heaven and on earth together under one head, even Christ. In him we were also chosen, having been predestined [*proorizō G4633*] according to the plan [*prothesis G4606*] of him who works out everything in conformity with the purpose [*boulē G1087*] of his will [*thelēma G2525*]" (Eph. 1:9-11). See also GOD, BIBLICAL DOCTRINE OF II.D.

J. K. GRIDER

**purse.** This English term can be used to translate several words, including Hebrew *kîs H3967* (Prov. 1:14 et al.) and Greek *ballantion G964* (Lk. 10:4 et al.). Depending on the context, these terms can just as easily be rendered "bag." It is probable that all types of purses were baglike, drawn together at the neck with leather straps or strong cords made of other material, and hung from the shoulder. The BELT also served as a purse (Mk. 6:8); the money was inserted in the folds or in a pouch attached to the belt, functioning very much like a present-day money belt.

G. H. WATERMAN

**purslane.** See MALLOW.

**purtenance.** This rarely used English term, referring to the viscera or entrails of an animal, occurs once in the KJV (Exod. 12:9, where it is applied to the "inner parts" of the Passover lamb).

**Put** poot' (פּוּט *H7033*, derivation uncertain). KJV also Phut (Gen. 10:6; Ezek. 27:10). Son of HAM, listed in the Table of NATIONS (Gen. 10:6; 1 Chr. 1:8). No descendants are listed for him, but JOSEPHUS (*Ant.* 1.6.2) says he was the founder of LIBYA, whose inhabitants were called Putites. As a geographical area, however, the identity of Put is debated. Jeremiah lists Put between CUSH (roughly ETHIOPIA) and the "Ludim" (see LUD) as nations whose warriors would be used in the conquest of EGYPT by NEBUCHADNEZZAR (Jer. 46:9); he describes its soldiers as men "who carry the shield." Ezekiel says that the armies of PERSIA, Lud, and Put were once numbered among the armies of TYRE and contributed to her splendor (Ezek. 27:10). Elsewhere he includes Put with Egypt, Cush, Lud, ARABIA, and LIBYA (the latter by emendation) as nations that shall fall by the sword (30:5), and with GOG, Persia, and Cush as objects of God's wrath (38:5). Nahum associates Put with Ethiopia, Egypt, and Libya (Nah. 3:9). Finally, it is probable that Isaiah places Put (the MT reads "Pul") between TARSHISH and Lud as nations that will one day hear of the glory of God (Isa. 66:19). None of these passages yields sufficient information to locate Put with certainty, but the linking with African countries makes clear that Put was also located in the same area.

Put has been identified most often with Libya. The Persian inscription of Naqsh-i-Rustam mentions *Putāyā* (a land generally identified with Libya) as being among the tributary countries. A fragmentary text that records the invasion of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar in his thirty-seventh year says

he did battle with Amasis and penetrated Egypt as far as *Puṭu-Iaman* (cf. D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings* [1956], 30, 94). Attempts have been made to identify Put with Punt (of the Egyptian inscriptions) in E Africa (Somalia), but in the absence of more certain evidence, Libya appears to be the more likely choice (see further LIBYA, end of article).

F. B. HUEY, JR.

**Puteoli** py*oo*-tee'oh-lee (Ποτίολοι *G4541*, from Lat. *Puteoli*). A port on the Campanian coast opposite the ancient watering place of Baiae, and like Baiae, a holiday resort of fashionable Roman society as well as an important place of ingress to Italy (Acts 28:13), and emporium of trade. Puteoli (modern Pozzuoli) was also a spa, the name derived either from the smell of sulphur in the air (*putere*, "to smell" in a pejorative sense) or from *puteus* ("a well"). Sulla, Cicero, and Hadrian had villas there.

Puteoli was on the site of the maritime Greek foundation of Dicaearchia (*Dikaiarchia*), settled by Samian colonists from Cumae in 521 B.C. When the town acquired its Latin name is unknown. Writing of the year 215 B.C., when ROME was seeking to deny the Greek ports of southern Italy to Hannibal, LIVY states: "At that year's end, by the Senate's command, Q. Fabius fortified Puteoli, which was a port growing in traffic as the war progressed, and put a garrison there" ("Exitu eius anni, Q. Fabius ex auctoritate senatus, Puteolos, per bellum coep-tum frequentari emporium, communiit praesidi-umque imposuit"); he probably found the name in his authorities, and this may indicate the time of change (Livy, *Hist*. 24.7; 26.17). Twenty years later, Rome made Puteoli a colony, and put a force of settlers there. Colonies always had a military significance, and the move followed up the garrisoning of the port (ibid., 34.35; it was still a colony under AUGUSTUS and NERO, Tac. *Ann*. 14.27).

By 125 B.C., Puteoli had become an important commercial entrepôt, as the recipient of much of Rome's eastern trade, rivaled only by OSTIA. Passenger traffic passed through to Rome that way, joining the APPIAN WAY by the Via Domitiana. SENECA (*Ep.* 77) tells how the Puteolans watched for the appearance of the Alexandrian grain ships (cf. Acts 27:6). So it was that PAUL came that way, as also did TITUS Flavius after the fall of Jerusalem (Suetonius, *Titus* 5.3). It was down the road to Naples that legend associated Paul with Vergil. In the Mass of Saint Paul, recited at Mantua (the poet's birthplace) until the 15th cent., a Latin verse pictures the apostle turning aside from the road to Rome to the spot between Puteoli and Naples where Vergil was buried. It is simple Latin, somewhat lushly translated by T. R. Glover, thus:

Vergil's tomb the saint stood viewing,
And his aged cheek bedewing,
    Fell the sympathetic tear;
"Ah, had I but found thee living,
What new music wert thou giving,
    Best of poets and most dear."

The story, undoubtedly apocryphal, arose from an early consciousness of some link between the deep humanity of Vergil and his longing for a "savior," and Paul's dynamic gospel that answered such a yearning. Inscriptions and visible remains attest the commercial vitality of Puteoli. There are records of trade-guilds (that certain indication of prosperity), of fire-fighting activities, essential in a warehouse center, and of the port's function as an imperial posting station. There are surviving

evidences and references to a lighthouse, extensive harbor installations, a market hall, and an amphitheater—probably the one where Nero, in A.D. 66, staged a gladiatorial show for Tiridates, the Armenian king. There was also a Christian church in Puteoli before A.D. 60, for Paul stayed seven days with the believers there (Acts 28:14-15). In common with many other busy centers of Roman life, Puteoli never recovered from the Gothic and Teutonic inroads of Alaric (410), Genseric (455), and Totila (545). (See further K. J. Beloch, *Campanien* [1890]; C. Dubois, *Pouzzuoles Antiques* [1907]; *ABD*, 5:560-61.)

E. M. BLAIKLOCK

**Puthite** py*oo*'th*i*t (פּוּתִי *H7057*, gentilic form of a presumed ancestor or place named פּוּת). KJV Puhite. The Puthites were a Judahite clan descended from CALEB through HUR and SHOBAL; they made up one of several families associated with KIRIATH JEARIM (1 Chr. 2:53).

**Putiel** py*oo*'tee-uhl (פּוּטִיאֵל *H7034*, possibly from Egyp. *p)-dy* plus Heb. אֵל *H446*, meaning perhaps "whom God has given"). Father-in-law of AARON'S son ELEAZAR; grandfather of PHINEHAS (Exod. 6:25).

**Puvah, Puvite** py*oo*'vuh, –v*i*t. See PUAH (MAN).

**pygarg** p*i*'gahrg. This term (derived from LXX *pygargos*, "white-rump [deer]," via the Vulg.) is used by the KJV to render Hebrew *dîšôn H1913*, which occurs only once and probably refers to the IBEX (Deut. 14:5).

**pyramid.** An architectural form of triangular profile built upon a square or rectangular base, used for (or over) tombs in ancient EGYPT, especially of royalty. The oldest pyramids rose in stages (e.g., that of Djoser, 3rd dynasty); then came the true pyramid (4th dynasty onward) so typical of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, best exemplified by those of the kings Kheops, Khephren, and Myc-erinus at Giza, opposite modern Cairo. The step pyramids may have embodied the idea of a "stairway" to heaven for the king to join the circumpolar stars. The true pyramids imitated the sacred *benben* stone of the sun god RE at HELIOPOLIS,

The pyramid of Titi (c. 2500 B.C.), located near the Saqqara pyramid.

and so are a symbol derived from the solar cult. I. E. S. Edwards (*The Pyramids of Egypt*, rev. ed. [1975]) further suggests that they were also conceptually a ramp up to heaven for the king, like the rays of the sun slanting down upon the earth (and so corresponding to the "stairway" function of step pyramids). As purely tombs, and accompanied by funerary temples and the like, the pyramids were never observatories or granaries, as in medieval legend. (See also L. Cottrell, *The Mountains of Pharaoh* [1956]; J. P. Lepre, *The Egyptian Pyramids: A Comprehensive, Illustrated Reference* [1990]; M. Lehner, *The Complete Pyramids* [1997]; Z. Hawass, ed., *The Treasures of the Pyramids* [2003]; J. Romer, *The Great Pyramid: Ancient Egypt Revisited* [2007].)

K. A. KITCHEN

**Pyrrhus** pihr'uhs (Πύρρος *G4795*, "[red] like fire"). Father of SOPATER the Berean (Acts 20:4). The name is missing in the TR (prob. by scribal oversight) and thus in the KJV as well; its early textual support is overwhelming.

**Pythagoreans.** See GREEK RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY II.A.

**Python** p*i*'thon (Πύθων *G4780*, from Πυθώ, the name of a geographical region). The giant mythical serpent later named Python first appeared in *Hymns of Homer* (3.300ff). It was said to have been produced from the mud left after the deluge of Deucalion and to live in caves of Mount Parnassus. It was killed by APOLLO, who then received the surname Pythius. In later times the word came to mean "a spirit of divination" (as in Acts 16:16) that possessed certain persons and made them prophesy, unconsciously and usually with the mouth closed; thus the term was applied to ventriloquists who were thought to be possessed (see BDAG, 896-97). The chief oracle was at Delphi, which stressed the idea of Apollo as a god of prophecy. (Without connection to these Greek

beliefs, the word was applied in modern times to a genus of giant snakes; it is interesting that in Dahomey, in W Africa, the python-deity is regarded as the god of wisdom and earthly bliss.)

G. S. CANSDALE

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**ZONDERVAN**



ePub Edition JUNE 2010 ISBN: 978-0-310-87699-1

Requests for information should be addressed to: Zondervan, *Grand Rapids, Michigan 49530*

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The Zondervan encyclopedia of the Bible / Moisés Silva, revision editor ; Merrill C. Tenney, general editor.—Rev. full-color ed.

p. cm.

Rev. ed. of: The Zondervan pictorial encyclopedia of the Bible.
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN 978-0-310-24134-8 (hardcover, printed)
ISBN 978-0-310-24136-2 (set)
1. Bible—Encyclopedias. I. Silva, Moisés. II. Tenney, Merrill Chapin, 1904-1985. III. Zondervan pictorial encyclopedia of the Bible. IV. Title: Encyclopedia of the Bible.
BS440.Z63 2009
220.3 – dc22

2009004956

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